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COMPENDIUM

OF THE

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

OF

SOUTH AFRICA.

BY

GEORGE M'CALL THEAL,

LOVEDALE, SOUTH AFRICA.

THIRD EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED.

LONDON:

EDWARD STANFORD, 55 CHARING CROSS.

ALICE, SOUTH AFRICA: LOVEDALE MISSIONARY INSTITUTION.

1878.

226. c. 532.

This work, printed at the Institution Press, Lovedale, South Africa, was issued in Two Parts—Chapters I. to XXI. forming Part I., and Chapter XXII. to end forming Part II. Two editions have been sold in the Colony. This volume comprises both Parts, and is published in this country, in the hope that in the present crisis the valuable information it supplies will be found interesting to the British Public.

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PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

THIS book is published in the hope that it will supply a want very generally felt, that of a cheap and accurate description and history of the land we live in. The descriptive portion of it has already been before the public, in the pamphlet "South Africa as it is," which, at the time of its publication, (January, 1871,) was most favourably commented upon by the leading organs of the colonial press. Accuracy and brevity have been the points chiefly aimed at. One object kept in view was to point out the moral as well as the material advancement of the country. The public, to whose favour it is submitted, must judge whether its merits or imperfections predominate.

Free use has been made of any and every source of information that could be considered authentic. With the press of the colony the compiler was connected for several years, and while editing a newspaper, necessarily became more or less acquainted with everything of importance that then transpired in South Africa. The newspapers, magazines, gazettes, and bluebooks of the last eighteen years may be classed generally as sources from which knowledge has been derived, but which cannot be more definitely referred to.

A list of books which have been consulted, and from whose authors the early history of the colony has been drawn, follows this preface. To have quoted them at the bottoms of pages or at the ends of chapters would have required greater space, without any counterbalancing advantages. Most of these books are now so rare as to be met with only by chance, and even the most diligent collectors seldom succeed in obtaining all the older works.

An intimate acquaintance with a very large portion of the surface of the country, derived from extensive journeys, periods of residence in different localities, and several voyages between the principal ports, is the basis of the geographical and descriptive sections of this book. From the excellent manual of South African geography by Mr. HENRY HALL, of the Royal Engineers Department, the length of most of the rivers has been taken, and that author's chronological table of events has been used as a guide to historical research.

Lovedale, South Africa, January, 1874.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

THE favourable reception which the first edition of this book met with has induced the author to enlarge, and, as he believes, otherwise considerably to improve it. This much, he feels, is due in return for the generous support and kindly notices he has received.

In the present edition, the chapters referring to early Kaffir history will be found much more complete than they were in the first. Every one at all acquainted with our records knows in what confusion this subject is involved, down to the War of 1850, of which the Hon. ROBERT GODLONTON has given a thoroughly reliable history. The writer, finding it impossible to form a satisfactory conclusion concerning preceding events in any other manner, applied to various antiquaries throughout Kaffirland, and by comparing their accounts with Colonel COLLINS' report and the statements of BARROW and LICHTENSTEIN, is enabled to lay before his readers a coherent narrative of the principal events in the history of these people since their ancestors crossed the Kei. Kaffir proper names are spelt in this book as they would be by an educated native, so as to give the correct sound of the words. By an English tongue some of them cannot be pronounced, no matter how they are spelt, and they have no recognized English orthography,—each writer having followed his own fancy in this regard. The mode of spelling adopted will enable the reader to identify the individuals referred to, as well as any other would, and has the advantage of being correct from a Kaffir point of view. The first edition was read by some hundreds of natives, among whom were many of the teachers of mission schools on the frontier, and as it is confidently anticipated that this issue will have a still larger circulation among them, it is but fair that everything in the history of their people,—even to the spelling of the names of chiefs of old,—should be accurately given.

The writer desires to express his thanks to the Venerable Archdeacon KITTON, of King William's Town, for the use of a valuable library of South African books, collected with great trouble and by means of agencies in England; to PERCY NIGHTINGALE, Esq., Civil Commissioner of Victoria East, for the use of various bluebooks; and to his fellow colonists generally, for enabling him by their support to publish a second edition so soon after the first.

Lovedale, South Africa, January, 1876.

PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION.

IN THIS, the third edition, some few alterations have here and there been made in the text, either to simplify it or to make it more accurate. The results of the census of 1875 and some statistics of crime have been added to the chapter on the Geography of the Cape Colony, in which also commercial statistics have been brought down to the close of 1876. In some of the historical chapters additional paragraphs have been inserted, where it seemed advisable to enter more minutely into any particular subject. The author wishes again to express his thanks to the public of South Africa for the generous support which he has received, the best return for which he believes to be an earnest effort to make each successive edition of this book an improvement upon the one before it.

Lovedale, South Africa, July, 1877.

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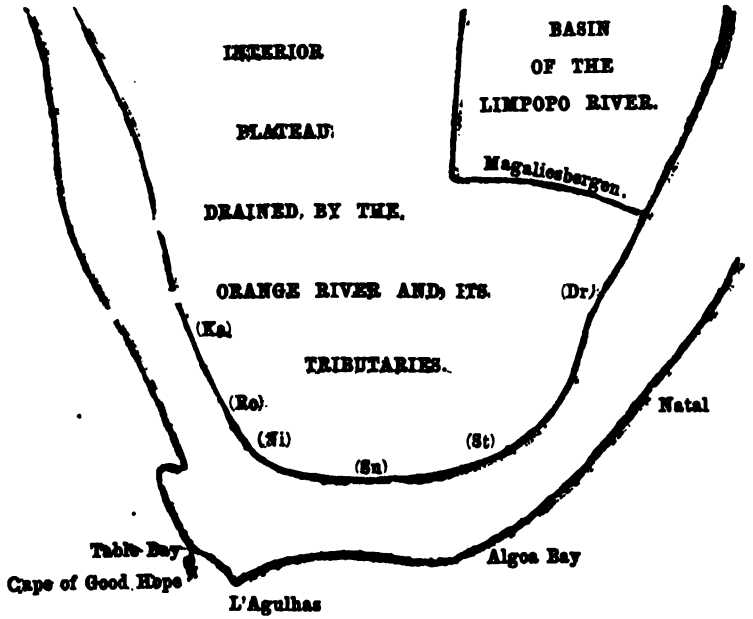
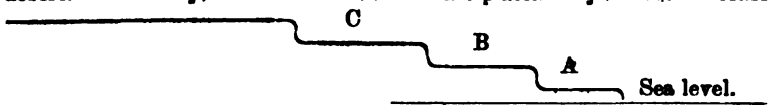
PHYSICAL DIVISIONS.

The great watershed of South Africa is a range of mountains following the curve of the coast, and running nearly parallel to it at a distance of from one hundred to two hundred and fifty miles from the sea. This watershed divides the country into two parts differing greatly from each other: one being an interior basin, the other, the belt of land bordering on the ocean. The eastern part of the range is the loftiest; it is there unbroken, and is called the Quathlamba or Drakenberg. The southern portion is well defined, but is divided into several sections, to which the names Stormberg, Sneeuwberg, and Nieuwveld Mountains are given. The western portion is also in sections, bearing the names of Roggeveld Mountains and Kamiesberg. As it advances northward on this side of the continent it gradually loses the character of a mountain range; north of the Kamiesberg there is an immense gap through which the Gariep or Orange, the great river that drains the interior basin, finds its way to the Atlantic, beyond which the range reappears in the form of low chains of hills. The interior basin presents the general appearance of an immense plain, the eastern portion of which is greatly elevated and in parts fertile, the western portion of less altitude and a barren desert. The basin, or the whole country drained by the Orange River and its tributaries, has an extent of between three and four hundred thousand square miles. To the north-east it is bounded by a great spur of the Quathlamba, called the Magalies Bergen or Cashan Mountains, which forms the watershed between the basins of the Orange and Limpopo Rivers. On the north-west are ranges of hills and elevated land in a desert country, in which rain seldom falls, but beyond which what water there is flows in the opposite direction.

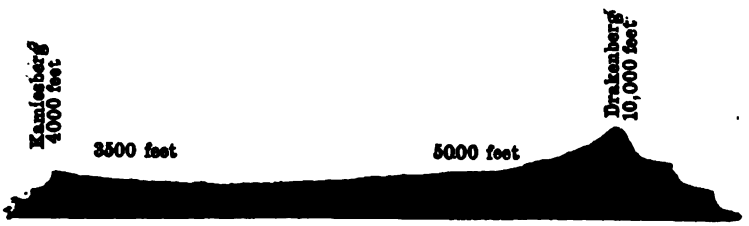


(Ka) Kamiesberg. (Ro) Roggeveld Mountains. (Ni) Nieuwveld Mountains. (Sn) Sneeuwberg. (St) Stormberg. (Dr) Drakenberg or Quathlamba.

The belt of land on the seaward side of the great range is broken up into a series of plateaux like steps of stairs, which usually present a bold front to the sea. The margins of these terraces are nearly parallel to the coast, and viewed from that side exhibit the appearance of mountain ranges. On reaching their summits, however, a flat country is generally found stretching away to the base of the next plateau. The portion of this belt which borders on the Indian Ocean contains a great number of streams, but on the Atlantic side few rivers are to be found, and these only in the south. Northward of the thirty-first parallel of latitude the western coast belt is a desert. Invariably, on the south and east the plateau adjacent to the coast



(A) is the best watered and most fertile, the second in order (B) is only adapted in parts to agriculture, and the interior or plateau bordering on the great watershed (C) is mostly adapted to grazing purposes only. In general, the coast lands are very much broken up and present a succession of hills and valleys, while extensive plains are the leading features of the interior.



Section on the Thirtieth Parallel, shewing the conformation of the land.

BAYS AND HARBOURS.

The coast of South Africa is almost unbroken, there being no gulfs whatever, and the bays generally having very wide mouths in proportion to their depth. This places the country in an unfavourable position with regard to commerce; still, there are many places where safe harbours can be made by means of artificial breakwaters and piers. The principal ports are:—

Walvisch Bay, in lat. 22° 54′ S., long. 14° 40′ E. This is a safe harbour for such vessels as frequent that part of the coast. It is open to the north-west, but that point is to some extent protected by the trending of the land in that direction. On the south and west it is protected by a sand bank called Pelican Point. The anchorage is close to the shore, and there is no swell or surf to be encountered in landing.

Ichaboe Channel, lat. 26° 18′ S., long. 14° 58′ E. Ichaboe is the largest of a group of islets from which guano is obtained. It is a mere rock, without fresh water or vegetation. The anchorage is between the islet and the mainland, and is exposed to a heavy surf. Ships are compelled to put to sea on the approach of boisterous weather.

Port Nolloth, where most of the copper ore of Little Namaqualand is shipped, is a mere indentation in the coast, about two miles in extreme length. Across the mouth there is a low reef of rocks, with a break in one part, forming an entrance for small vessels. The distance from the reef to the shore varies from one thousand to three thousand feet. A little islet serves as a protection to the landing place. Port Nolloth is considered the best harbour on the coast between Angra Pequina and Saldanha Bay.

Hondeklip Bay, in lat. 30° 20′ S., long. 17° 19′ E., is too small for ships to enter; but there is a reef of rocks running nearly across its mouth, under shelter of which boats can lie in safety. The anchorage is in the open ocean, at some distance from the shore, and ships must be prepared to slip their cables and stand off to sea on the approach of a gale. It takes its name (Hondeklip, a Dutch word meaning dog-stone) from an isolated rock which forms a conspicuous landmark upon the high and level coast, and which bears some resemblance to a crouching dog.

Table Bay is the principal port on the south-west coast of Africa. The bay is spacious, but is exposed on the north-west. Many very disastrous

shipwrecks have taken place here. It now possesses a magnificent and commodious dock, in which ships lie in perfect safety. This dock was commenced in 1860, and was opened for traffic on the 17th of May, 1870. It was named by the Duke of Edinburgh the Alfred Dock, a few weeks later. The cost of construction was over half a million pounds sterling. The breakwater runs out in a north-easterly direction, and the end is in six fathoms water. Under its lee heavy moorings have been laid down, at which vessels drawing twenty feet of water can ride in perfect safety in all weathers. The outer basin is about eight hundred feet long and four hundred feet wide. The inner basin, or dock, is one thousand and twenty-five feet long, five hundred feet wide at the north end, and two hundred and fifty feet wide at the south end. It is excavated in hard blue rock, the whole of which has been blasted out and carried into the sea to form the breakwater. The depth of water in the larger portion of the dock is twenty four feet when the tide is out, gradually decreasing to twenty feet at the south end, where a patent slip, capable of taking up vessels of two thousand tons burden, has been laid down. A graving dock of sufficient size to accommodate the largest man-of-war is now being constructed. Besides a lighthouse on Cape Point, there is one on Robben Island, at the entrance to the bay, in lat. 33° 48′ 52″ S., long. 18° 22′ 33″ E., and there are two within the bay,—one on Green Point and one on Mouille Point. Table Bay had its present name given to it in 1601, by a Dutch navigator named JORIS VAN SPILBERG. Previous to that time it was called Saldanha Bay, after ANTONIO DE SALDANHA, commander of a ship in ALBUQUERQUE'S fleet, who visited it in 1503. The name Saldanha Bay was transferred to the one which still bears it by PAUL VAN KAARDEN in 1602.

Other places on the west coast where vessels occasionally call are, Angra Pequina, Donkin's Bay, Lambert's Bay, St. Helena Bay, and Saldanha Bay, the last, a spacious and excellent harbour, but useless for purposes of commerce on account of the surrounding country being nearly devoid of fresh water.

To the east of the Cape of Good Hope are the following ports :—

False Bay, a bight in the western side of which forms Simon's Bay, the imperial naval station of South Africa. The anchorage is safe, and a slip has been constructed for the purpose of facilitating the repairs of vessels. On account of its unfavourable position for commerce, this bay is seldom used by merchant vessels.

St. Sebastian's Bay is the next to the eastward. This is an open and dangerous roadstead. The Breede River falls into the bay. In calm weather, small vessels can cross the bar at the mouth of the river, and, when once inside, are perfectly sheltered. The mouth of the river is called Port Beaufort. Vessels drawing only five or six feet of water can sail about forty miles up the Breede River.

Mossel Bay is open to the south-east, but enclosed on all other sides. It is an accessible harbour of refuge during the prevalence of westerly gales.

The anchorage is good, in from six to fourteen fathoms, and is within three hundred yards of the shore. Boats can always get in and out in perfect safety, a projecting reef protecting the landing place from all swell of the sea. Of late years this port has been considerably improved by the expenditure of a few thousand pounds of public money. VASCO DE GAMA landed here in December, 1497, and called it the Bay of St. Blaize. This name it retained until 1602 or 1603, when PAUL VAN KAARDEN surveyed the south-east coast of Africa, and changed the Portuguese names of places into Dutch ones. He called it Mossel Bay, from a great collection of sea shells in a cave at some height above the sea level. This cave is ninety feet in length, forty in width, and about twenty in height. The shells collected here caused a great amount of speculation to early travellers; from the debris found among them, and from the fact that they all belong to edible shellfish, they are now generally believed to have been accumulated by human beings. The point at the western extremity of the bay retains its old name of St. Blaize. It has a lighthouse upon it.

The Knysna would be the best natural harbour on the south-east coast of Africa, if it were not for the difficulty of getting in and out. It is formed by the expansion of a river into a large lagoon, the southern extremity of which is connected with the ocean. The entrance is one hundred and eighty yards in width, and is between very high headlands, which makes it impossible for a sailing ship to enter unless the wind is blowing in; but there being eighteen feet of water on the bar in its shallowest part, large vessels can cross it. The anchorage for ships of heavy burden is round a point to the westward of the entrance; small vessels follow a passage between islands some miles up the lagoon, and anchor close to the shore abreast of the village of Melville.

Algoa Bay is formed by a deep curve in the land to the north-west. Like all other bays on this part of the coast, it is open to the south-east; but as the holding ground is good, vessels can ride out an ordinary gale in safety. A very large amount of public money has been spent in endeavours to improve this bay; but the only effect has been the formation of a great bank of sand, which makes the landing and shipping of goods more difficult than formerly. Through this port pass more than half the imports and exports of the Cape Colony and of the countries north of the Orange River. There are three lights, situated respectively on Bird Island at the extremity of the bay, on Cape Receiffe, and on the hill above the town of Port Elizabeth.

Port Alfred is at the mouth of the Kowie River. Small vessels can cross the bar in fine weather, and find a perfectly safe harbour inside. The vast accumulation of sand that formerly blocked up the entrance to the river has already been partially removed by means of extensive harbour works, which are now in course of completion.

East London is at the mouth of the Buffalo River. For a couple of miles this river is broad and deep enough to make a most excellent harbour;

but on account of the formation of a great bank of sand across the mouth, vessels drawing more than seven or eight feet of water can enter only when a freshet sufficiently strong has removed the sand for a season. Harbour works intended to remove the bar were commenced many years ago, and are now being completed according to the plans of Sir JOHN COODE, an eminent English marine engineer. In the mean time the ordinary anchorage is off the mouth of the river, in from nine and a half to twelve fathoms water. There is a light on the western side of the mouth.

The port of Natal is unlike any other in South Africa. A range of hills running along the coast terminates to the northward in a headland two hundred and fifty feet high, called the Bluff of Natal. Another range, called the Berea, about four miles inland from the first, terminates at the mouth of the Umgeni River, about three miles north of the Bluff. In the valley between these hills there is a shallow lagoon, about ten miles in perimeter, and dotted over with small islands. The winds and sea have thrown up a great sandbank nearly across its mouth; the entrance is narrow, between the end of this sandbank and the Bluff. Two small streams fall into the lagoon, but the quantity of fresh water flowing out is far too small to keep the entrance open, and it would long since have been filled up, were it not for the action of the tides. The bank that nearly closes in the lagoon from the sea is covered with a tenacious plant, so that it is now like a gigantic dyke, forming a rampart undisturbed by the water on either side. At high tide a vast quantity of water accumulates in the lagoon, which must seek its level as soon as the ebb commences. It then rushes with great velocity through the narrow opening between the point of the sandbank and the opposite hills, keeping a long channel open by its scouring action. The lagoon is so shallow that a great portion is dry at low water; but the channel generally remains in the same position. Sometimes the entrance is deep enough to admit large vessels, at other times it is so shallow that only boats can pass. The harbour works, upon which a great deal of money has been expended though they are not yet completed, were designed to make this entrance still narrower, and thus to deepen it. North and west of the lagoon is a sand-flat, partly covered with dense, stunted bush, extending to the Berea hills; it is on this flat that Durban is built. Vessels that have once entered the port lie as securely as in a dock, just inside the point, where there is space sufficient for from twenty to thirty. The outer anchorage is exposed, but the holding ground is good, and vessels can generally get to sea with ease on the approach of a gale. There is a light on the Bluff, at the south side of the entrance, lat. 29° 52′ 50″ S., long. 31° 3′ 35″ E.

Other places on the south-eastern coast, where vessels occasionally call, are Struys Bay, Plettenberg Bay, St. Frances Bay, Waterloo Bay, Mazeppa Bay, Mouth of the Umzimvubu or St. John's River, and Delagoa Bay. The last named is a very excellent harbour, and bids fair to rise greatly in importance at no distant day. Its drawbacks are, that it belongs to the

Portuguese, who make very little use of it, and that the country around it is unhealthy for Europeans.

Besides the lighthouses mentioned above, there is one on the Roman Rock in False Bay, and one on Cape L'Agulhas. Another is being erected on Cape St. Frances, which will make thirteen in all on the South African seaboard.

THE COAST.

On the west coast the land is often covered with a thick haze, which prevents it from being seen at any great distance. The shore is low, sandy, desolate in appearance, and a heavy surf is almost constantly rolling on it. A current runs along it from the southward, and the prevailing winds are in the same direction. Upon rounding the Cape of Good Hope the appearance of the land alters. A bold rocky coast presents itself, undimmed with fog or haze, but still bare and barren to the view. Two great ocean currents meet here: one, which sweeps through the Mozambique Channel and along the south-east coast; the other, which flows in a north-easterly direction from the Frozen Zone. The collision of these gigantic streams is one of the causes of storms being so frequent off the Cape. Here a submarine plateau is reached, which is the lowest of the steps from the ocean depths beyond to the interior of the continent. Proceeding onwards over this plateau, the coast gradually improves in appearance. The shore line remains bold and rocky, but at length rolling grass-covered hills with occasional patches of forest land come into view, while rugged mountain ranges, along whose slopes sparkling streams descend, form a magnificent background. Such is the scenery along the coast of Kaffraria and Natal, which forms a striking contrast to that of Namaqualand. Close in shore there is a counter current, which is subject to much change in force and position, but is of considerable assistance to ships bound eastward.

RIVERS.

In South Africa, not only is every flowing stream, however small, called a river, but that term is commonly applied also to the nullahs in which water runs only after the fall of heavy rain, and which, at other seasons, are merely either a succession of stagnant pools or dry ravines.

The Orange or Gariep rises in the Quathlamba Mountains, and, after following a westerly course of about a thousand miles, debouches into the Atlantic Ocean in latitude 28° 30′ S. Its source being about seven thousand feet higher than its mouth, this river, though in many places it forms magnificent reaches, is so obstructed by rapids and falls as to be of no use whatever as a channel of communication between the coast and the interior. Its mouth is also blocked up with a great bank of sand, which effectually prevents its being entered. The only large tributaries which

feed it constantly are the Caledon and the Vaal, both falling into it from the northward; but a considerable number of small streams run into it from both sides along its upper course, and several nullahs of great length join it further to the westward. In rainy seasons the river sometimes rises to such a height as to inundate extensive tracts of country along its lower course. To about the twenty-fourth meridian from Greenwich, the country drained by the Orange and its tributaries consists of lofty table lands, enjoying a delightful climate, and adapted in parts to support a dense European population; to the westward of that meridian, the whole basin of the river on both sides is a desert. This stream is fringed along the greater part of its course with willows and other trees, which give it a beautiful appearance.

The other rivers of South Africa rise in the mountain ranges facing the coast, and, in general, take the shortest course to the sea. Owing to the great elevation of their sources above their mouths, nearly all of these streams run in deep gorges, in some places presenting frightful chasms. When heavy rains fall in the highlands where they take their rise, they rush along with great velocity, sweeping everything before them; but during seasons of drought, some of them cease to flow altogether. At the mouths of all these streams, bars, or banks of shifting sand, are formed by the action of the winds and currents along the coast. The water in many of them, more especially when they are low, is exceedingly bitter to the taste, owing to the chloride of sodium, sulphate of lime, &c., which it holds in solution, and which form component parts of the soil and rocks through which the streams flow. Those rising in well-wooded districts, such as the Keiskama and Buffalo, usually have very sweet and pure water. The Berg, Breede, and a few others, are navigable for large boats for several miles above their mouths; but as means of internal communication they are all practically valueless.

Emptying into the Atlantic Ocean, south of the Orange River, are the Buffalo River, about 100 miles in length, the Elephant River, about 150 miles in length, the Berg River, about 100 miles in length, and several smaller streams.

Emptying into the Indian Ocean (proceeding eastwards) are, the Gauritz, the Gamtoos, the Sunday, the Great Fish, the Kei, the Bashee, the Umzimvubu or St. John's, the Umzimkulu, the Umkomanzi, the Tugela, the Umvolosi, and the Maputa, all of which have their sources in the high range bounding the interior plateau; and the Breede, the Kromme, the Bushman's, the Kowie, the Keiskama, the Buffalo, the Umtata, the Umtamvuna, the Umlazi, the Umgeni, and the Umvoti, which rise in one or other of the less elevated ranges bounding the plateaux of the coast belt; besides which there is an immense number of smaller streams and mountain rills from five to fifty miles in length.

On the northern slope of the Magaliesbergen two large rivers rise. They both run northwards for some distance, and then turning eastward,

make their way to the sea through enormous rents in the mountain barrier. The smaller of the two is called the Elephant, the larger the Limpopo or Crocodile River. So numerous are their feeders that the Transvaal Republic is covered with a network of streams.

The first explorers of South Africa often gave names to streams from some such circumstance as the finding game of a particular kind on their banks, thereby causing no little confusion at the present day. Thus, for instance, there is a Buffalo River on the west, on the south, and on the east, an Elephant River on the west and on the east, &c.

SALT PANS AND VLEIS.

There are no lakes in that portion of South Africa inhabited by Europeans, though there is ample evidence that very large areas were covered with fresh water in a recent geological period. In some parts there are large natural basins, which, during heavy rains, become filled with water, that soon dries up and leaves an incrustation of salt upon the surface. Such places are termed salt pans, and they are very numerous. The largest, called the Commissioner's Salt Pan, in the desert country south of the Orange River, has a circuit of eighteen or twenty miles.

In other places there are shallow pools, varying in extent according to the fall of rain or dryness of the season. These are termed vleis (pron. flays). The largest are Verloren Vlei, near the Karroo Poort, and Vogel Vlei, near the Berg River.

In some maps of South Africa the country close to the coast westward of the Knysna Lagoon is marked "The Lakes." But that term is misapplied when used in reference to such diminutive and shallow sheets of water as are to be found there. About two miles from the coast there are four vleis, called respectively Groen Vlei, Zwart Vlei, Ronde Vlei, and Lange Vlei. Groen Vlei is a sheet of fresh water, about three miles in length by a mile in breadth, with no visible outlet to the sea. In seasons of drought it diminishes perceptibly. Zwart Vlei is the reservoir of several mountain streams. The Zwart River runs through it into the sea; but, as the stream is languid, a sandy barrier is formed at the mouth, which causes an accumulation of water in the vlei. When the river forces its way into the sea, a considerable quantity of the water is discharged, and a slight tidal influence is perceptible. The vlei is about five miles in length by two in breadth. Ronde Vlei is not connected with any river, nor is it affected by tides. Its waters are brackish. It is about two miles in circumference. Lange Vlei is fed by the waters of some small streams; when very full it discharges its superfluous water into the sea through a well-defined channel. It is about seven miles long and one mile wide. These vleis are more or less salt, according to the seasons. They are not connected with one another, excepting that the last mentioned sometimes discharges a body of water into Ronde Vlei.

ISLANDS.

The islands lying off the coast of South Africa are diminutive in size and few in number. Nearly all of them are within the mouths of bays, and none are far from the mainland. They are in fact mere rocks, rising a few feet above the surface of the sea, and with one or two exceptions are destitute of fresh water.

Several islets in the rainless region off the coast of Great Namaqualand,—Ichaboe, Possession, Mercury, Pomona, Hollam's Bird, &c.,—were at one time of considerable importance on account of the great quantities of guano that had been accumulating for ages upon them. This has long since been removed; but as the islets are frequented by myriads of penguins and other sea-birds, a few ship-loads of guano are still obtained yearly from them.

Dassen Island is a rock near the coast between Saldanha and Table Bays.

Robben Island, on which is an asylum for lunatics and a hospital for chronic sick, is at the entrance to Table Bay.

St. Croix is a rock in Algoa Bay, on which BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ erected a cross on the 14th of September, 1486.

The Bird Islands are a group of rocks in Algoa Bay, from which sea-birds' eggs and some inferior guano are obtained.

PENINSULAS.

The only peninsulas worthy of note in South Africa are the Cape Promontory, between the Atlantic on the west and False Bay on the east and the tract of land between St. Helena Bay and Saldanha Bay. The first is a mountainous ridge, stretching nearly north and south for about thirty-five miles, and is connected with the mainland by a flat, sandy isthmus.

CAPES.

The principal capes of South Africa are: Point Pelican, at the entrance of Walvisch Bay; Cape Voltas, near the mouth of the Orange River; Point Paternoster, near Saldanha Bay; Cape of Good Hope, southern extremity of the Cape Promontory and western point of False Bay, lat. 34° 22′ S., long. 18° 24′ E.; Cape Hangklip, eastern point of False Bay; Cape L'Agulhas, southern extremity of the African continent, lat. 34° 49′ S., long. 20° 0′ 40″ E.; Cape St. Blaize, south-western point of Mossel Bay, lat. 34° 10′ S., long. 22° 18′ E.; Cape St. Frances, western point of the bight of that name; Cape Receiffe, western point of Algoa Bay, lat. 34° 1′ S., long. 25° 40′ E.; Point Padrone, eastern point of Algoa Bay; Fish River Point, west of the mouth of the Fish River; Cape Morgan, at the mouth of the Kei River; and Point Natal, at the entrance to the bay of Natal.

MOUNTAINS.

The mountains of South Africa form three distinct and nearly parallel chains, which are the retaining walls of as many plateaux. The interior range is formed (commencing from the north-west) by the Kamiesbergen, Roggeveld Mountains, Nieuwveld Mountains, Sneeuwberg, Stormberg, and Quathlamba. From the Sneeuwberg a spur strikes out in a south-easterly direction, bearing the names, as it advances, of Tandjesberg, Winterberg, and Amatolas. The central range includes the Cedar Mountains, Bokkeveld Mountains, Wittebergen, Little Zwartberg, Great Zwartberg, Great Winterhoek, and Zuurbergen. This range gradually subsides near the mouth of the Fish River. The coast range includes the Olifant's River Mountains, Drakenstein, Hottentot's Holland Mountains, Zonder Einde Mountains, Langebergen, Outeniqua Mountains, and Zitzikama Mountains. This chain subsides near Cape St. Frances.

Besides these ranges there are many peaks and groups, such as Table Mountain (3,582 feet) in the Cape Peninsula; Koeberg, Tygerberg, Paarl, and Riebeck's Kasteel, near the south-western coast; Piquetberg, north of the Berg River; Paardeberg and Babylon's Tower, east of False Bay; Karreeberg, north of the Nieuwveld, &c., &c. None of the mountains reach the height of perpetual snow. The highest peaks are in the interior range, some of those in the Quathlamba being from ten to eleven thousand feet above the sea level, and four or five thousand feet above the plateau on the margin of which they stand. Viewed from the seaward side they present a very imposing appearance. Compassberg, a peak of the Sneeuwberg, is about eight thousand feet in height, and the Great Winterberg somewhat less. There are no active volcanoes, though traces of ancient volcanic action are in many places visible.

DESERTS.

The western portion of the interior basin and the belt of land adjacent to it on the coast form an immense desert, which in some parts is uninhabitable, and is nowhere capable of supporting a dense population. North of the Orange River, the part contiguous to the coast is called Great Namaqualand, east of which is the Kalahari. On the south or colonial side of the Orange River, the tract on the Atlantic coast contains rich copper mines, and the larger portion of the district further eastward is adapted for grazing purposes.

The Great Karroo, a plateau to the southward of the interior chain of mountains, must be considered a desert, though it affords pasturage to a vast number of sheep. It is about three hundred and fifty miles in length by fifty in breadth. Wherever the soil can be irrigated it is remarkably productive; but the scarcity of water upon it is so great that the larger portion must ever remain untilled.

In a country of such great extent as that under review, it is but reasonable to expect a considerable diversity of climate. The temperature of a place is affected by its distance from the equator, by its height above the sea level, by the nature of its soil and of that over which the prevailing winds blow, by its physical conformation, and by its distance from the ocean. In South Africa there are lofty mountain ranges, great plains sloping in different directions, sheltered valleys, and tracts exposed to cool sea breezes; and the temperature of each must be very different. In the great desert along the lower course of the Orange River, rain sometimes does not fall for years: the ground is therefore bare and reflects the sun's rays so as to cause intense heat. But no sooner is the sun below the horizon than the earth commences to cool rapidly, and in the course of a few hours there will be a change in the temperature of forty or fifty degrees. Yet in Namaqualand Europeans work without much inconvenience at the copper mines, and they are also to be found in situations where agricultural or pastoral pursuits can be carried on. The dryness of the air causes it to be less unfavourable to health than it would be were the intense heat accompanied by moisture. In the great karroo the climate is nearly similar to that just described, but is not marked by such rapid variations of heat and cold.

The climate of the upper basin of the Orange River is as salubrious and pleasant as any in the world. The country is subject occasionally to protracted droughts; but neither heat nor cold is ever so great as to affect health, or scarcely even comfort. It consists of plains from three to five thousand feet above the sea level, and in the summer months frequent thunder-storms keep the air cool and agreeable. Indeed, it is scarcely possible to conceive of a more delightful climate than this region possesses. The soft and balmy air, the invigorating breezes, and the absence of extreme temperatures, are so conducive to health that sickness is in many parts almost unknown; and the residents,—European and native,—ordinarily attain extreme old age without having suffered serious illness during their whole lives.

The coast region possesses also a fine, healthy climate. In some parts the heat is unpleasantly great in midsummer, but never causes sickness. It is a climate in which Europeans enjoy life. The statistics of the British army show that this part of South Africa is among the healthiest of all colonial stations where troops are quartered. The soldiers have been scattered in detached garrisons from Cape Town to Natal, over a thousand miles, in many places in very inferior barracks, so that this testimony ought to be conclusive as to the general salubrity of the coast region.

The prevailing winds are from the south-east in summer, and from the north-west in winter. Very rarely, the wind blows from the interior over the desert, and blights vegetation with its excessive heat; but this is invariably followed by thunder-storms, which cool the atmosphere immediately. The eastern portion of the coast region is the pleasantest, because the

summer is there the rainy season. It is noticeable that in South Africa places within a few miles of each other often have very different temperatures. Thus, in a valley, the slope towards the north will be several degrees hotter than that towards the south. A tract of land covered with trees is naturally much cooler than an open plain, because on the latter the heat is intensified by the reflection of the sun's rays. Height above the sea level causes the most marked difference. Along the highest mountain ranges, snow lies on the ground for three or four months of the year; in the Cold Bokkeveld, (an elevated plain) European fruits will barely ripen, while in deep valleys at no great distance the heat is nearly insupportable.

The temperature of almost any part of the coast region can be moderated by the industry of man. Astonishing changes are effected by tree planting, and wherever water is to be obtained trees may be grown. In all parts of South Africa, but more especially in karroo ground, the soil is exceedingly fertile, and nothing is wanting but water to make it one of the foremost agricultural countries of the world. The rainfall along the coast region, in the upper part of the valley of the Orange River, and even in parts of the karroo, is ample; indeed, in some places it is greater than is necessary; but the drainage of the country is so perfect that it dries very rapidly. The soil usually covers a stratum of solid rock or hard clay, impenetrable by moisture, and forming a ridge along which the water runs off without any possibility of retention. There are no extensive gravel beds to serve the purpose of natural reservoirs. In the coast belt, of course, each successive plateau, as it rises higher above the sea level, gets less of the moisture which is drifted up from the ocean. Striking the first mountain range, the storm clouds sometimes shed their contents for several days together, while very little is carried to the plateau above. Beyond the interior range of mountains rain falls usually in heavy thunderstorms, which become less frequent as the west coast is approached, until the rainless region of the Kalahari and Great Namaqualand is reached. Over a very large extent of country what is required is not so much a greater rainfall as a husbanding of the water that now runs to waste. This can only be accomplished by means of dams and artificial reservoirs, appliances which have already effected a vast deal of good in South Africa, but only a small fraction of what might be done. There are places now blooming and lovely as any in the world, which have been reclaimed from the desert by means of artificial reservoirs for water. They repay the cost of construction by securing a certainty of ample returns for anything planted, by the support which they furnish to flocks and herds, and by making the culture of trees possible. Arboriculture may at some future time entirely change the climate of South Africa. If large tracts of country were well-wooded, the rainfall would be much greater than it now is, the temperature would be reduced and would not be liable to such great and sudden changes, and less damage would be occasioned by violent winds, which sometimes prevail to such an extent as to cause serious damage to buildings and crops, and

even, in a few exposed situations, totally prevent agriculture. This will likely be brought about gradually, as population increases and land becomes more valuable.

In the abundance and variety of animal life South Africa at one time exceeded an equal area of any other country in the world. For two hundred years an incessant warfare has been maintained against its wild animals, and nearly all the large game has now been exterminated or driven far back into the interior of the continent. A few elephants and buffaloes are still preserved in the Knysna and Zitzikama forests, but the rhinoceros and giraffe are extinct in all places where Europeans have settled. The hippopotamus is extinct in the Cape Colony, but an odd one may yet be found in secluded parts beyond. The same may be said of the lion and eland. The zebra and quagga are now only to be found in the far interior. The gnu and blesbok are still plentiful immediately to the northward of the Orange River, where also immense flocks of springbucks are frequently met with. In the Cape Colony the smaller varieties of antelope still hold their own in considerable numbers, leopards and wild dogs are by no means scarce, and hyenas and jackals are occasionally to be met with. Besides these, may be mentioned wild boars, baboons, monkeys, several species of viverræ and small animals of the cat tribe, porcupines, jerboas, coneys, and anteaters, all of which, with many others less worthy of note, are tolerably abundant. On the sea-coast, a few seals are still to be found in some places, notwithstanding the terrible war which has been carried on against them for the sake of their skins.

When the country was discovered, the ox, heavy-tailed sheep, and dog were found in possession of the Hottentots, and the ox, goat, dog, and barnyard fowls in possession of the Kaffirs; the other domestic animals of Europe have since been introduced, and have been found to thrive as well as in any part of the world.

The variety of birds is also great, but they are less numerous in proportion than quadrupeds, and few are gifted with great powers of song. The most prominent is the ostrich, which has recently been domesticated and has been found to thrive well in a tame state. Carrion birds of almost every description abound, and are extremely useful. Waterfowl of several varieties are met with in most places where water is permanent, and other edible birds, such as Cape partridges, wild peacocks, and doves, are tolerably plentiful. There are also many beautiful little birds, such as the golden cuckoo, the lory, the sugar bird, &c., &c. Finches and swallows abound. On the sea coast, the albatross, Cape pigeon, penguin, and numerous other ocean birds are found.

Among reptiles are, alligators, in the east and north; iguanas, all over; many venomous serpents, as the cobra di capello, puff adder, mountain adder, night adder, tree snake, and ringhals; a species of python, only in the east; chameleons and various kinds of lizards; frogs in myriads; and tortoises in vast numbers.

Fish are very plentiful along the coast, and great quantities are taken, especially in Table and Algoa Bays. There is a considerable export of fish from Cape Town to the Mauritius. The harder or mullet and the springer or leaping mullet at certain seasons ascend the rivers, where they occupy the attention of anglers. The eel is found in nearly all the rivers of the coast belt, but not in the streams of the interior, where its place is occupied by the barbel. Oysters, mussels, and some other shell-fish are plentiful on the coast, and west of L'Agulhas crawfish are abundant. The whale was at one time very common in the seas about the Cape, and an odd one still occasionally presents its back to the harpoon there; but its habitat is now far to the south, among the icebergs of the frozen zone.

Insect life is abundant, and in some of its forms peculiar to the country. The ravages committed by some families of these upon grass and crops of grain is at times very great. Tracts of country are sometimes devastated by immense flights of locusts, at other times swarms of caterpillars destroy the crops of a district; but, fortunately, such instances do not often occur. The honey bee is to be found even in the deserts, the white ant covers the face of the land with its habitations from two to four feet in height, and beetles of many kinds swarm in almost every path. Insect pests of almost every variety abound, and in some localities are exceedingly troublesome. The mosquito, however, that scourge of swampy countries, is here confined to a few localities.

VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.

The principal cereals produced in South Africa are wheat, oats, barley, maize, and millet, which are grown in all parts, and rye in particular localities. Vegetables, such as potatoes, cabbages, beans, peas, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, onions, cauliflowers, carrots, radishes, watermelons, &c., may be cultivated wherever there is water; and in the eastern portion of the coast region, yams, groundnuts, arrowroot, ginger, and other tropical plants thrive. The vine, every variety of the orange, the peach, pear, plum, apple, apricot, fig, quince, medlar, pomegranate, walnut, almond, &c., are universal; and, in the warmest parts of the coast region, the banana, plantain, pineapple, and guava flourish luxuriantly. The olive tree appears to thrive well. The cherry, currant, and some other fruits of a colder clime can only be produced in perfection in the Cold Bokkeveld and in the lofty valleys of the Sneeuwberg. Flax, hemp, and tobacco will grow wherever there is sufficient moisture, cotton grows well along the coast, and the sugar cane and coffee plant flourish in warm localities. The aloe, castor oil shrub, and many other medicinal plants are indigenous.

The greater portion of South Africa is bare of trees; but there are some fine forests in the coast region. The timber obtained in these forests is often

of great size: thus, iron-wood piles over forty feet in length and sixteen inches square when hewed have been taken out of the Knysna forests, and yellow-wood trees twelve feet in girth are plentiful in the same locality. The most valuable of these trees are, the stinkwood, furnishing handsome and excellent timber for furniture; the assegai, hard pear, iron-wood, white pear, and saffron, used in the construction of waggons; the yellow-wood, used for building purposes; and the sneeze-wood, used for telegraph poles and posts where great durability is required. The variety of trees is very great, the above mentioned being but a limited selection. The forests become more numerous as one advances eastward. The mimosa thorn is found in various parts; and the oak, pine, cypress, poplar, Australian gums and willows, the mulberry tree, and others, have been introduced and flourish in many localities. Several varieties of protea are found in the west, none of which attain any great size. Wild fruits are not plentiful, but several kinds are indigenous in different sections of the country.

One of the most remarkable circumstances in connection with South Africa is the provision which nature has so bountifully made for the sustenance of animal life in situations where neither grass nor water is obtainable. Succulent plants and shrubs are found in abundance in the driest and most barren parts. The "karroo bosch" is the only food and drink of millions of sheep, and cattle that are accustomed to it prefer it to grass and water. The "kengwe" is the drink of carnivorous, as well as both food and drink of herbivorous animals. Without these plants the deserts would not only be uninhabitable; they would be impassable. As it is, they are the grazing grounds of myriads of antelopes and other animals. Oxen can live upon them, and, by their means, man can cross them, and make his home there if he be so disposed.

The coast regions, particularly to the eastward, are covered with a rich carpeting of grass, enamelled with beautiful wild flowers of every hue. So luxuriant is this grass that more than one navigator sailing along the coast has mistaken it for crops of waving corn. On the plains in the upper basin of the Orange River, the grass sometimes grows to the height of several feet, and causes the country to present the appearance of a great natural meadow.

MINERALS.

Very little is positively known about the mineral wealth of South Africa, though many conjectures have been hazarded of its vast resources in this respect. As yet, scientific explorations have been confined to a few localities, and it has been almost entirely by chance that discoveries have been made.

In Namaqualand there are rich and extensive mines of copper, some of which have been successfully worked for the last twenty-five years.

Copper is also found in Kaffraria and in the Transvaal Republic, but the quantity and quality are alike unknown.

Coal has been discovered in various localities along the Stormberg and Drakenberg, and in some places it is used as ordinary fuel, but it is of inferior quality. The difficulty and cost of transport are so great that but little advantage has been derived from these coalfields, and even their extent is not known.

Salt is obtainable in almost limitless quantities from the salt pans in various parts of the country.

Alluvial gold in considerable quantities has been found of late years along the Quathlamba, near the latitude of Delagoa Bay. Further north and west, gold is found in quartz reefs, which extend over an immense area.

Diamonds are found over a large extent of country bordering on the lower course of the Vaal and of the Orange below the junction, though the mines which are worked occupy each only a few acres of ground. A very small per centage are of the best quality, but the number found is very great, and the fields are by far the richest in the world.

Manganese of superior quality is obtained in the Drakenstein Mountains, from whence it is taken by rail to Cape Town, and there shipped to England.

Lead is obtainable in the Transvaal Republic, and is there smelted in sufficient quantities to meet the local requirements, but the cost of conveyance to the sea is so great as to prevent the development of mining industry so far inland.

In addition to these, which have already been turned to account, iron is known to be plentiful, though no use is made of it, very beautiful marble is obtainable in several localities, and specimens of many other valuable minerals have occasionally been brought to light.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS.

South Africa is at present politically divided into: I. The Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, with its dependencies, Kaffraria and Basutoland. II. The Colony of Natal. III. The Colony of Griqualand West. IV. The Orange Free State. V. The Transvaal or South African Republic. VI. Zululand. VII. Bechuanaland. VIII. Great Namaqualand.

CHAPTER II.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE CAPE COLONY.

Area.—Population.—Statistics of Industry.—Boundaries.—Provinces and Electoral Divisions.—Description of Towns and Villages.—Government.—Administration of Justice.—Code of Laws.—Educational Establishments.—Roads and Means of Transport.—Telegraphs.—Imports and Exports.—Statistics of Crime.—Revenue. Expenditure.—Public Debt.

Of the different States of South Africa the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope is by far the most important. In size, in wealth, in the number of its inhabitants, in its varied industries, it excels all the remaining European settlements combined. It has a coastline twelve hundred miles in length, and occupies one of the most commanding positions on the face of the globe. Its area cannot be stated with accuracy, for though the coastline has been minutely surveyed and laid down on charts, a regular measurement of its inland boundaries is only now being made for the first time. The usual computation is in round numbers two hundred thousand square miles. About one third of its surface is still possessed by the government, the remainder being held by individuals, in freehold, upon payment of perpetual quitrent, or under terminable leases. The colony contains, according to the census of 1875, a population of seven hundred and twenty thousand nine hundred and eighty-four souls, made up of the following races:—

Europeans	236,783
Kaffirs and Bechuanas	214,133
Hottentots	98,561
Mixed Races	87,184
Fingoes	73,506
Malays	10,817

These numbers give an average of 3·6 to the square mile, but the distribution is very unequal. Thus, in the Cape Division there are 79·39 to the square mile, and in the King William's Town Division 59·88, while in Little Namaqualand there is but 0·59, and in Calvinia only 0·28. There are in the colony 369,628 males to 351,356 females. The increase for the ten years preceding the taking of the census was at the rate of twenty-four per cent.

The total extent of ground under cultivation is only 274,412 morgen,* or nine hundred and seven and a half square miles, equal to one two-hundred-and-twentieth portion of the surface. This produced in 1875 one million six hundred and eighty-eight thousand bushels of wheat, nine hundred and eighteen thousand bushels of oats, four hundred and forty-eight thousand bushels of barley, two hundred and fourteen thousand bushels of rye, one million one hundred and thirteen thousand bushels of maize and millet, three hundred and seventy-two thousand bushels of potatoes, sixty-one thousand bushels of beans and peas, three millions and sixty thousand pounds of tobacco, two millions six hundred and seventy-three thousand pounds of dried fruit, four millions four hundred and eighty-six thousand gallons of wine, and one million and sixty-eight thousand gallons of spirits.

The live stock owned in the colony consisted, at the time the census was taken, of two hundred and six thousand horses, twenty-nine thousand mules and asses, one million one hundred and twelve thousand horned cattle, nine millions nine hundred and eighty-six thousand woolled sheep, nine hundred and ninety thousand African sheep, eight hundred and seventy-eight thousand Angora goats, two millions one hundred and eighty-seven thousand common goats, one hundred and seventeen thousand hogs, and twenty-one thousand seven hundred and fifty domesticated ostriches. These figures show that pastoral occupations take precedence of all other pursuits in the colony.

Manufactures, except for home consumption, do not exist. The manufacture of greatest importance in the colony is that of waggons, which are made of African wood and imported iron. There are one thousand six hundred and ninety-five flour mills, three hundred and six tanneries of leather, fifteen soap and candle manufactories, forty-six breweries, and four manufactories of coarse hats. The proportion of the population engaged in such pursuits is as yet very small, the industry of the country, over and above what is required to raise food, being devoted to the production of raw articles for sale in foreign markets.

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* The Imperial Standard weights and measures, with the single exception of the Land Measure, have been in general use in the Cape Colony since 1861. The old land measure is still retained in those districts where it cannot easily be superseded. In it the unit of measurement is the Rhynland foot, 1000 of which are equal to 1033 Imperial feet.

144 square feet (Rhynland) = 1 rood
600 roods = 1 morgen
1 morgen is therefore equal to 2·11654 English acres.

In the census returns the measurements are given in morgen, which I have here retained for facility of reference, but throughout the remaining chapters of this book I have reduced the measurements to acres, as being more familiar to English readers. In the recently annexed districts the English land measure is used.

The colony is bounded on the north by the Orange River; on the east by the rivulet Tees from its junction with the Orange to its source, thence along the Quathlamba Mountains to the source of the Indwe River, the Indwe to its junction with the Kei, and the Kei to its mouth; on the south by the Indian Ocean; and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean. The countries adjoining it are Great Namaqualand, the Kalahari Desert, Griqualand West, and the Orange Free State, on the north; Basutoland on the north-east; and Kaffraria on the east.

It is divided into the following Seven Provinces:—

I. The Western Province, which includes the Electoral Divisions of the City of Cape Town, the Cape, Stellenbosch, and the Paarl. Seats of Magistracy: Cape Town, Wynberg, Simon's Town, Stellenbosch, and Paarl. Other Villages: Green Point, Papendorp, Mowbray, Rondebosch, Newlands, Claremont, D'Urban, Somerset West, Wellington, and Franschehoek. This province is the smallest of the seven, comprising only the districts settled by the early Dutch and French agriculturists. A large portion of the soil is exceedingly fertile, and is well tilled, producing grain, vegetables, and fruit. The most important rural industry is the cultivation of the grape, there being about forty-five millions of vines in this area, or two thirds of the whole number in the colony. The vineyards of Great and Little Constantia produce wines celebrated for their excellence all over the world, but the quantity is small, and no other Cape wines are considered equal to those from the south of Europe. Of late years, however, more attention has been paid to their manufacture, so that they are improving in quality. The quantity made is also rapidly increasing. Manganese ore in large quantities has recently been discovered in a mountain range near the Paarl. It is of superior quality, containing not more than from ten to thirty per cent of dross. The locality in which it is found is so difficult of access, that the ore is conveyed to the nearest point of railway by means of wire ropes stretched across the intervening valleys from ridge to ridge, for a distance of about five miles. Area of the Province, 1852 square miles. Ground under cultivation, 29,081 morgen. European inhabitants, 41,484. Coloured inhabitants, 44,460.

II. The North-Western Province, which includes the Electoral Divisions of Malmesbury, Worcester, Piquetberg, Clanwilliam, and Little Namaqualand. Seats of Magistracy: Malmesbury, Worcester, Ceres, Piquetberg, Clanwilliam, Calvinia, Springbokfontein, Hondeklip Bay, and Port Nolloth. Other villages: Hopefield, Darling, Goudini, and Tulbagh. In this province, which faces the Atlantic coast and extends far inland, every variety of soil is to be found, from the rich corn lands of the Berg and Olifant's rivers to the sandy and barren wastes of Namaqualand. The best agricultural farms in the colony are in Malmesbury, where wheat equal to any in the world is produced. Parts of Worcester are well adapted to the cultivation of the grape, and this district contains about five and a half millions of vines. But the northern portion, stretching away to the Orange River, is fit for

little else than pasture for sheep and horned cattle. In Namaqualand are exceedingly rich copper mines, from which about twelve thousand tons of ore are extracted yearly. Area of the Province, 68,361 square miles. Ground under cultivation, 90,700 morgen. European inhabitants 28,529. Coloured inhabitants 45,875.

III. The South-Western Province, which includes the Electoral Divisions of Caledon, Swellendam, Riversdale, Oudtshoorn, and George. Seats of Magistracy: Caledon, Bredasdorp, Swellendam, Robertson, Riversdale, Oudtshoorn, Mossel Bay (Aliwal South), George, and Knysna. Other Villages: Genadendal, Villiersdorp, Napier, Montagu, Ladygrey, Port Beaufort, Heidelberg, Ladysmith, Uniondale, and Plettenberg's Bay. This province comprises the belt of land stretching along the Indian Ocean from False Bay eastward nearly to the twenty-fourth meridian from Greenwich. The river valleys and lands at the bases of mountains are fertile, but a large portion of the surface is adapted only to pasturage. The woolled sheep number nearly a million, and ostrich breeding has become so favourite an occupation that nearly ten thousand of these birds are kept here. Along the coast, in the districts of George and Knysna, are the largest forests in South Africa, from which most of the timber and waggon wood used in the colony is obtained. Area of the Province, 15,422 square miles. Ground under cultivation, 33,758 morgen. European inhabitants, 41,444. Coloured inhabitants, 40,240.

IV. The Midland Province, which includes the Electoral Divisions of Beaufort West, Victoria West, Richmond, and Graaff Reinet. Seats of Magistracy: Beaufort West, Prince Albert, Willowmore, Victoria West, Fraserburg, Carnarvon, Richmond, Hope Town, Graaff Reinet, and Murraysburg. This province, like the North-Western, is of immense extent. It consists almost entirely of a great plain stretching from the Orange River to the Sneeuwbergen, and of the Great Karroo further south. Here and there, where water can be conserved, agriculture is possible; but, as a whole, it is only adapted to breeding stock. Much of it is laid out in great sheep runs, upon which more than three millions of sheep, or nearly one third of the whole number in the colony, are depastured. Ostrich breeding is also largely carried on, there being about four thousand four hundred tame ostriches in the province. Area, 67,090 square miles. Ground under cultivation, 12,145 morgen. European inhabitants, 31,168. Coloured inhabitants, 40,196.

V. The South-Eastern Province, which includes the Electoral Divisions of Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, the City of Grahamstown, Albany, and Victoria East. Seats of Magistracy: Uitenhage, Jansenville, Humansdorp, Alexandria, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Port Alfred, Alice, and Peddie. Other Villages: Salem, Sidbury, and Bathurst. This province occupies the seaboard of the Indian Ocean from about the twenty-fourth meridian from Greenwich to the Keiskama River. It contains the thriving seaport of Port Elizabeth, the city of Grahamstown, and a large area of rich agri-

cultural land. Its pastures are mostly better adapted for horned cattle than for sheep. In stock, it grazes nearly two hundred thousand head of horned cattle, over a hundred thousand Angora goats, more than half a million of sheep, and nineteen hundred ostriches. Its agricultural resources are varied: the vine flourishes in Uitenhage, wheat grows particularly well in Alexandria, oats are cultivated largely in Albany, and cotton has been successfully tried along the coast. This last industry, however, has not been carried on to any great extent, owing to the want of an adequate supply of labour. The forests in this province are smaller than those in the adjoining one to the westward. Area, 14,009 square miles. Ground under cultivation, 30,252 morgen. European inhabitants, 35,876. Coloured inhabitants, 61,349.

VI. The North-Eastern Province, which includes the Electoral Divisions of Fort Beaufort, Somerset East, Cradock, Albert, and Colesberg. Seats of Magistracy: Fort Beaufort, Seymour, Somerset East, Bedford, Cradock, Burghersdorp, Colesberg, and Middelburg. Other Villages: Adelaide, Pearston, Steynsburg, and Hanover. This province consists of the tract of land extending from the South-Eastern Province northward to the Orange River. It is not so large as the Midland Province, which lies to the westward; but is more productive. The Divisions of Fort Beaufort and Somerset East contain extensive tracts of land adapted to agriculture; but north of the Stormberg the country is only fit for grazing stock. Its pastures carry nearly two and a half millions of sheep, and it has three hundred and seventy thousand Angora goats,—a greater number than any of the other provinces. The rearing of horned cattle and ostriches is also largely carried on. In the division of Albert small seams of coal have been discovered; but hardly as yet in sufficient quantities to attract much attention. Area of the Province, 21,494 square miles. Ground under cultivation, 20,176 morgen. European inhabitants, 30,491. Coloured inhabitants, 50,908.

VII. The Eastern Province, which includes the Electoral Divisions of East London, King William's Town, Queenstown, Wodehouse, and Aliwal North. Seats of Magistracy: East London, King William's Town, Queenstown, Tarkastad, Dordrecht, Aliwal North, and Herschel. Other Villages: Panmure, Maclean, Komgha, Stutterheim, and Whittlesea. This province consists of a narrow belt of land extending from the Indian Ocean to the Orange River. It is the colonial frontier, and has not been occupied by Europeans longer than twenty-five or thirty years. Its agricultural resources are greater than those of any of the other provinces. The river valleys of the coast district are exceedingly fertile, and in the north there are rich tracts of land lying along the mountains, where vast quantities of grain could be produced if the population were more numerous. The division of Wodehouse is the most elevated, and consequently the coldest part of the colony, it being no uncommon occurrence for snow to lie on the ground for several days at a time during the winter months. On some of

the ranges there are tolerably large forests of valuable timber. The greater number of the inhabitants are natives, who live in locations set apart for their use, where they cultivate extensive fields of maize and millet and breed cattle, sheep, and goats. Four hundred and thirty thousand head of horned cattle, or about two fifths of the whole number in the colony, are owned in this province. More than two and a quarter millions of woolled sheep and nearly half a million goats graze on its pastures. Area of the Province, 11,722 square miles. Ground under cultivation, 58,300 morgen. European inhabitants, 27,791. Coloured inhabitants, 201,173.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

Cape Town, the capital, founded in 1652, presents a very beautiful appearance from the sea, being built upon a slope rising from the southern shore of Table Bay to the foot of Table Mountain, which forms a majestic background. The government gardens cover a large extent of ground, besides which there are forests on the mountain sides, so that there is no lack of verdure in the landscape. The streets are laid off at right angles to each other, and there are several fine squares. Many very handsome public and private buildings adorn the city and its environs. The Parliament House, now being erected, will be the finest building in the colony. Among its principal institutions are the Public Library, the South African College, and the South African Museum. There are churches belonging to nearly every Christian denomination, a Jewish synagogue, and Mohammedan mosques. The Royal Observatory, situated about two miles from Cape Town, is furnished with very superior instruments. There are two public hospitals in the city, and an infirmary for indigent sick and lunatics on Robben Island. The suburbs of Cape Town vie in beauty with those of any other city in the world. On one side is Green Point looking out over the sea, and on the other a cluster of villages embowered in foliage. The population of these suburbs is 12,000 souls, that of the city proper 33,240. Cape Town is a place of great commercial importance, and is amply provided with every convenience for transacting business.

Port Elizabeth is the principal seaport town of the eastern part of the colony, and through it nearly the whole of the commerce of the countries north of the Orange River passes. Sir RUFANE SHAW DONKIN, who visited the place in 1820 for the purpose of locating the pioneer body of British settlers, named it after his deceased lady. Its population at that time consisted of thirty-five souls, and its buildings were the little Fort Frederic, the commandant's quarters, a small barrack, a mess house, a few huts, and a farm house. Its commerce was carried on by means of one little coasting vessel that called at long intervals. It now contains many fine buildings, among which may be mentioned the Town Hall, in which is an excellent Public Library, the Provincial Hospital, Custom House, Grey Institute, the Roman Catholic Church, Trinity Church, (Anglican), and the

Presbyterian Church. It has also several very handsome stores, warehouses, and private residences. The business part of the town is on a flat of no great width, extending along the western side of the bay. Behind this flat the ground rises abruptly and forms an extended plateau, upon which most of the private residences are built. The country in its immediate vicinity is sterile and devoid of verdure. By means of a large expenditure of capital and labour, however, a park of some pretensions has been laid out, which, with its avenues of trees, flower beds, and grass plots, adds greatly to the comfort and beauty of the town. Population 13,049 souls.

Grahamstown, founded in 1812, and called after Colonel GRAHAM, is the principal inland town of the South-Eastern Province. It is built in a picturesque situation at the foot of the Zuurberg, close to the sources of the Kowie River, and about twenty-five miles from the sea as the crow flies. The existence of this town is a proof that wonders can be accomplished in South Africa by means of reservoirs for collecting and retaining water. There is a tradition that about the beginning of the present century the site of Grahamstown was occupied by a farmer, who was afterwards compelled to abandon it on account of want of water for his cattle. This may not be true, but it is by no means unlikely. In seasons of drought there could have been little, if any, water to be found there, and the place must have been almost a desert. At the present time, it is a very pretty town, with plenty of foliage about it, and is well supplied with water collected in artificial reservoirs. It is the centre of a considerable trade. Grahamstown contains several handsome churches, some neat stores and private residences, a public library, and a botanic garden. Its population consists of 6,903 souls.

The Paarl, a village dating from 1687, takes its name from a great boulder, which lies on the top of a hill and glistens in the sun, so that it was supposed to resemble a gigantic pearl. The village consists of a single street, six or seven miles in length, running along one side of a fruitful valley near the source of the Berg River. Its chief industry is the manufacture of wine, the district of which it is the centre containing more vines than any other in the colony. The village itself is a series of vineyards, orchards, and gardens, overshadowed by rows of stately oaks. The Paarl is thirty-six miles by rail from Cape Town. It has a population of 5,760 souls.

King William's Town, founded in 1835, is the largest centre of population in the Eastern Province, and is at present growing rapidly. It is upon the eastern bank of the Buffalo River, about thirty-six miles from its mouth. King William's Town is well situated for purposes of commerce, and commands nearly the whole of the trade of Kaffirland. Its principal edifice is the Native Hospital, a large and beautiful building, erected at the expense of the Imperial government. It has a town hall, a pile of neat and commodious public offices, large barracks and military buildings, eight

churches, and some handsome stores and private residences. It possesses a public library and a botanic garden. The town is well supplied with water led out of the Buffalo River. It has a population of 5,169 souls.

Graaff Reinet, founded in 1786, and called after Governor VAN DE GRAAFF and his lady, whose maiden name was REINET, is the largest village in the Midland Province, and one of the prettiest in the colony. It is situated on the left bank of the Sunday River, in a bend of the Stormberg, and is about one hundred and sixty miles north of Port Elizabeth. Its streets are spacious, intersecting each other at right angles, and most of them are planted with trees, and watered by streams derived from the Sunday River. It is a place of considerable trade, and is a thriving village. It has a Public Library, College, Churches and Schools of the Anglican and Dutch Reformed congregations, and a station of the London Missionary Society. There are extensive vineyards and orange groves about the village, which add greatly to its beauty, though of late years their value has been much depreciated in consequence of the vines and trees having been attacked by rust. Population, 4,562 souls.

Worcester, the principal village of the North-Western Province, is situated on a plain between the Breede and Hex Rivers, in the midst of magnificent mountain scenery. Its streets intersect each other at right angles, so as to form squares of eight acres each. Each is eighty feet in width, is lined with trees, and is supplied with a stream of water from the main watercourse leading out of the Hex River. A large dam has been constructed by convict labour for the purpose of increasing the supply of water. Worcester is a very pretty village, with numerous churches, and handsome stores and private residences, interspersed with gardens and orchards. Though only sixty-three miles from Cape Town as the crow flies, it is one hundred and nine miles by rail, it having been found impracticable to carry the line over the Drakenstein Mountains, and hence a long loop to the northward was necessary to clear that range. Worcester has a population of 3,788 souls.

Uitenhage, founded in 1804, and called after the family name of the Batavian High Commissioner DE MIST, is a neat and flourishing village, twenty miles by rail from Port Elizabeth. It has an excellent supply of water derived from a never-failing fountain at the foot of the Winterberg, and, consequently, it has extensive gardens and orchards. There are several churches and a Mohammedan mosque in the village. The principal business is woolwashing, which is carried on in numerous establishments on the Zwartkops River. Population, 3,693 souls.

Stellenbosch, founded in 1681, and called after Governor VAN DER STELL and his lady, whose maiden name was BOSCH, is situated on the north bank of the Eerste River, at the head of a beautiful valley formed by magnificent mountains. The streets are planted with oaks, and watered by running streams, and there are numerous orchards, vineyards, and gardens, which combine to make it a most delightful place. There are churches and schools

of the Anglican, Dutch Reformed, and Wesleyan denominations, and it is also the station of a Rhenish Mission. The Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church is here. The village is thirty-one miles from Cape Town by rail, and twenty-six by the common road. Population, 3,173 souls.

There are no other villages in the colony with as many as three thousand inhabitants. Those containing above one thousand are the following:—Simon's Town, 2,447, Queenstown, 2,320, Somerset East, 2,231, Wellington, 2,192, East London and Panmure, 2,134, Swellendam, 2,008, George, 1,937, Malmesbury, 1,840, Oudtshoorn, 1,837, Cradock, 1,712, Beaufort West, 1,585, Aliwal South (Mossel Bay), 1,361, Burghersdorp, 1,349, Colesberg, 1,312, Ceres, 1,234, Aliwal North, 1,229, Riversdale, 1,177, Montagu, 1,176, Middelburg, 1,163, Fort Beaufort, 1,146, Robertson, 1,104, and Caledon, 1,038.

GOVERNMENT.

The government of the colony is vested in a Governor, who is also High Commissioner, and who is advised by Ministers holding their offices as long as they command the confidence of a majority in the Parliament. Previous to 1872 the members of the Executive Council could not be at the same time members of Parliament, but in that year the system known as Responsible Government was introduced, according to which the usual practice is for the Governor to select a Ministry from among the leading representatives of the predominant party. The Executive Council consists of the Governor as President, the Lieutenant Governor, the Colonial Secretary, the Treasurer General, the Attorney General, the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, and the Secretary for Native Affairs. The Ministers have seats in both Houses of Parliament, but vote only in that branch of the Legislature to which they are elected.

The Parliament consists of a Governor, who is appointed by the Crown of England, a Legislative Council, and a House of Assembly, and was constituted by an Order in Council of 11th March, 1853. Parliament must meet once in every year, so that a period of twelve months shall not elapse between the last sitting in one session and the first sitting in the next.

The Legislative Council consists of twenty-one elective members, exclusive of the President, five of whom form a quorum. The Chief Justice of the colony is ex officio President of the Council, and may take part in any debate, but has only a casting vote when the votes of the members are equally divided. The members are elected for seven years. Each of the Provinces returns three representatives to this branch of the Legislature. Electors may distribute their votes as they please, or may give the whole three to one candidate. In this mode of election the right of minorities to be represented is fully recognized, and, in practice, it is found that the electors usually do give all their votes to one candidate, or, at most, divide

them between two. A member of the Legislative Council must have all the qualifications of a voter,—he must be above thirty years of age, and must be possessed of landed property free of all encumbrances to the value of £2,000, or of general property above all debts to the amount of £4,000.

The House of Assembly consists of sixty-eight members, namely, four for the city of Cape Town, and two for each of the other electoral divisions. The presiding member, called the Speaker, is elected by the House, and has only a casting vote when the votes of the other members are equally divided. Twelve members, exclusive of the Speaker, form a quorum. The representation of minorities is not recognized in the elections for this House, except in the instance of the city of Cape Town, where a voter may divide his votes or give all to one candidate, as he chooses. The qualification for a member is merely that he be a voter, not an alien with a deed of burghership, and not an uncertificated insolvent. The members are elected for five years. The Governor has the power to dissolve the House of Assembly by itself, or he may dissolve both houses at once.

The members of both houses are elected by the same persons. Every male born or naturalized subject of the Queen is qualified and entitled to be registered as a voter, who is twenty-one years of age, and who has occupied for one year in any division a tenement or land of the value of £25 sterling; or, in case of joint occupation, if the land or tenement, when divided among the occupiers, shall be of the value of £25 for each; or who has been for twelve months in receipt of salary or wages at the rate of not less than £50 per annum; or who has been for twelve months in receipt of not less than £25 per annum, together with board and lodging. A fresh registration of voters is made every alternate year. At present there are about forty thousand electors in the colony. Persons possessing sufficient property in two divisions are entitled to vote in each for members of the House of Assembly, but not for members of the Legislative Council.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

The colony contains fifty-seven Fiscal Divisions, in each of which there is a Resident Magistrate, who holds a court in the principal village, and, in some instances, periodical courts in other stated places. Before him all police cases are summarily disposed of, and he also conducts preliminary examinations in aggravated cases of crime. In trials for some offences, if a prisoner pleads guilty, and there is otherwise sufficient evidence to convict him, the Attorney-General has the power to remit the case to a magistrate, who may then pass sentence not exceeding two years imprisonment with hard labour and thirty-six lashes. But this sentence must be revised by a judge in chambers, and cannot be carried out until his certificate of approval has been obtained. In no case can a female be sentenced to be flogged. In civil cases, a magistrate has power to determine suits in which the amount contested does not exceed £20, or, when the debt can be proved by a liquid

document such as a note of hand, in which it does not exceed £100. The person against whom judgment is given has a right of appeal to the superior courts.

In the frontier districts there are officers stationed among the native tribes, whose duties are to collect the revenue and preserve order in their several locations. They decide cases according to Kaffir law in some instances where English law is not applicable, but as the natives become civilized they come under the operation of the higher code.

A circuit court, presided over by a judge of the supreme court, sits regularly twice a year in all the towns and large villages, for the purpose of deciding such civil cases as are beyond the jurisdiction of the magistrates, and for the trial of all persons charged with crime. A prisoner must be convicted by a jury of nine, and the forms are similar to those of English courts. In civil cases, an appeal lies to the Supreme Court.

There is a court for the Eastern Districts, which has its sittings in Grahamstown, and is formed by two of the puisne judges, though, when one is absent, the other may act with full power. In cases of disagreement between these judges, the matter in dispute is referred to the Supreme Court, to which also there is an appeal.

The Supreme Court of the colony sits in Cape Town, and is formed by the chief justice and two puisne judges. Two of these form a quorum, and, if they disagree, decision must be suspended until three shall be present. From this high and respected court of justice a final appeal still lies to the judicial committee of the Privy Council of England, in any case where the amount in dispute is over £500.

By means of these different courts, justice is brought within reach of every individual in the colony, and as they are presided over by the most upright and talented men that can be obtained, their decisions are universally received with respect. Before the introduction of Responsible Government, the judges were appointed directly by the crown of England, and the magistrates were appointed by the Governor with the approval of the crown; but since that time no appointment is made without the concurrence of the Colonial Ministry. On the retirement of the Chief Justice in December, 1873, the Attorney General immediately succeeded to the vacant office.

LAWS OF THE COLONY.

The Roman-Dutch law, which consists of the civil or Roman law as modified by the legislature of Holland and by the customs of that country previous to the capitulation of the Cape in 1806, is the fundamental law of the colony. A large body of statute law scattered throughout the British Imperial statute book is also in force, and the residue consists of the Proclamations, Placaats, and Ordinances of the Cape Legislature prior to 1854, and the Acts passed in twenty-four sessions of the Cape Parliament since that time.

By the law of Community of Property, which is in force in the colony, persons who marry, without having first made an antenuptial contract, become joint possessors of all property, whether acquired before or after the marriage. The husband has the entire disposal of the whole during his life, and upon the death of either the survivor claims a moiety. The operation of this law can be avoided, however, by antenuptial contracts, creating separate estates of man and wife.

In 1874 the old law of inheritance was repealed, and free testamentary disposition of property is now permitted. The estate of a person dying intestate is divided equally among the children.

The laws relative to the acquisition of land from the government provide for the sale and lease of farms. By an Act of 1860, ground when applied for is sold by public auction to the highest bidder, the payment of perpetual quitrent being one of the conditions of sale. An Act of 1864 provides for the lease of farms for periods not exceeding twenty-one years, the amount of rent being determined by public auction. An Act of 1870 enables the tenant to purchase for sixteen and two thirds years' rent, but a quitrent of one per cent upon the purchase amount is thereafter payable. An Act was passed in 1870 empowering the Governor to sell plots not exceeding five hundred acres in extent, at ten shillings per acre, together with the expense of survey and title deeds, and a quitrent of one per cent per annum upon the purchase amount; but it has been allowed to remain a dead letter.

EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

In each of the principal towns and large villages in the colony, there is a first class undenominational public school, with at least two teachers, in which instruction is given in the ordinary branches of education, including classics and mathematics. In smaller villages there are second class schools, each with one teacher, in which instruction of not quite so high a standard as in the former class is given. Eligible situations in agricultural districts are provided with third class schools, in which elementary instruction is imparted. All of these schools are under the management of local committees, and are inspected periodically by the Superintendent General of Education or one of his deputies. The government pays one half of the salaries of the teachers, and the managing committees are responsible for the payment of the remainder. In the colony there are now about two hundred undenominational public schools and several district boarding schools receiving grants from the public funds.

There are also numerous private schools throughout the colony, and several large denominational schools and colleges in particular localities. The South African College, in Cape Town, the Graaff-Reinet College, the Gill College, Somerset East, the Diocesan College, near Rondebosch, the Grey Institute, Port Elizabeth, and the Stellenbosch Gymnasium, are

important educational institutions, and receive liberal grants in aid from the public chest. In none of the above mentioned public schools is colour a bar to admission; yet they are attended by European children almost exclusively. Instruction is given in them through the medium of the English language.

In 1873 the University of the Cape of Good Hope was incorporated, with power to confer degrees upon those who can pass the necessary examinations.

Mission schools aided by the government are established in eligible situations, and are designed to provide elementary education for the native youth. The teachers are young men or women who have been trained at one or other of the missionary institutions, and are competent to instruct their pupils in reading, writing, geography, and elementary arithmetic. In the lowest of these schools the Kaffir language is chiefly used, and the teachers receive not more than £20 per annum. A step above these is a class of schools under certificated teachers, where the English language as well as the Kaffir is taught, the government grant to each being not less than £30 per annum. These salaries are usually supplemented from funds raised by the native churches. Above these again there are several Institutions where superior education is given, in two or three of which there are industrial branches for the purpose of imparting a knowledge of mechanical arts. These are liberally aided by government, but are mainly dependent on Mission Societies in Europe. Young men are received as boarders, and are educated to be ministers, evangelists, teachers, and clerks, or are trained to be printers, bookbinders, carpenters, blacksmiths, waggonmakers, &c. The printing of this book has been done by native lads serving an apprenticeship at the Lovedale Institution, which is the largest of the class. Altogether there are about four hundred mission schools in the colony aided by the government.

The census of 1875 gave the following as the result of the efforts made during the last forty years to educate the people:—

Percentage of all ages.	*Can read and write.*	*Can read only.*	*Can neither read nor write.*
Europeans	62·35 ...	3·93	33·72
Mixed races	16·30 ...	8·75	74·95
Malays	7·41 ...	2·69	89·90
Hottentots	7·25 ...	6·00	86·75
Fingoes	5·07 ...	3·37	91·56
Kaffirs and Bechuanas	1·86 ...	1·62	96·52

ROADS AND MEANS OF TRANSPORT.

In a country so broken by mountains and ravines, and with so sparse a population, good roads are hardly to be expected; yet the highways of the

Cape Colony are by no means worse than those of most other countries. Immense sums of money have been, and are yearly, laid out in their construction and maintenance. In each fiscal division there is an elective council, which has power to raise money by levying rates, and whose principal duty is to see that the roads are kept in order. Convict labour has been largely devoted to them, and engineering skill has been expended upon them in such places as Bain's Kloof, Sir Lowry's Pass, the Katberg, and many more, where once a monkey must have found it difficult to make progress, and where now the most delicate carriage can roll along smoothly and comfortably. Bridges have been constructed over rivers in many places where traffic is great; still, the want of more is a great defect in colonial roads. In rainy weather it frequently happens that rivers are impassable, and communication between the opposite banks may sometimes be suspended for several days. The construction of bridges over ravines, like those in which the majority of South African rivers run, is accompanied with great expense, but is being carried on as rapidly as the available wealth of the country will allow.

Of late years the construction of railways along the principal lines of traffic has been commenced, and there are now about eight hundred miles authorized by Parliament, at a cost of something like five millions pounds sterling. The first line constructed in the colony was from Cape Town through Stellenbosch to Wellington, a distance of fifty-eight miles. It was commenced in 1859 and completed in 1863. The next was a line from Cape Town to Wynberg, eight miles in length, commenced in 1862 and completed in 1864. These were made by companies, but have since been purchased by the government. Until 1869 there were no other works of the kind in the colony. In that year the Cape Copper Mining Company commenced to lay down a line of only thirty inches guage, from Port Nolloth towards their mines of Ookiep and Springbokfontein in Little Namaqualand. This line passes over a barren country for a distance of seventy miles, and is used for no other purpose than in connection with the mines. The railways now being made are (1) an extension from Wellington by the way of Worcester to Beaufort West, (2) a branch line to Malmesbury, (3) a line from Port Elizabeth through Uitenhage to Graaff Reinet, (4) a line from Port Elizabeth to Cradock, (5) a line from Grahamstown to be connected with the last, and (6) a line from East London to Queenstown, with a short branch to King William's Town.

At the close of 1876 the first was completed and open for traffic as far as Worcester, one hundred and nine miles. It passes through the villages of Paarl and Wellington, but Stellenbosch has been thrown off the main line by a more direct route between the stations at Durban Road and Mulder's Vlei, which saves about twelve and a half miles. The third was completed for about fifty miles. The fourth was completed to within thirty miles of Grahamstown. The sixth was open for traffic to within three or four miles of King William's Town.

Goods are transported from one part of the colony to another on huge waggons, each drawn by fourteen or sixteen oxen, which travel at the rate of about twenty miles a day. The loads on these waggons are sometimes ten thousand pounds in weight. Transport riding is an important branch of South African occupations, and is followed by a great number of people. At convenient distances from each other, along all the highways, large tracts of land are reserved by government for outspan places, where transport riders can let their cattle rest and graze on their journeys. Tolls are established by the Divisional Councils, with the consent of the Governor, and are numerous on the principal roads.

TELEGRAPHS.

Four years ago the only line of telegraph in the colony was one connecting Cape Town with East London, passing through the principal villages along the coast belt. Of late, branches running at right angles to the main line have been constructed to the principal inland villages. One of these branches has been carried across the boundary, and on to the diamond fields. In some parts of the main line it has been found necessary to have double wires, so greatly has the number of messages increased with the development of commerce.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

No reliable figures can be given of the imports consumed and exports produced in the colony by itself, as the customs returns necessarily include everything that is transported by land to or from the countries beyond the border. A small portion of the trade of the interior is enjoyed by Natal, but the bulk of the imports and exports passes through the Cape Colony. The ivory and some of the ostrich feathers exported come from the far interior, and a large portion of the wool and skins comes from the Orange Free State and Transvaal Republic. Diamonds make hardly any show among the exports, as very few of them pass through the custom houses. The trade of the interior has been rapidly developed within the last few years, and great quantities of manufactured goods are now disposed of far beyond the limits of the European settlements.

In favourable seasons the quantity of wheat grown in the colony is more than sufficient for its requirements, and the surplus is then exported, but years of drought necessitate large importations from Australia. Some of the best grain producing districts are almost cut off from markets, through want of cheap and reliable transport, so that the farmers cultivate no more than they require for their own use. Such, for instance, is the case with the Washbank lands in the division of Wodehouse; but it may be anticipated that as soon as good roads are made into such districts, and railway stations are brought within short distances, the colony will never be

dependent on foreign countries for a supply of breadstuffs. The tables which follow show the value of the imports and exports, according to the customs' returns. The deficiency in the exports is, however, only apparent. The diamonds sent out of the country by the mails and other conveyances would more than make up the balance, and the account is kept even by means of coin.

The imports consist principally of manufactured articles of all kinds, such as woollen, cotton, silk, linen, and leather goods, hardware, cutlery, glassware, machinery, furniture, oilman's stores, confectionery, stationery, &c.; of such provisions as coffee, tea, spices, sugar, and rice; and of iron, timber, and coal. Tobacco, cigars, foreign wines, ales, and spirits, soap, pickles, sauces, cheese, leather, &c., are still imported in considerable quantities, owing partly to the manufacture in South Africa of these and similar articles being as yet too limited to supply the demand, and partly to a prejudice entertained by many against any article manufactured in the colony, no matter how excellent its quality. This prejudice, however, is fortunately dying out, and with increased facilities of transport, many colonial made articles such as the above will come into general use.

IMPORTS OF THE CAPE COLONY DURING THE YEARS 1875 AND 1876.

	1875.	1876.
From Great Britain	£4,712,203	£4,631,305
„ Other parts of Europe... ...	58,511	52,714
„ British Possessions in Asia ...	93,957	93,837
„ Other parts of Asia	34,723	22,852
„ Natal	151,893	101,869
„ Mauritius	79,200	85,498
„ Other parts of Africa	59,257	91,666
„ Canada	3,542	43
„ United States of America ...	129,705	133,332
„ South America	289,878	221,911
„ Australia	118,450	121,050
Total Value of Imports	£5,731,319	£5,556,077

TRADE OF DIFFERENT COLONIAL PORTS DURING THE YEARS 1875 AND 1876.

	Imports. 1875	*Exports.*	*Imports.* 1876	*Exports.*
Port Elizabeth ...	£2,681,333	£2,832,523	£2,416,691	£2,222,454
Cape Town ...	2,144,750	690,454	1,950,572	546,809
East London ...	552,033	131,800	785,919	168,429
Mossel Bay ...	126,206	111,045	130,344	121,556
Port Nolloth ...	28,175	244,855	20,459	256,255
Port Alfred ...	187,008	51,370	239,922	77,693
Simon's Town ...	11,805	6,053	12,157	6,549
Port Beaufort ...	9	20,025	0	0
Hondeklip Bay ...	0	0	13	0

Average Imports of the five years ending 31st December, 1871, £2,200,688
„ „ of the five years ending 31st December, 1876, £5,271,481
Average Exports of the five years ending 31st December, 1871, £2,522,561
„ „ of the five years ending 31st December, 1876, £4,010,818

EXPORTS OF THE CAPE COLONY DURING THE YEARS 1875 AND 1876.

	Quantity. 1875	*Value.*	*Quantity.* 1876	*Value.*
Sheep's Wool	40,339,674 lbs.	£2,855,899	34,861,339 lbs.	£2,278,942
Ostrich Feathers	49,569 lbs.	304,933	59,941 lbs.	341,020
Copper Ore	12,418 tons	248,537	12,869 tons	257,155
Goat Skins	1,303,624	158,404	804,551	90,907
Sheep Skins	1,558,628	147,842	1,550,344	126,553
Angora Hair	1,147,453 lbs.	133,180	1,323,039 lbs.	113,967
Ox Hides	109,302	38,964	44,530	20,856
Ivory	143,682 lbs.	60,402	161,234 lbs.	58,626
Cured Fish	3,372,701 lbs.	17,823	3,593,375 lbs.	23,696
Diamonds	634	1,050	150	500
Wine	57,942 gallons	14,173	60,973 gallons	13,730
Dried Fruit	603,931 lbs.	10,210	632,274 lbs.	7,797
Cotton	15,322 lbs.	628	574 lbs.	10
Aloes	374,142 lbs.	3,218	462,976 lbs.	4,178
Argol	73,229 lbs.	2,293	187,301 lbs.	5,542
Horns	114,266	2,300	102,176	1,975
Other South African Products		88,269		54,291
		£4,068,125		£3,399,745

STATISTICS OF CRIME.

The elaborate returns furnished to the government and published in blue books show that this colony is remarkably free of crime, considering the condition of a large portion of the coloured population. There are times when thefts of cattle are frequent in the frontier districts, but no other offence is common. In the year 1875 there were fifteen thousand seven hundred and thirty persons committed to prison, that is, one committal for every forty-six inhabitants. But if the races are separated, there was only one European committed to prison for every ninety-three of that colour resident in the colony, while there was one native for every thirty-seven. In 1876 there were fifteen thousand six hundred and fifty-eight persons committed to prison, the proportions being almost exactly the same as in the preceding year.

A most gratifying feature in these returns is the exceedingly small proportion of crime committed by children. The blue book classifies the persons imprisoned as follows :—

		1875.		1876.
Natives.	Males over eighteen years of age	10,907	...	10,696
	Females do. do.	1,937	...	2,050
	Males under eighteen years of age	285	...	263
	Females do. do.	47	...	60
Europeans.	Males over eighteen years of age	2,415	...	2,482
	Females do. do.	92	...	78
	Males under eighteen years of age	44	...	25
	Females do. do.	3	...	4

The total number of persons in confinement in the prisons of the colony, on the 31st of December, 1875, was:—Europeans, 134, or one out of every 1767 of the white population; Natives, 929, or one out of every 521 of the coloured population. On the 31st of December, 1876, the number was: Europeans, 106, Natives, 976.

REVENUE.

The revenue has doubled itself within ten years, owing principally to the great activity in trade caused by the discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West. About one half is derived from duties levied upon goods imported, the principal items of the remainder are land rents, stamps and licenses, transfer dues, railway and telegraph receipts, postage, auction dues, and land sales. It amounts altogether to about a million and a half pounds sterling yearly.

REVENUE OF THE CAPE COLONY DURING THE YEARS 1875 AND 1876.

	1875.	1876.
Customs	£735,380	£703,067
Land Sales	161,295	84,323
Land Rents	120,078	104,439
Railway Receipts	104,380	168,180
Stamps and Licenses	96,760	98,318
Transfer Dues	92,625	78,452
Postage	53,129	56,411
Auction Dues	25,758	23,953
Fines and Fees of Court	23,259	19,349
Bank Notes Duty	14,889	12,179
Telegraph Receipts	10,099	20,246
Miscellaneous Receipts	64,449	61,867
Total	£1,502,101	£1,430,784

Average Revenue for the five years ending 31st December, 1871, £629,249
" " for the five years ending 31st December, 1876, £1,345,988

EXPENDITURE.

The expenditure for many years prior to 1871 was greater than the revenue, the deficiency having been made up by loans. Some of these

loans in former years were raised to meet the ordinary expenses of government, but of late no money has been borrowed for any other purpose than for the construction or purchase of public works. The ordinary expenditure is now so far within the limits of the revenue that large sums can be appropriated yearly to the improvement of the country.

EXPENDITURE OF THE CAPE COLONY DURING THE YEAR 1875.

	1875.
Civil Establishments	£ 84,542
Administration of Justice	59,730
Educational Purposes	32,930
Medical Services	14,296
Police and Gaols	75,489
Pensions	23,468
Ecclesiastical Grants	14,562
Collection of Revenue	41,257
Hospitals	31,789
Rent and Transport	17,979
Conveyance of Mails	87,506
Roads, Bridges, and other Public Works	121,159
Maintenance of Convicts	27,260
Expenses of Parliament	13,545
Interest and Commission	106,033
Construction and Maintenance of Railways	1,131,524
Construction and Maintenance of Telegraphs ...	45,900
Immigration	31,129
Border Department	20,380
Colonial Defence	67,345
Miscellaneous	74,752
Total	£2,122,575

Average Expenditure of the five years ending 31st December, 1871, £696,811
" " of the four years ending 31st December, '75, £1,572,564

The Public Debt of the Colony on the 31st December, 1876, was £4,068,159

NOTE.—The revenue and expenditure returns of the colony were formerly made up to the 31st December of each year, and published in the annual blue books. In 1876 a new system came into operation, and the financial year is now made to terminate on the 30th of June. The expenditure for 1876 can not be given on this account, and the revenue for the same year is only approximate.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION. 1486 TO 1652.

Exploration of the Portuguese along the African Coast in search of a passage to India.—Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Bartholomew Diaz.—The theory of Columbus, and his great discovery.—Africa doubled by Vasco de Gama.—First Voyages of English ships round Africa.—Portuguese conquests in the East.—Rise of the Dutch Power, and enterprise of the Netherlanders.—First Voyages of the Dutch round Africa.—Gallant Exploits of the Dutch in the East.—Formation of the Netherlands East India Company.—Success of the Dutch in wresting territory from the Portuguese.—Constitution of the Netherlands East India Company.—Use made of Table Bay by the Company's ships.—Memorial of two seamen wrecked in Table Bay.—Van Riebeck's endorsement of the memorial.—Resolution of the Company to form a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope.

FOUR HUNDRED years ago the Portuguese were the most enterprising of the maritime nations of Europe. They were intent upon discovering a route by sea to the wealthy regions of Southern Asia, the commerce of which they wished to secure. At that time the Eastern trade was in the hands of the Venetian Republic, and was carried on by means of caravans which transported goods between the Mediterranean and Indian seas. The extent of the African continent was then unknown, but the Portuguese had for a long time been exploring the western coast, in hope of reaching a point where it would turn and open an ocean road to India.

Expedition after expedition sailed with this object, each one pushing a little further than its predecessor, until at length one under DIEGO CAM in 1484 reached a point near to the southern tropic. The perils of navigating unknown seas were then incomparably greater than they are now, owing to the vast improvements that have since been made in shipbuilding and in the instruments used by mariners. The Portuguese exploring ships were so clumsily built and rigged that the marvel is, not that so long a time was spent in tracing the coast of Africa, but that with them it was ever traced at all. The explorers kept as close as possible to the land, and always endeavoured to gain the shelter of a harbour in stormy weather.

The expedition that was destined to make the grand discovery sailed from Portugal early in the year 1486, under command of BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ. After passing the furthest point reached by CAM, the explorers in their three vessels ran down the coast of Great Namaqualand, landing here and there to take possession of the country in the name of their king, and to set up a cross as a token of his ownership. They were somewhere near the mouth of the Orange River when they encountered a violent

storm which drove them away from the land. After tossing about for some days they turned to the eastward again, in expectation of speedily seeing the coast, but were perplexed to find nothing but open sea before them long after they had reached the line where they thought to make the land.

They had rounded the continent, but as yet they did not know of their success. At last there could no longer be any mistake about it. They were at least six hundred miles to the eastward of the meridian of the last land they had seen, and still long ocean waves rolled in front as far as the eye could reach. Then they turned their prows to the northward, and held on that course till the high land of Southern Africa came in view. It was the coast at the mouth of the stream known to us as the Great Fish River, but to which they gave the name of the Rio Infanta. This was the most distant point which they reached, for here another great storm was encountered, which compelled them to seek shelter in what is now known as Algoa Bay.

In September, 1486, DIAZ took formal possession of the country in the name of the Portuguese sovereign, and, as a token of having done so, erected a cross upon a little islet in the bay. He was then anxious to proceed on his voyage eastward, but was prevented by a mutiny which broke out among his seamen. They complained of the scarcity of provisions on board the fleet, and of the shattered condition of the ships, which would make it dangerous to proceed further over an unknown sea. They had already advanced more than fifteen hundred miles beyond the most distant point reached by the preceding expedition, so that surely they had done as much as their country had a right to expect of them. DIAZ was compelled to yield to the demands of the mutineers, and reluctantly returned to Portugal. The most prominent of the Capes, off which such tempestuous weather had been experienced, was named by its discoverer, who saw it on his return, the Cape of Storms; but subsequently this name was changed by the king of Portugal into that of the Cape of Good Hope.

DIAZ did not reap the reward which he merited. He was slighted by his government, and was overlooked in the next expedition. A subordinate post was given to him in CABRAL'S fleet of thirteen vessels, which discovered Brazil and made the second voyage to the East Indies. His ship with several others went down at sea, and the discoverer of the Cape of Good Hope found a grave in the Atlantic. (May 29th, 1500.)

While the Portuguese had been slowly making their way along the coast of Africa, a Genoese sea-captain in their service had conceived the bold idea of reaching the Indies by sailing towards the west. He unfolded his views to the king, who treacherously sought to deprive him of the honour of the discovery, by secretly despatching a caravel in that direction. Upon the return of this vessel unsuccessful, CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS in indignation left Portugal, and made his way to the court of FERDINAND and ISABELLA, sovereigns of Aragon and Castile. This was in

1484. Three years later, DIAZ made known that the road round Africa was open, but so firmly convinced was COLUMBUS of the feasibility of reaching the Indies by sailing in a westerly direction, that he did not abandon his project for an instant.

At length, in 1492, he was furnished by ISABELLA of Castile with three vessels, and in seeking an ocean pathway to Eastern Asia, he discovered the great Western Continent. Thus the same motive which led to Southern Africa becoming known led also to a knowledge of America, and the two events were only separated by a period of six years. To the Portuguese belongs the credit of tracing the southern bounds of Africa; they might have had the additional honour of being the discoverers of America, but for a single treacherous act of their king.

After the return of DIAZ nearly eleven years elapsed, when another expedition was sent in the same direction. This consisted of three small vessels carrying one hundred and sixty men, and was placed under the command of a talented navigator named VASCO DE GAMA. The little fleet sailed from Lisbon on the 8th of July, 1497, the commander taking with him letters from the king of Portugal to several imaginary eastern potentates. After a stormy voyage, on the 7th of November DE GAMA discovered and entered the Bay of St. Helena. On the shore he observed a number of the inhabitants, whom he described as small in stature, with clothing made of the skins of animals, and with weapons formed of wood hardened by fire and pointed with the horns of animals. For some days a friendly intercourse was carried on between the natives and the Portuguese; but a misunderstanding at length arose, and in a skirmish DE GAMA and four of his men were wounded, and the strangers were compelled to betake themselves to their ships.

On the 16th of November they sailed from St. Helena Bay, and on the 18th saw the Cape of Good Hope; but as the wind was blowing from the south-east they were unable to enter Table Bay until the 20th. At a short distance from the shore they observed numerous huts of natives who were similar in dress, language, and general appearance, to those they had recently seen. DE GAMA did not remain long in Table Bay, and, keeping close to the coast as he proceeded on his voyage eastward, on the 24th he reached Mossel Bay, where he anchored. Here he landed and erected a column with the arms of Portugal and a cross inscribed upon it; but as soon as he returned to his ship the natives destroyed the monument. On the 8th of December he set sail again, and encountered stormy weather for many days; notwithstanding which he kept close along the coast and observed the forests of Zitzikama and the islet of St. Croix. From the latter point he stood out to sea, and did not come again in sight of land until the 25th of December, upon which account he named the country then discovered the Land of Natal.

Keeping up the eastern coast, he at length arrived at Melinda, where he found Arab pilots acquainted with the navigation of the eastern seas.

With their assistance he reached Calicut on the Malabar coast in safety, and returning by the same route he arrived at Lisbon in September, 1499. Of the men who sailed with him only fifty-five reached home again, the rest having died during the voyage. DE GAMA was warmly welcomed by his sovereign and his countrymen. He was ennobled, a pension was granted to him, and the title of Admiral of the Eastern Seas was declared to be hereditary in his family.

From the date of DE GAMA'S visit, different ports on the South African coast were frequently entered by Portuguese fleets bound to or from the East. For nearly a hundred years the new road to India was open to them only, but they never attempted to colonize the extremity of the continent, as they were of opinion that their settlements on the east coast were more advantageously situated.

In 1509, FRANCISCO D'ALMEIDA, Governor-General of Portuguese India, whilst on his voyage home, was killed by natives on the shores of Table Bay. He had put some of them to death upon a slight provocation, which so aroused the spirit of revenge in the savages that they attacked him and a large body of attendants, and slew them all.

In 1522, the *Vittoria*, Captain SEBASTIAN DEL CANO, called at Table Bay. This ship is famed as having been the first to sail round the world. She was one of a fleet of five vessels placed by the Emperor CHARLES V under command of FERDINAND MAGELLAN (FERNANDO DE MAGALHAENS) with instructions to explore a westerly route to the Moluccas. Of the other ships, one returned to Europe before the coast of South America was reached, one was lost in a storm, one was burnt, and one was abandoned. Of two hundred and thirty men who sailed with the expedition only eighteen returned. MAGELLAN himself was killed in a skirmish with the natives of the Philippine Islands. He has given his name to the Strait which he was the first to pass through.

At length the English followed in the track of the Portuguese. The first expedition that sailed from England to the East Indies left Plymouth on the 10th of April, 1591. It consisted of three ships, the largest of which, under command of Admiral RAYMOND, was lost soon after. The command of the remaining vessels devolved upon Captain JAMES LANCASTER,—the same who was afterwards famed as an advocate for Arctic exploration, and whose name was given by BYLOT and BAFFIN to the Sound which terminated their discoveries in 1616. On the 28th of July the Cape of Good Hope was first sighted. Scorbutic diseases had so reduced the strength of the crews that it was deemed unadvisable to put into Table Bay, and the Commodore therefore endeavoured to reach Mossel Bay, where he believed refreshment could be procured without danger. But he was baffled by contrary winds, against which he struggled until the 1st of August, on which day he anchored in Table Bay. The sick and wearied crews were at once put on shore, where they obtained abundance of fresh food by shooting sea-birds and gathering mussels and other shellfish

along the rocky beach. Some natives had been seen when the ships sailed in, but they appeared terrified and at once removed inland. Captain LANCASTER visited Robben Island, where he found seals and penguins in abundance. One day some hunters found a native, whom they treated kindly, making him presents and endeavouring to show by signs that they were in want of cattle. This judicious conduct had the desired effect, and soon after the departure of the native a number of others made their appearance, bringing with them forty head of cattle and the same number of sheep. Trade was at once commenced, the price of an ox being two knives, that of a sheep one knife. After the crews were somewhat recovered, Captain LANCASTER proceeded to the Indies with one ship well manned, and sent the other back to England with the sick.

On the 22nd of April, 1601, a fleet of five vessels, under command of the same Captain LANCASTER mentioned above, sailed from Torbay for the Indies, being the first fleet fitted out by the English East India Company. On the 9th of September they arrived in Table Bay, by which time the crews were so terribly afflicted with scurvy that only those of the largest ship were able to drop their anchors. Captain LANCASTER was obliged to go in his boat to the aid of the other vessels, and personally assist in getting them in. The sails of the ships were then taken on shore to serve as tents, and the sick were landed as soon as possible. Trade was commenced with the natives, and in the course of a few days forty-two oxen and a thousand sheep were obtained in exchange for pieces of iron hoop. The fleet remained for seven weeks, during which time nearly all the sick recovered. From this date English vessels very frequently called at the Cape, though, with the exceptions mentioned below, no attempt to occupy the country was then made on behalf of that nation.

In 1614, ten criminals were sent from England and landed on Robben Island. Most of these wretched persons perished miserably ; four of them were drowned, one was killed in an encounter with natives, and three, who managed to make their escape and returned home in an English vessel, were there executed for crimes committed immediately after they landed.

In 1620, two English Captains, named SHILLINGE and FITZHERBERT, formally took possession of the Cape and the adjoining part of the continent, in the name of King JAMES I, but without any authority from the English Government or board of directors of the English East India Company, and no notice was taken of their act.

During the period that intervened between the appearance of VASCO DE GAMA in the Indian seas and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Spaniards had made themselves masters of the Philippine Islands, and the Portuguese had seized the most important stations on the coasts of Africa, Arabia, Persia, and both the Indian peninsulas, besides possessing themselves of the Moluccas, Ceylon, and the islands of Sunda, while their settlement at Macoa secured to them the commerce of China and Japan. At all these places they had erected forts, which enabled them to com-

mand the obedience of the native rulers of so many different countries, and placed the entire commerce of the East in their hands. In 1580 the crown of Portugal was seized by PHILIP II of Spain, and all these regions were brought under the dominion of that monarch.

The power that was destined to form the first European settlement at the Cape of Good Hope was now carrying on its glorious struggle with the great empire of Spain. The United Netherlands, by exertions as heroic as any recorded in the pages of history, had risen from the position of oppressed provinces to that of a free and powerful republic. With the Dutch people and government at that time, commerce was synonymous with independence: they had no means of existence except by becoming the agents through whom Europe and Asia should change their commodities. Yet it seemed the height of temerity for men situated as the Netherlanders then were to attack their gigantic foe in his strongholds of the east, and dispute with him there as well as in Europe for naval supremacy and monopoly of trade. They did not hesitate to do so. At first they made gallant efforts to discover a passage to the Pacific round the north of Europe and Asia, and, when these failed, they undertook the passage round Africa. Triumph awaited them, greater than the most sanguine of their heroes could have anticipated. The astonishing successes of the Portuguese in the east and the enormous wealth thereby procured had corrupted them; and the courage that had subdued so many nations no longer existed among their effeminate descendants, upon whom the task of maintaining their conquests now devolved. Their rapacity and the many acts of cruelty of which they had been guilty had created a feeling of detestation towards them among the natives of their vast possessions. In addition to this, many of the Portuguese in India were in revolt against the new authorities. Thus, immense as was the empire of PHILIP II in the east, in geographical extent and commercial wealth, it was ready to become an easy prize to the nation that could command the passage to it.

A great impulse to the vast traffic afterwards carried on between the United Provinces and the East was given by JOHN HUYGEN VAN LINSCHOTEN, who, after a residence of thirteen years in the Indies, returned to Holland and made known to his countrymen the commercial wealth of the countries he had visited. He had resided in India in the character of a Portuguese subject, and had thus acquired information not otherwise obtainable, as the Portuguese were extremely jealous of foreigners, and permitted none of the secrets of their trade to be divulged, while the geographical information published by them was purposely incorrect.

Among the heroes of that age none were more enterprising and enthusiastic than LINSCHOTEN, none more devoted to their country's service. After his return from the East, he devoted his time to the advocacy of polar exploration, as he was confident of being able to reach China and India by way of the Arctic Ocean. In 1594 he sailed on a voyage of discovery, and reached the Kara Sea, where the drift ice compelled him to put

back. With him, in a ship furnished by the city of Amsterdam, was WILLIAM BARENDZ, who coasted along the desolate islands of Nova Zembla and added them to the known lands of the world. Nothing daunted by the failure of the first effort, in the summer of the next year LINSCHOTEN sailed a second time, in a fleet of seven ships fitted out by the States General. He had worthy companions, for BARENDZ was with him again, and JACOB HEEMSKERK, who was at a future day to win deathless renown, was supercargo of one of the ships. But the ice of the polar seas was not to be pierced, and the fleet returned defeated. The following season BARENDZ lost his life in a third attempt, while LINSCHOTEN staid at home to put through the press an account of the observations, scientific, commercial, and geographical, which he had made during his residence in the East.

In the mean time a Dutch merchant named CORNELIUS HOUTMANN, being detained at Lisbon for debt, had made an offer to the merchants of Amsterdam that if they would procure his release he would communicate to them every particular relating to the passage to India and the manner of carrying on trade by the Portuguese there, knowledge which he had acquired during his captivity. The period was opportune for such a proposal, as the public mind was excited by the glowing verbal accounts of LINSCHOTEN. HOUTMANN'S offer was therefore accepted, and his debts were discharged. Those who contributed towards his release formed an association, under the name of the Company of Distant Countries, and fitted out four vessels, which they placed under HOUTMANN'S command, with instructions to proceed to India by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and to observe the coasts, the inhabitants, the productions, and the trade of the different places he should visit. This was in 1595, when LINSCHOTEN was absent on his second polar expedition.

HOUTMANN called at Table Bay, reconnoitred the coast, touched at the Maldives, and visited the islands of Sunda, where he purchased a quantity of pepper and valuable spices. Afterwards he entered into an alliance with the ruler of Bantam, a city of Java. He then returned home, taking with him several natives of the countries he had visited, chief among whom was a pilot of Guzerat, a man of great ability and perfectly acquainted with the different coasts of India. This man proved afterwards of signal service to the Dutch in their eastern expeditions. Though HOUTMANN took home little wealth, the results of his voyage raised great expectations, and the merchants at once formed the plan of a settlement at Java. Captain NEK was sent out with eight vessels for that purpose. He succeeded in obtaining four shiploads of spices and cotton goods at Java; and then sailing to the Molaccas, he established several factories and entered into treaties with some of the native rulers. He returned to Holland with immense wealth. The result of this voyage was that Companies similar to that of Distant Countries were at once formed in most of the maritime and trading towns of the Netherlands.

Meantime, a stately fleet of galleons and smaller vessels, twenty-five in all, commanded by ANDREAS HURTADO DE MENDOZA, was despatched from Lisbon for the purpose of destroying the city of Bantam and chastising its ruler for having presumed to trade and make a treaty with the enemies of Portugal. Upon their arrival at the island, they found a Dutch trading fleet of five vessels, manned by three hundred sailors, under command of WOLFERT HERMANN. To MENDOZA'S utter amazement the Dutch attacked him; and HERMANN, whose whole force both of men and guns was inferior to that of the enemy's flagship alone, managed the affair so well that after several days fighting he captured two of the Portuguese ships, sunk some of them, drove others into shallows, and, at last, put the whole of the grand armada into such confusion that MENDOZA was fairly compelled to run away from him. Thus was Bantam saved, and eastern potentates made to see the advantages of alliance with a power able to avenge the injuries they had sustained at the hands of the Portuguese. This was but one of many similar exploits performed by Dutch vessels in those seas. Soon afterwards, the city of Batavia was founded, which is still the chief emporium of Dutch commerce in the east. In a short time the republicans acquired a large proportion of the trade of China, Ceylon, Malaya, the Moluccas, Sumatra, and particularly of Java.

But it was evident that though single vessels might occasionally succeed in destroying a whole fleet of the enemy, the Portuguese could never be entirely driven from the eastern seas by means of individual enterprise alone; and, as the government had enough on its hands at home, it became necessary to concentrate the wealth and power of the traders. For this purpose the Netherlands East India Company was formed, with the exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. The capital was only £660,000, apparently a very small sum of money with which to undertake so great an enterprise as that of carrying on war with the Spaniards and Portuguese, but it was found ample for the purpose. All the inhabitants of the United Provinces had the right, within a certain time, to take shares. The charter was signed on the 20th of March, 1602, and gave the Company power to make treaties with Indian governments in the name of the States General of the United Netherlands or of the supreme authorities of the same, to build fortresses, appoint generals, and enlist troops, provided such troops took oaths of fidelity to the States, or to the supreme authority, and to the Company. The first fleet, consisting of fourteen vessels under command of WYBRAND VAN WARWYK, sailed before the end of 1602, and was followed towards the close of 1603 by thirteen other ships under STEPHEN VAN DER HAGEN. The equipment of these two fleets cost £220,000.

The Company set out with great advantages. All the branches of the Indian trade were by this time thoroughly understood, and officers and seamen had been trained to the peculiar service. Strange, also, as it may seem to readers of the present day, the Dutch galleots were then superior

in sailing qualities to any other vessels afloat, so great a stride has since been made in naval architecture. What the Aberdeen clipper of the present day is to the Newcastle collier, was the galleot of the year 1600 to the marine castles in which MEDINA SIDONIA and MENDOZA went forth to conquer and returned disgraced. The galleot, now the butt of seamen, was then a clipper that could choose her position and distance when in action, or could sail away without danger of being overtaken.

The war in the Indian seas was long and bloody. Orders were sent from Spain that all Dutchmen found there were to be put to death, and these commands would undoubtedly have been carried out in letter and spirit, if there had not been a serious difficulty in catching them before killing them. They swarmed there. There was soon hardly a native power in the east that did not openly trade with them, though the Spanish authorities issued instructions that all who in any way countenanced them should be severely chastised. The Portuguese were more numerous there than they; but they thought lightly of that. Steadily and surely they went on, fighting and trading by turns, being masters of both professions, until nothing was left to the Portuguese of all their vast conquests in the east but Macoa, Diu, Goa, and Mozambique.

The possessions of the Company, under which a large portion of South Africa was afterwards included, were subject to the jurisdiction of the Batavian Council, which was composed of the governor-general of the Indies, the director-general, five directors in ordinary, and a small number of extraordinary councillors, who had no vote, and only supplied the place of deceased directors in ordinary till successors were appointed. The council gave laws to all the Company's settlements, and had the direction of commercial affairs abroad. It was not, however, an independent body, but was in subordination to the directory established in the United Provinces. There were six chambers in the Netherlands, whose business it was to dispose of the Indian merchandize, in proportion to the funds contributed by each. The directory, or supreme governing power of the Company, was termed the Chamber of Seventeen, and was composed of eight directors chosen by the chamber of Amsterdam, four chosen by the chamber of Zealand, one chosen by each of the chambers of Enkhuizen, Delft, Hoorn, and Rotterdam, and one chosen by the State. It met two or three times every year, for six years at Amsterdam, and two at Middelburgh. The power of the Chamber of Seventeen, when the Company was at the height of its prosperity, was almost equal to that of the States General. The armed forces at its command contributed less towards this than the extensive patronage it enjoyed, consequent upon the numerous offices at its disposal.

The Company's galleots, like the ships of all flags that visited the Indian seas, called at the Cape on their passages out and homeward. It became a sort of halfway house, where they could get refreshments and obtain the latest news. In those days, voyages to India usually took at least twice the

time they do now, and the means of preserving fresh meat and vegetables had not been discovered. Accordingly, scurvy was wont to make sad havoc among seamen, and the best remedy for it was known to be a good run ashore and plenty of fresh food. A more suitable place than the Cape could not have been desired. The men could be indulged with leave to go ashore without any danger of their running away,—a practice very prevalent at all times with seamen, but more particularly at that period, when it was considered necessary to enforce strict discipline by most severe punishments,—and the Hottentots had abundance of stock, which they were in the habit of exchanging for gewgaws and bits of old iron; that is, when the commanders saw fit to trade in preference to taking cattle by force and without the trouble of any negotiations. From Holland, when the galleots sailed, they brought stones of a peculiar shape, with the ships' names engraven upon them, and directions that despatches and letters would be found either under them or in specified positions. These stones were deposited in places previously agreed upon, and served in lieu of a post office. A simpler plan was afterwards found in leaving the despatches in charge of trustworthy natives.

During the first half of the seventeenth century it was no uncommon circumstance for ten or a dozen vessels at a time to be riding at anchor on the waters of Table Bay. Scurvy-stricken mariners frequently made a temporary abode on the site of the present city of Cape Town; numerous were there the graves in which the remains of white men from the far off North reposed; and yet, with the single exception of a resolution passed in 1619 by the Board of Directors of the Netherlands East India Company, to the effect that it was advisable to build a fort and open a trading establishment at the Cape of Good Hope for the purpose of procuring refreshment for the crews of their fleets, no Power seems to have appreciated the advantages to be derived from a settlement here.

In 1648 the galleot *Haarlem*, on her return from the Indies, was wrecked in Table Bay. The crew got safely to shore, and were received and treated in a friendly manner by the natives, until, five months afterwards, they were rescued by a squadron bound to the east. During the period of their residence, some of them made extensive observations concerning the capabilities of the country and the character of the natives, and, upon their return home, two of them, named LEENDERT JANSZ and NICOLAAS PROOT, addressed a memorial to the Directors, in which they set forth the advantages that might be derived by the Company from the establishment of a fort and a garden at the Cape of Good Hope. In this document they expressed surprise that the Spaniards and Portuguese had never yet made use of Table Bay to lie in wait for the ships returning with valuable cargoes from the east, for which purpose no fitter place in the world could be found. The ships not arriving in company, (the memorialists continued) it would be easy for the enemy, with eight or ten vessels on the watch and ready for action, with slight trouble and no risk, to capture and carry off

all of them. From the experience they had gained, they enlarged on the fruitfulness of the soil, the facilities for obtaining cattle, and the probable profit of a whale fishery. With reference to the natives, they spoke in favourable terms; while their allusions to the conflicts between those people and their own countrymen as well as other Europeans, do not exhibit the latter in the most favourable light. As an instance of the treatment to which the Hottentots were sometimes subjected, they informed the Directors that when the fleet under command of WOLLEBRANDT GELIJNSEN was at the Cape in the previous year, seven or eight cattle were shot and taken away without payment, which would probably cost some lives if an opportunity for revenge presented itself.

In that fleet of GELIJNSEN's there was one JOHAN VAN RIEBECK, a surgeon, who, during three weeks that he remained in Table Bay, had observed the advantages it offered as a place of refreshment, and who now likewise urged upon the Directors the advisability of forming a settlement. He endorsed all that JANSZ and PROOT had said, with the exception that his opinions with regard to the natives were opposed to theirs. He remarked that the savages were by no means to be trusted, and therefore a fort should be made tolerably defensible.

The question was then taken into consideration, and it was finally resolved to build a fort and form a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. In no sense of the word was it intended to found a colony. A military stronghold was what the Company had in view, where their ships might be secured from molestation, and where refreshment could be obtained. For the first purpose, a fort was to be erected, for the second, extensive fruit and vegetable gardens were to be laid out and planted. The natives were not to be interfered with, but every endeavour was to be made to win their confidence and affection. They were to be treated with kindness, and any attempt to injure them in person or in property was to be carefully guarded against and severely punished. Ships of other nations were not to be encouraged to visit the bay, but active resistance was to be offered to the Portuguese only. (In 1640 that nation had succeeded in severing its connection with Spain, and was now at war with the United Netherlands).

On the 25th of March, 1651, instructions were issued by the Chamber of Seventeen to the captains of the galleots *Dromedaris* and *Reiger*, and of the yacht *Hoop*, to prepare their vessels for the expedition. It may be presumed that they obeyed this order effectually, as they took the remainder of the year for that purpose. A force of about one hundred men was to be sent out, and the chief command was given to VAN RIEBECK, with the title of Commander. All the details concerning the site and size of the fort, the management of the men, &c., were settled by the directors, and very little indeed was left to the Commander's discretion.

Thus one hundred and sixty-five years after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by DIAZ, a permanent settlement was about to be formed by Europeans.

CHAPTER IV.

ABORIGINES OF SOUTH AFRICA.—HOTTENTOTS.—BUSHMEN.

THE aborigines of the western portion of South Africa were Hottentots and Bushmen, races which differ materially from all others found in the continent. The Hottentots appear to bear the same relation to the inland tribes that the Celts in Europe bear to the Teutons. When the country was discovered, they were being pressed upon from the north and the east, and were too feeble to make any effectual resistance. The appearance of Europeans upon the scene hastened the period of their subjugation, but it was already in process of accomplishment. With the sea to the west and the south, they were doomed either to incorporation with conquerors, or more probably to extermination, when the white man took possession of their country. But the tribes at the extremity of the continent knew nothing of the danger which, though yet at a great distance, so surely threatened them; for there was no communication between them and those on the border.

By the early Portuguese navigators the term Hottentot was first applied to the people who have since borne that name; it was not a term recognized by themselves. Like the Kaffirs, they had only tribal appellations, and no name for the whole race collectively. Their descendants are by this time so completely changed that it would be impossible to describe their exact position in the scale of humanity, at the period of their first intercourse with Europeans, were it not for the descriptions,—often contradictory,—given of them by early voyagers, compared with our knowledge of the Namaqua and Koranna clans of the present day. All the rest have long since lost the language, customs, and dress of their forefathers, and have adopted European habits instead. They have no traditions whatever; it is from the white man they learn there was a time when they were lords of the soil, and when European civilization was unknown among them.

When first visited, the Hottentots were divided into a great number of clans or small tribes, which differed from each other in many respects, according to the localities in which they lived. Those whose residence was on the seacoast must have been the most degraded then, as they are at the present day in Great Namaqualand. In personal appearance, they differed greatly from all other people. They were small in stature; with thin faces; high cheek bones; eyes deep sunk, far apart, and set obliquely; noses flat; lips thick; foreheads low; beard scanty; their heads were but sparsely covered with small tufts of wool; their hands and feet were small and delicate; their colour varied from a pale yellow to a dingy brown.

Their language was unique. To European ears it sounded like a continued clattering of the teeth, and it was found, in consequence, to be next to impossible to acquire it. The different clicks were made by striking the tongue in various ways against the teeth or roof of the mouth. Many words had quite different meanings, signified by a slight variation in the clicks used. Europeans could at first detect no difference between them, and it was not until white children were brought up in South Africa, and accustomed from infancy to these inharmonious sounds, that they became acquainted with the number and variation of them. Dr. BLEEK, in his *Comparative Grammar of South African Languages*, says that the structure of the Hottentot language is monosyllabic, which means to say merely that most words that are not monosyllables are at once recognized as derivatives and composites. Three fourths of the syllabic elements begin with clicks. The liquid consonant *l* is not used in the language. Its nearest relations are met with in Northern Africa, and it is totally different in construction from other South African languages. It is still spoken by about twenty thousand Namaquas and Korannas, and a large amount of missionary literature exists in the Nama dialect. From its structure Dr. BLEEK infers that the Hottentots are descendants of tribes that migrated from Northern Africa in very remote times.

There never was any difficulty in holding communication with them concerning any material object. When LANCASTER wanted an ox, for instance, he imitated the lowing of that animal, and was at once understood. These children of nature, too, were quick in picking up what words they heard, and no long time elapsed after vessels began to frequent Table Bay before some of the cleverest of them were able to converse with their visitors either in Portuguese, English, or Dutch. Their own language contained few words expressive of abstract ideas, and no word for any number higher than ten. If they wished to indicate a number between ten and one hundred, they could easily do so by repeating the tens and adding the units: thus fifty-five would be five tens and five. Beyond one hundred they could not proceed. As soon as they were thrown into contact with other people, a great number of new words had to be formed to express the new ideas gained and new objects seen. The language, as spoken at the present day, is therefore much more copious than it was in olden times. But the great majority of the Hottentot people have long since lost all knowledge of it, and now speak broken Dutch. The original language was divided into several dialects, which was the principal cause of its becoming obsolete in the colony so soon after the European occupation. For, the different Hottentots, who were successively brought under subjection, not being able to converse easily with each other, naturally adopted the language of their masters.

The principal property of the Hottentots consisted of horned cattle and sheep. Of their cattle they were particularly fond, and their skill in training them for various purposes was very great. Some were taught to guard

the rest, as dogs do sheep in several countries; others were trained to assist in war by charging the enemy and retreating upon a particular call being made by their masters; others again were used as pack oxen to carry their owners or any burdens placed upon them. The milk of their cows constituted the most important article of their diet. They seldom killed an ox for food, unless they possessed a superfluous number or intended to have a great feast; nevertheless, they ate all that died a natural death. Some tribes were very rich in horned cattle. The ox of the Hottentot was an inferior animal to that of Europe. He was a gaunt, bony creature, with immense horns and long legs, his flesh was coarse, but he was hardy and well adapted to supply the wants of his owner. The sheep were unlike those of Europe. They were covered with hair instead of wool, were of various colours, and had long lapping ears and tails six or seven pounds in weight. Their flesh was excellent. Even yet, in some parts of South Africa, flocks of these sheep are preserved by wealthy farmers, on account of the high estimation in which the flesh and the fat of the tail are held; though the Merino, owing to the value of its fleece, has nearly driven the other from the face of the land. The Hottentots had great numbers of sheep. They did not set so high a value upon them proportionately as upon their horned cattle, and very readily parted with them to strangers for next to nothing. They used their milk as well as their flesh for food. Children were taught to suck the ewes, and often derived the principal part of their sustenance from this source.

The only other domestic animal they had was the dog. He was an unsightly brute, with a body shaped like that of a fox, and hair turned in all directions. But, for all that, he was a faithful, serviceable animal of his kind.

The food of the Hottentots consisted of milk, the flesh of game obtained in the chase, meat from their flocks of tame animals, locusts, and whatever wild roots and fruits were procurable. Those on the seacoast varied their diet with the flesh of penguins, seals, and such dead whales as were washed ashore. In short, nothing that would be considered eatable by a baboon or a vulture came amiss to them. They had no fixed times for meals, but ate when they were hungry or could obtain food. They usually cooked meat before eating it, but sometimes devoured it raw. Their filthiness and greediness in eating can hardly be described. The gall was the only part of an animal that they rejected, the blood and intestines being with them choice dainties. Of agriculture, even in its simplest forms, the western tribes knew absolutely nothing. Those to the eastward adjoined nations whose food was partly derived from gardens, and they must therefore have been acquainted with the fact that the ground could be cultivated, but their indolence and hereditary habits stood in the way of any use being made of such knowledge. It is certain that they were not cannibals, though this charge was sometimes made against them by early travellers whose statements were based on supposition.

They understood the art of making an intoxicating liquor from honey, considerable quantities of which could be obtained in the season of flowers. They caused it to ferment by mixing with it a particular root reduced to powder. The evils resulting from this knowledge must, however, have been very limited. During the greater portion of the year no honey was to be had, and the liquor when made would not keep longer than a day or two. Much more pernicious was their use of *dacha* (a species of wild hemp) for smoking. With a pipe made of the horn of an antelope, they inhaled the smoke of this baneful weed, which produced temporary insanity, and ended after long practice in the utter destruction of the nervous system. It was, perhaps, fortunate for them that they were ignorant of agriculture, as a constant and ample supply of dacha must have brought about their extinction. We read, indeed, in old journals of rumours received of tribes living in the interior and owning great plantations of dacha, with which they carried on an extensive traffic; but such plantations never existed in reality. It is probable, however, that those who lived in places where this plant flourished extensively used it as an article of barter, and that the reports were thus based partly on fact.

Their dress was made of the skins of sheep and wild animals, usually prepared with the hair on. After having been removed from the animal, the skin was first cleansed of any fleshy matter adhering to it, and then rubbed with fat till it became soft and pliable. The men used a kaross, or number of skins sewed together, which they wrapped about them when they felt cold and cast aside altogether when warm. A small triangular piece of leather, suspended behind, completed their costume. The women wore at all times a small apron or sometimes a bunch of leather strings suspended from the waist, and in cold weather used a scanty kaross. Children wore no clothing whatever. Round their legs the females bound strips of raw hide, like rings, which, when dry, rattled against each other, and made a noise when they moved. Their heads were adorned with shells, bits of copper, leopards' teeth, or any other glittering ornaments they could obtain. From earliest infancy their bodies were smeared with fat and rubbed over with clay, soot, or powdered buchu, and to this may be attributed the intolerable stench of their persons. The coat of fat and clay was not intended for ornament alone. It made their joints supple and bodies pliable, and prevented them from being devoured alive by the swarms of vermin that infested their huts and clothing.

Their habitations were mere hovels, being oval or circular frames of wickerwork covered with mats, in the manufacture of which the women possessed great skill. They were plaited of rushes, and were so nicely made as to be waterproof. The huts were not more than five feet in height, and the only aperture was a small hole through which the inmates crawled. In cold or wet weather a fire was made in a cavity in the centre, the smoke from which filled the wretched apartment. Their huts were arranged in the form of a circle or an ellipse, the space enclosed being used as a fold

for cattle. With some of the tribes, however, the cattle folds were outside of the circle of huts, thus plainly showing their unwarlike disposition. They were not prepared to defend their cattle against the attacks of enemies, otherwise the respective position of the huts and folds would have been reversed.

Their weapons of war and the chase were bows and arrows, sticks with clubbed heads, and assegais. They commonly poisoned their arrows, so that a wound from one of them, however slight, was mortal. Some of these savage tribes possessed the art of smelting iron, but were too indolent to do more than make a few rough assegai heads of it. Horn was ready at hand, was much more easily fashioned, and was almost as serviceable for pointing weapons. Masses of solid copper were to be picked up in Namaqualand, and this metal appears to have been extensively spread over the neighbouring country by means of barter, but was never used for any other purpose than that of making uncouth ornaments,—principally earrings. In the use of the assegai the Hottentots were very expert; many of them could hit with it an object the size of a man's hand at a distance of fifty yards. The clubbed stick was almost as formidable a weapon. It was rather larger than an ordinary walking cane, and had a round head two or three inches in diameter. Boys were trained to throw this with so accurate an aim as to hit a bird on the wing at thirty or forty yards distance. It was projected in such a manner as to bring the heavy knob into contact with the object aimed at, so that antelopes and other animals as large as goats were killed by it.

In addition to the manufactures already referred to, these people were acquainted with the art of making a rude kind of pottery, but it was not practised to any great extent. Earthenware vessels, of such great utility to agricultural tribes, were almost valueless to them. They cooked meat by throwing it on burning coals or laying it on a heated stone, so that pots were not required. Their milk was preserved in skin bags, as it is with other African tribes at the present day. Ostrich egg shells and ox horns were used for carrying water and for every other purpose where small dishes or basins would be required. It ceases, therefore, to excite surprise, that a people so addicted to indolence should have neglected to make more use of an art that could have added but little to their comfort.

Each kraal or village was under the government of an hereditary chief, who was himself subject to the great chief of the tribe. The authority of the chief was little more than nominal, as his subjects were exceedingly impatient of control. Disputes between individuals were settled by a court composed of all the men of the kraal, who sat in a circle and heard what the disputants had to say. They then gave judgment, and the sentence was executed on the spot. Disputes between kraals were settled in the same manner by all the chiefs of the tribe. Popular opinion was thus the law of the land. There were no fixed punishments for stated offences, in short, there was nothing deserving the name of a code of laws. Polygamy

was permitted, and free love was practised, for the marriage tie was even more loosely held than in other African nations. It could be dissolved at the pleasure of the man, when a new contract could immediately be entered into, though there was a form of marriage ceremony, and the bridegroom was required to pay an ox or two to the father of his bride.

Like all savages, these people were incapable of prolonged thought. Even the slightest exertion of the mind, when it could be avoided, was foreign to their nature. Yet they were fond of noisy chat and of telling stories, which usually had reference to the doings of animals. The Hottentots in the colony have lost the language and traditions of their ancestors, but it is probable that among the Namaquas and Korannas a mass of folklore exists, which, if collected, would throw a flood of light upon the ideas, habits, and beliefs of these people.

The Hottentots were superstitious, and held firm faith in ghosts and witchcraft; but they did not trouble themselves about a God. They had not the faintest idea of a resurrection, or of a heaven and a hell. It is generally assumed that a belief in ghosts implies a knowledge of the continued existence of the soul after the death of the body, but this involves a train of reasoning beyond the capacities or inclination of these people. A ghost was to them something which excited fear, but which was in itself unexplainable. When told of the existence of a Supreme Being and a spirit world, they expressed no surprise and intimated no doubts, simply because they were willing to receive anything for granted that would spare them the trouble of thinking for themselves. In charms they possessed the rudiments of idolatry, but they had made no advance in the direction of worshipping them. They believed a species of the mantis to possess the power of conferring good luck upon an individual or a kraal that it visited, and they paid great respect to this insect and would on no account harm it. It has been asserted that they worshipped this insect, from which circumstance it is commonly called by the colonists the Hottentot God, but there seems to be no foundation for the statement. Departed great ones were sometimes prayed to, though when questioned, they denied that they considered them to be still in existence.

And yet, they were a merry, lighthearted people. In the bright moonlight nights they would assemble, and dance and feast till morning dawned. So long as they had food they had no care nor grief, no anxiety or thought for the morrow. The women collected roots, and the men hunted or slumbered in front of their huts all day long,—they knew not the meaning of the word toil.

Their great vices were idleness and filthiness. They abandoned the aged and helpless as well as sickly and deformed children, and allowed them to perish of hunger. But they called this mercy, not cruelty. What would a helpless wretch or a cripple do in a state of society like theirs? Better that he should die at once than linger on in misery! For the same reason, when a woman giving suck died, the child was buried with its dead parent.

Whether the Bushmen are the true aborigines of South Africa, and were driven in ages long past from the richest and best of their possessions in the south-west of the continent by an invading army of Hottentots, or whether they and the Hottentots are the same race, and the distinction between them arose from the possession of domestic cattle on the one hand and absolute poverty on the other, was long a matter of controversy; one thing only being certain, that as far back as the history of the Hottentots could be traced, they have claimed to be a separate people. The question was not set at rest until the late Dr. BLEEK made known the result of his investigations into the two languages, as well as into the customs of these people. He found that they resembled each other in their outward aspect, in many of their habits and customs, and in their mythologies. But the grammatical structure of their languages is entirely different, the relationship between them being more distant than that between English and Latin, though like these languages, they may have sprung from one source at some very remote period.

This seems to be conclusive as to the fact of the Hottentots and Bushmen being distinct races, or branches thrown off from the same parent stock with a very extended interval of time between them. The supposition of Dr. MOFFAT, given in his *Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa*, that a distinct language arose from parties of children being left to themselves, is no longer tenable.

The Bushmen lived in the same manner as the ancient cave-men of Europe, judging from the relics of the latter race which have excited so much attention of late years. Both people were ignorant of the use of metals; both depended almost entirely on the proceeds of the chase, and both used stone implements. It is remarkable that in South Africa an agricultural race, acquainted with the use of iron, such as the Bechuanas, a pastoral race, using iron to a less extent, such as the Hottentots, and a race of hunters, using stone and bone only, such as the Bushmen, should have been contemporary with each other. The Bushman had a much wider range than the Hottentot, as he was found far in the territory occupied by the Bechuanas and Kaffirs; but everywhere his habits, his mode of living, and his implements, were the same. And to this day, the few who still exist remain almost unchanged. There has never been an instance of one becoming thoroughly civilized, and in all important respects the Bushman of the desert is a true representative of his fathers still.

When the white man came to South Africa, he found the Bushmen inhabiting various parts of the country, and plundering the Hottentots whenever opportunity offered. The hatred between the two races was in most cases inveterate, and, according to their own account, had always been so. Yet it was no unusual circumstance for a clan of Hottentots to have a party of Bushmen attached to it. They did not reside together, however, and the relationship between them partook of the nature of a treaty. The Bushmen gave notice of approaching enemies and abstained from plunder-

ing their allies, the Hottentots prevented them from starving when game was not to be had. With these exceptions, the Bushman's hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him.

They were pigmies in size, and caricatures of the ugliest specimens of the other native race. They possessed, however, bright sparkling eyes, and were gifted with astonishing powers of sight. Their personal appearance varied greatly with the abundance or want of food. In times of famine the skin hung loosely over their shrivelled frames and they were perfectly hideous, but an ample supply of meat for a single month made them fat and sleek.

A cave with its opening protected by a few branches, or the centre of a small circle of thorn trees round which skins of wild animals were stretched, was the best dwelling-place that they aspired to possess. If neither of these was within their reach, they scooped out a hole in the ground, placed a few sticks or stones round it, and spread a skin above to serve as a roof, or sometimes nothing more than a reed mat on the side from which the wind was blowing. A little grass at the bottom of the hole formed a bed, and though it was not much larger than the nest of an ostrich, a whole family would manage to lie down in it. But, however miserable in point of structure, the "house," as it is called by the Bushmen, plays an important part in their stories of domestic life.

Their ordinary food was then, what it still is, roots, berries, wild plants, larvæ of insects, locusts, white ants, and reptiles of all kinds, together with whatever wild animals they could kill or domestic ones they could steal, the flesh of which they usually cooked when they were not nearly famished with hunger. Like most beasts of prey, they were capable of remaining a long time without food, and could make up for a prolonged fast by gorging immense quantities of flesh when they were fortunate enough to obtain it. They were entirely careless of the future, and were happy if the wants of the moment were supplied. Thus, when a large animal was killed, no pains were taken to preserve a portion of its flesh, but the time was spent in alternate gorging and sleeping until not a particle of carrion remained. When a drove of domestic cattle was stolen, several were slaughtered at once and their carcases shared with birds of prey, while if their recapture was considered possible, every animal was immediately killed. Such wanton destruction caused them to be detested by all other dwellers in the land.

Their weapons consisted of bows and arrows only. Their bows were about three feet in length, made of the toughest wood they could obtain, and strung with a cord formed by twisting together the sinews of animals. Their arrows were about eighteen inches long, made of reed pointed with bone. The arrowhead and the lashing by which it was secured to the reed were coated with a deadly poison, so that the slightest wound inflicted by it caused death. They were acquainted with various kinds of poison, the sorts in general use being obtained from certain roots, from a species of

caterpillar, and from snakes. They carried their arrows in a quiver about four or five inches in diameter, which they made by drawing the bark entire off a piece of wood, then plastering it with some adhesive substance, and fitting a bottom and a cap to it of serpents' skin. The arrow was formidable solely on account of the poison, as it could not be projected with accuracy to any great distance, and had but little force. In after years the colonists always considered their clothing ample protection at fifty yards distance. The Bushmen made pits for entrapping game, and also poisoned pools of water, so that any animal drinking of it perished.

The stone implements which they used were, with one exception, all natural chips or flakes, and received at their hands very little finishing and no polish. Of bone and horn both they and the Hottentots made their knives, scrapers, awls for piercing skins, and arrowheads. It would appear as if it were only when a supply of these failed, that the Bushmen had recourse to stone flakes. Certain it is that stone was not generally used for any of these purposes when Europeans first came in contact with them, nor are implements made of it found in any of their caves, though chipped stone arrowheads and knives have been picked up in great abundance in certain localities. The one stone implement which the Bushman was found using was a heavy knob, employed to give weight to the stick with which he turned up the ground so as to reach the bulbs of plants. It was one of the round stones, from four to six inches in diameter, which are found in great abundance in most parts of the country. Through the centre of this the Bushwoman drilled a hole large enough to receive the stick used in digging. With the tools at her disposal, this must have been a work requiring a long period of time and a vast amount of patience, so that a stone when drilled undoubtedly had a very high value in their eyes. On it they depended for food in seasons of intense drought, when all the game had fled from their part of the country.

The Bushmen wore few ornaments. Their clothing usually consisted of a kaross only, if we except a belt which the poor wretches used to assuage the pangs of hunger by tightening. They rubbed their bodies over with fat and clay or ashes, which made them even more hideous in appearance than they were naturally. When he expected to meet an enemy, the Bushman fastened his arrows in an erect position round his head, so as to have them in readiness for action, and at the same time to make himself appear as formidable as possible.

They lived in small societies, often consisting of only a couple of families. They have been uniformly described by travellers and colonists as passionate and cruel in the extreme. Numerous instances have been recorded of their sacrificing human life, even that of their near kindred, on very slight provocation. But it would appear that their ferocity was a result of their mode of life rather than an inherent quality, for some of those who have been domesticated for a time in Christian households have shown themselves humane and tenderhearted, especially towards children and animals. They

do not appear to have understood what quarter in battle meant, for when surrounded so that all hope of escape was gone, they fought till their last man fell, and they never spared an enemy who was in their power. Their manner of living was such as to develop only qualities essential to a hunter. In keenness of vision and fleetness of foot they were unsurpassed, they could travel immense distances without taking rest, and yet their frames were so feeble as to be incapable of any other kind of labour.

They possessed an intense love of liberty and of their wild wandering way of life. Hereditary chieftainship and law were to them quite unknown. It sometimes happened that the bravest or most expert of a party became a sort of leader in predatory excursions, but his authority never extended to the exercise of judicial control. Each man was absolutely and entirely independent of every other. Even parental authority was commonly disregarded by a youth as soon as he could provide for his own wants. Yet the head of a family appears to have held a position of somewhat greater dignity than that of other persons, and the rights of families to tracts of country were recognized as hereditary. Thus, in this state of society the most exalted personage was a patriarch without power or authority.

They reared no domestic animal except the dog, and had no fixed residence. Their wanderings were indeed limited, as they required to be minutely acquainted with the natural features of the country in which they hunted, and therefore seldom crossed a range of mountains, but passed their lives in following in a particular district the game upon which they preyed precisely as other carnivora. They were firm believers in charms and witchcraft, but the most observant of travellers could never ascertain that they worshipped anything. It needed an intimate acquaintance with their language and deep research into their traditionary folklore to bring to light the workings of their minds, and to show the nature of their religion. It is only of recent years that any attention has been directed to this subject, and to the present day the results of investigations into their ideas have only been partially published. It is now known that they worshipped the heavenly bodies, and that like the Hottentots they prayed to deceased worthies, but yet did not believe in their own resurrection.

Even in a state of society such as this, the rudiments of trade were to be found. There were individuals who were really more expert than others in mixing poisons and making weapons, or who had the reputation of being skilled in the use of such charms as would cause their wares to be more deadly. These were the most important personages in the community. But their reputation hung on a very slender thread, since a few unlucky shots would be taken as a proof that their charms were powerless. The belief was universal that arrows could be bewitched, so that any which missed the mark two or three times in succession were thrown away as likely always to fail their owners in time of need.

The Bushman language contained five distinct clicks, which were even more frequently used than in Hottentot, and it was besides particularly

disagreeable to a European ear on account of a deep guttural sound proceeding from the throat during its enunciation. It contained no word for any number higher than three, anything beyond this being termed a great many.

In their folklore the Bushmen speak of an ancient race which inhabited the country before themselves. If such a race ever existed, they must have been even more barbarous than those who supplanted them, and this seems almost incredible. It can hardly be supposed that the faintest gleam can be cast upon occurrences of bygone ages through the medium of oral traditions among such a people. In certain localities Bushmen may have supplanted other tribes, and in this manner such tales may have originated in facts.

It is difficult to conceive of man living in a more degraded condition than that of the Bushman. The rearing of cattle by the Hottentot placed him on a much higher level, low as to us even that level may seem. And yet the Bushman was in advance of the other in one respect. He was an artist. On the walls of caverns and the sides of cliffs he drew pictures in profile, rude but true to life, of the various animals with which he was acquainted. The tints were made with different sorts of ochre, a chocolate colour being used when the human form was delineated. In addition to figures of animals and hunting scenes, these paintings sometimes exhibit a number of marks of different shapes, such as squares, circles, and crosses, but often consist of irregular daubs of colour. This has given rise to the supposition that the Bushmen may have been acquainted with the rudiments of hieroglyphic painting, but it seems more likely that these marks were considered merely as ornaments, or they may have been the production of apprentice hands, or possibly were simply tests of the quality of colours. Their capability of withstanding the wear and tear of time is wonderful. There are caves on the margins of rivers in Kaffraria, containing paintings which have been exposed to the action of water during floods for at least a hundred years, and the colours are yet unfaded where the rock has not crumbled away.

The Bushmen of the far interior were probably superior in many respects to those of the country south of the Orange River,—in stature and personal appearance they certainly were,—but the pictures of their outward life, given by intelligent travellers, convey an idea of what must have been the condition of the southern members of the race. CHAPMAN, who was a keen observer and a trustworthy narrator, in his *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, gives a large amount of information concerning these people. The following paragraphs are from his work :—

"During the day we lighted upon a Bushman village of seven or eight huts, consisting of a few forked sticks, about three or four feet long, set up against each

other, covered over with a few handsful of long grass. A small broken earthen pot stood boiling some roots over a fire; a calabash of water, a few tortoise shells for dishes, and the hulls of innumerable bitter melons, lay scattered about, together with a few bones; but the inhabitants, saving one blind old man, had fled, leaving their bows and arrows still hanging on the trees. We also discovered some Bushmen graves, being excavations made in the large antheaps, raised by the white ant. In these the body is placed, and the hill enclosed with strong thorn branches to protect it from the vultures and hyenas."

"To my horror I was doomed to witness what they call the Porrah, or devil's dance, under the influence of which they worked themselves up to such a pitch of excitement, that they fell to the earth as if shot down with a gun, and writhed in agony, foaming at the mouth, till relieved by letting of blood by the use of needles or other sharp instruments. It was a wonder that some who thus fell were not suffocated with the dust the rest raised as they danced in a circle round the fallen, tramping to the time of one, two, three,—one, two, three, &c., and twisting their bodies, arms, or legs, simultaneously at different stages of the dance and music. The men carried fans of gnu-tails in their hands, a plume of black ostrich feathers waved on their foreheads, and a moana seed-pod, which rattled at every tramp, encircled their ankles. The women clapped their hands and stamped loudly to keep time with their voices and the tramping of their husbands."

"From this Bushman I endeavoured to purchase the whole of his worldly possessions, which, like all other Bushmen's, consisted of a bow with quiver, containing about twenty arrows, the blades of which are mostly made of bone, some few being of iron, in the shape of a harpoon, and well plastered with poison. These darts are so arranged in the shafts that they disconnect themselves from the latter on striking an animal, without injury to either. Besides these fatal instruments they carry generally a worn-out spear, a sharpened stick to dig up roots, two pieces of wood with which they make fire by friction, an awl, and a needle, with some medicinal roots, chiefly antidotes for snake-bites, and some surplus poison. The poison is obtained from roots, also from a kind of grub, and sometimes from a species of bulb. One sort is extracted from a species of euphorbia. Besides these, they have several kinds which they keep a profound secret. No antidote is known for these poisons, but they sometimes cure a wound by sucking it out. All these articles are packed together in a sort of knapsack, with a small tortoise-shell for a spoon. Nothing could tempt the Bushboy to dispose of them."

"Having recovered from their panic, a young girl approached our guide, and sprinkled him with a powder made from a red root, repeating some unintelligible words; this, we were informed, was a usual ceremony, which would act as a charm against Porrah, the evil spirit, doing him injury for having brought so great a surprise on his friends. This ceremony being ended, another girl brought a dish of pounded sweet berries for our guide to eat, and several for ourselves, and, this done he had to relate the news, which he did, as is usual, in a sort of rhythm consisting of measured sentences, each containing a certain number of syllables, to which the listeners made one and the same antiphonal response. The news related was addressed to the father of the family only, and then the respective parties greeted each other by clapping hands all round. Bushmen do not exchange this greeting until the news has been told, so that it may be understood from the intelligenc

given whether the errand is peaceful and friendly. No one dare give any information in the absence of the chief or father of the clan, and Bushmen and other natives never expect it, knowing their customs."

"Absurd and disgusting as some of their practices are, there are traits in the character of the Bushmen in these parts which are much to be admired. Degraded as they are in the scale of humanity, and even in the eyes of their superiors among the native races, their morals are in general far in advance of those that obtain among the more civilized Bechuanas. Although they have a plurality of wives, which they also obtain by purchase, there is still love in all their marriages, and courtship among them is a very formal and, in some respects, a rather punctilious affair. When a young Bushman falls in love, he sends his sister to ask permission to pay his addresses; with becoming modesty, the girl holds off in a playful, yet not scornful or repulsive manner, if she likes him. The young man next sends his sister with a spear, or some other trifling article, which she leaves at the door of the girl's home. If this be not returned within the three or four days allowed for consideration, the Bushman takes it for granted that he is accepted, and gathering a number of his friends, he makes a grand hunt, generally killing an elephant or some other large animal, and bringing the whole of the flesh to his intended father-in-law. The family now riot in the abundant supply, and having consumed the flesh and enjoyed themselves with dance and song, send an empty but clean bowl to the young man's friends, who each put in their mite, either an axe or spear, some beads, or trinkets. After this the couple are proclaimed husband and wife, and the man goes to live with his father-in-law for a couple of winters, killing game, and always laying the produce of the chase at his feet as a mark of respect, duty, and gratitude. For the father-in-law a young man always entertains a high regard, but after marriage he shuns his mother-in-law, never perhaps speaking to her again for the whole of his life; and there seems to be a mutual inclination between them to avoid each other. The same feeling exists on the part of the bride towards her father-in-law."

"Our friendly Bushmen, more fortunate than ourselves, are never at a loss at this season to provide a meal with astonishing facility, at a few moments' notice. All the different esculent roots known to them have already sprung out of the moist ground, and meet them at every step. It is true that these are sometimes harsh and unpalatable; still, abiding by the principle that 'what won't kill will help to fill,' they need not starve. Large bull-frogs are plentiful; tortoises are to be found, and turtles are easily taken in the ponds by those who understand the way; birds' nests are robbed, and a few dozen of mice easily killed and strung round their waist on their girdle; and, above all, the successive months direct them to different fields as the various fruits and berries of the locality begin to ripen, and they fare sumptuously for the time. Meat is nevertheless the idol they worship, and for this, of which they are in constant pursuit, they will abandon everything else, and often risk their lives."

"Recovering from their panic, several Bushmen came to see the white men and their waggons, starting at our every movement. The children seemed very fond of their mothers, clinging to their naked and dusty bodies while squatting on the rough stones, actively engaged with hands and feet, amidst clouds of dust, in grubbing amongst the loose limestone for bulbs; these they seemed to find without the aid of their eyes, which were never withdrawn from us, and conveyed to their mouth with

great rapidity, free of pebbles. Covered, as I have said, with dust from their baboon-like employment, they had a truly hideous and diabolical appearance. These wretched creatures informed us very civilly that our cattle were in danger of getting killed by some poisoned stakes they had planted by the water to kill game. Having promised to remove them, we shot for them several gnus and zebras, of which animals we saw many thousands, and they undertook to conduct us to the next water."

NOTE.—The researches of the late Dr. BLEEK into the mythology, language, and traditionary literature of the Bushmen, must cause a modification of opinion not only in regard to that particular people, but to savage races everywhere. The observations made by even the most trustworthy and painstaking travellers are found now to give but a very limited and superficial view of their customs, while they throw little or no light upon the most important features of all,—their habits and power of thought. Dr. BLEEK, in his Report concerning Bushmen Researches printed in May, 1875, and presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of the Governor, states that his manuscript Bushman and English Dictionary contains more than eleven thousand entries,—a startling statement, when it is remembered that these people have always been considered, and probably with truth, as among the very lowest in the scale of humanity. It may be inferred that the entries include words used in several dialects, but the equally astonishing fact is made known, that though only a small portion of the great store of Bushman traditionary lore has been gathered, what has been collected amounts to seven thousand two hundred half pages, a large portion of which has been translated. In his Report, Dr. BLEEK gives an analysis of this valuable collection, which is of itself the most important paper concerning the Bushmen that has yet seen the light. He states that "the most prominent of the mythological figures is that of the mantis, around which a great circle of myths has been formed. Yet it does not seem that he is the object of any worship, or that prayers are addressed to him. The heavenly bodies—the sun, moon, and stars—are, however, prayed to, and thus the Bushmen are clearly to be included among the nations who have attained to sidereal worship." A prayer to the moon, in two versions, another to the sun, also in two versions, and a third to a star, probably to Canopus, are mentioned as included in the collection. Rainmakers, sorcerers, water sprites, and charms, are found, as might have been expected, to figure largely. An attempt is made to explain the origin of the heavenly bodies. Thus, "the Sun, a man from whose armpit brightness proceeded, lived formerly upon earth, but only gave light for a space around his habitation. Some children belonging to the first Bushmen were therefore sent to throw up the sleeping Sun into the sky; since then, he shines all over the earth." The moon was created by a mantis, who threw his shoe into the sky. "The moon is also looked upon as a man who incurs the wrath of the Sun, and is consequently pierced by the latter. This process is repeated until almost the whole of the Moon is cut away, and only one little piece left; which the Moon piteously implores the Sun to spare for his (the Moon's) children. From this little piece, the Moon gradually grows again until it becomes a full moon, when the Sun's stabbing and cutting processes recommence." "A girl of the ancient race wished for a little light, so that the people might see to return home by night. She, therefore, threw wood-ashes into the sky, which became the Milky Way. The same girl, being vexed with her mother

for giving her too little of a certain red edible root, threw up portions of it into the sky, where they became stars.' The belief in the powers of the evil eye, common to all the natives of South Africa, is finely illustrated in the following myth: "A girl when men should not have been looked upon by her for fear of harm to them, saw some people eating together at a rock-rabbit's house of branches. In consequence of this, they and the house, fixed by her looks, became stars in the sky, and are now to be seen there as the Corona Australis." By a race of people such as the Bushmen, human beings and wild beasts are considered to be nearly on an equality. Some animals, indeed, are believed to possess greater spiritual powers than those of man. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that "a most curious feature in Bushman folk-lore is formed by the speeches of various animals, recited in modes of pronouncing Bushman, said to be peculiar to the animals in whose mouths they are placed. It is a remarkable attempt to imitate the shape or position of the mouth of the kind of animal to be represented. Among the Bushman sounds which are hereby affected and often entirely commuted, are principally the clicks. These are either converted into other consonants, as in the language of the tortoise, or into palatals and compound dentals and sibilants, as in the language of the ichneumon, or into clicks otherwise unheard in Bushman, as in the language of the jackal. The moon, and it seems also the hare and the anteater, substitute a most unpronounceable click in place of all others, excepting the lip click. Another animal, the blue crane, differs in its speech from the ordinary Bushman, mainly by the insertion of a tt at the end of the first syllable of almost every word." Childish and absurd as all this may seem, it proves that the Bushmen are possessed of greater powers of thought than they have ever before had credit for. Humanity is therefore indebted to the late Dr. BLEEK and to his sister-in-law, Miss LLOYD, for showing that the lowest race on earth is more elevated than has been hitherto believed. Under ordinary circumstances, the best encouragement that government can give to literary labour is to let it alone, as freedom is crushed by patronage. But there are special circumstances connected with these Bushman records, which make it extremely desirable that means should be provided from the colonial treasury for the publication of the collection already made, and also that the lady whose zeal and industry in this department of science promise a still greater result should be liberally assisted in prosecuting these researches. The labour of collecting traditions and tales from such people as the Bushmen is already enormous: a few years hence all that is not then collected will be lost for ever, as the race is fast dying out. Anything approaching to a complete description of the Bushmen must remain in abeyance until the publication of Dr. BLEEK'S records.

CHAPTER V.

FORMATION OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ESTABLISHMENT AT THE CAPE. 1652 TO 1657.

On the 14th of December, 1651, VAN RIEBECK with his family embarked in the *Dromedaris*, and nine days afterwards the three vessels set sail. A good look out was required to be kept during the passage, as the States were at war with Portugal, and the ships conveying the expedition were not prepared to meet an enemy. It was also believed that Prince RUPERT (who, after the downfall of the royalist party in England, had turned corsair) was cruising somewhere in the Atlantic, and it was considered advisable to avoid making his acquaintance on the high seas. On the 5th of April, 1652, the fleet came in sight of the Cape, and next morning a boat was sent to reconnoitre Table Bay and give notice if any ships were lying there. There were none, and the *Dromedaris* and *Hoop* therefore stood in and dropped their anchors, the *Reiger* remaining outside until the following day. VAN RIEBECK, on the 9th, issued a proclamation, taking formal possession of the country on behalf of the Company; but, at the same time, providing that the natives should be kindly treated. Regulations were made that no one should trust himself among the savages, lest he should be murdered or made captive, and no one, unless specially authorized, should carry on any trade with them, lest the Company should suffer from competition.

VAN RIEBECK lost no time in landing, and immediately commenced the construction of a fort with sod walls. The people under his command consisted of soldiers and sailors, with a few artizans and gardeners. Some tents were pitched on shore, and a large wooden shed, which had been brought from Holland, was erected to serve as a storehouse; but most of the workmen were obliged to go on board the ships every evening until huts could be constructed. Their life was one of toil and privation, for it was necessary to run up the walls of the fort as rapidly as possible, and the stock of provisions was already becoming small. The natives were friendly, but were unable or unwilling to supply as many cattle as were required. Two tribes were living in their neighbourhood. One of these possessed nothing but hungry bellies, as the Commander quaintly remarked in his journal; the other was rich in cattle. To the former the Dutch gave the name of beachrangers, the latter they called Saldaniers. These tribes were not on peaceable terms with each other, and quarrels between them are frequently recorded.

As soon as it could conveniently be done, a garden was laid out and planted. It was on a small scale at first, but was gradually enlarged, and plots were laid under wheat and oats. There were fine forests close at hand, from which the timber required for building was procured. The Commander was desirous of employing some of the natives to carry beams to the fort, but they would not engage for any harder work than collecting firewood. Rum and tobacco were the inducements held out as encouragement to labour. Though the Company intended to breed cattle on its own account, it was anticipated that it would not be difficult to purchase large numbers from the natives, and with this view a stock of brass wire, copper bars, and tobacco, was sent out. But it would appear that the demand for these articles had already been met, as far as the Saldaniers were concerned, for in the space of two months only one cow and a calf were procured, though at times ten or twelve thousand head were grazing within sight. The Commander frequently sent out small parties, with samples of goods, to visit tribes at a distance, but these could not be induced at first to part with their stock.

In May two galleots arrived from Holland, bringing fifty workmen and a clergyman named BONKERIAS, who had been appointed chaplain of the settlement. The work of building and planting went on slowly, on account of sickness among the people. On the 3rd of June VAN RIEBECK recorded that out of one hundred and sixteen labourers, fifty-six were laid up with dysentery and fever. Vegetables, such as radishes, lettuce, and cress, were beginning to grow. Ten thousand fish had been caught, of which two thousand were presented to the Hottentots.

On the 6th of June, 1652, Mrs. BONKERIAS had the honour of giving birth to the first European child born in South Africa. The time was one of general gloom, for the miseries of their situation were telling upon the workpeople, and deaths were of frequent occurrence. Nevertheless, the construction of the fort was pushed on, and by the 3rd of August it was so far completed that the whole party could move into it.

The provisions brought from Holland had now become so low in quantity and so bad in quality that great anxiety was expressed by the Commander concerning the means of procuring a supply of food. All that could be done was to pass a resolution to demand assistance from any passing Dutch ships, and to make the most of what they could procure in the country. They had evidently miscalculated the resources of the Cape, before leaving home. The men were not allowed to grumble, for we find one HERMANN VAN VOGELAAR receiving a sentence of one hundred blows with the butt end of a musket, for uttering maledictions upon the purser because he served out penguins instead of pork. Towards the close of the year the distress was partially relieved by the purchase of a few cattle from the natives, though even then the ordinary food of the workmen continued to be penguins and seals' flesh, varied occasionally with fish when they could be caught.

In September, three of the garrison, weary of the hardships they were enduring, resolved upon attempting to travel overland to Mozambique, and thence endeavour to return to Holland. For six days they kept along the beach, living upon shellfish, but at length they found they could go no further, and so returned to the fort in hope of obtaining mercy. Their leader, JAN BLANK, was sentenced to receive a hundred and fifty lashes, to be keelhauled, and to serve as a slave for two years. The others were sentenced to two years penal servitude. These severe punishments were probably not carried out, however, for BLANK is found soon afterwards on his trial for a crime which could only be committed by a free man.

The first extension of territory was made in October, when a small redoubt was built at Salt River for the purpose of protecting a whaling establishment, which was located there. Five soldiers were told off to form a garrison. On the second day of occupation these brave fellows got a sad fright. They fancied they were about to be attacked by a great number of Hottentots who were in sight, and they therefore abandoned the redoubt and made all haste towards the fort, pursued by seven or eight natives. A party was at once despatched to rescue them, when it was discovered that the pursuers were the wives of Hottentots who were living in friendship close to the fort, and that their object in seeking an interview with the Dutchmen was to beg for tobacco and bread.

The remainder of the year was occupied in attending to the gardens and trafficking with the natives. The medium of communication between the different races was one HARRY, a Hottentot, who had been to Bantam in an English ship, and who spoke English sufficiently well to make himself useful as an interpreter. The *Hoop* had been sent to explore the coast to the northward, to trade with the natives, and to place marks of possession on account of the Company wherever she touched, so as to exclude foreigners. She returned in November, having visited Saldanha and St. Helena bays. It had not been found possible to obtain anything in barter, but the crew had killed two thousand seven hundred seals, and preserved their skins. The captain reported that he had found a French vessel taking seals on the coast.

A great amount of trouble was given to the Commander by the bad conduct of some of his men, thefts and other crimes having become of common occurrence. It must be remembered that these men were all servants of the Company, and under military law; that they had no voice whatever in the formation of regulations; that no prospect of personal profit was then held out to them; and that they had been suffering great hardships; so that it would have been surprising had no irregularities existed. But some of the crimes committed were considered to be of so serious a nature that it became necessary to make an example, and accordingly a public executioner was appointed, and one of the worst characters suffered the extreme penalty of the law.

VAN RIEBECK's journal, in which he entered minutely all that transpired, has fortunately been preserved, and though the events recorded therein are very petty, it is interesting on account of the vivid pictures of the transactions of himself and his party which it presents.

In this journal nothing is mentioned of any attempt to improve the condition of the natives. JANSZ and PROOT, in their memorial to the Chamber of Seventeen, had given as one reason for building a fort at the Cape of Good Hope, that Christianity might be propagated; but the purely mercantile association that formed the settlement had no such object in view. VAN RIEBECK seems never to have thought of any thing of the kind. He was at first anxious not to offend the natives, because that might prevent them from bringing cattle for sale. But when he found that, with all his efforts, only a few head could be obtained, he made a proposal to the Directors to seize a herd by force, and to entrap the owners into his power, so as to make use of them as slaves. Fortunately for the Hottentots, the law of Holland declared that the aborigines of its colonial possessions should be undisturbed in their liberty, that they should be governed in the same manner as Europeans, and enjoy the same measure of justice. The Cape was certainly not considered a colony, in the sense in which the word is now used, but its inhabitants were classed with those who could not be enslaved. The Commander was not permitted to use his own discretion in dealing with them; but was bound down by minute instructions from the Chamber of Seventeen, so that their liberty was for a time respected.

On the 1st of January, 1653, the first cabbage was cut, and by that time other vegetables were tolerably plentiful. A small quantity of butter was also made, and the officers had a sufficiency of fresh meat. The first wheat grown at the Cape was reaped in January, and was found to be large and full. In this month the yacht *Hoop* returned from her second voyage to Saldanha Bay, with fifteen hundred seal skins. Meanwhile intelligence was received that war had broken out between the Netherlands and England, and in consequence thereof every exertion was made to get the settlement into a condition for defence. Lions were very numerous, and bold in their attempts to enter the fort to get at the sheep, but the walls proved too high for them.

The vegetables obtained from the garden were soon consumed, and famine again threatened the garrison. Some of the men entered into a plot to make their escape in one of the galleots, but the conspiracy was detected in time to prevent its execution. At length a fleet of five galleots returning from India called at the Cape, greatly to the joy of the garrison, for the very day on which they entered the last ration of bread was issued. From these ships supplies were obtained, sufficient to last until abundance could be drawn from the gardens. These had already been planted on such a scale as to meet the demands of the next outward bound fleet, in addition to their own requirements.

The fleet sailed on the 15th of April, taking despatches from VAN RIEBECK to the Chamber of Seventeen, in which he stated that the settlement was in a tolerable state for defence, in case of an attack by the English. He recommended the employment of slaves to hunt seals and collect salt, stated that they had already begun to enclose their fields and pastures with a ditch, explained what goods were required for trade with the natives, informed the Chamber that only two vessels had called at the Cape between May, 1652, and the date of the arrival of the fleet, and wound up by requesting that he might be transferred to India, where, he thought, he could make better use of his talents.

Better prospects were now dawning on the settlement. The report that copper was to be obtained there had found its way to tribes at a distance, and some of these came with cattle for sale. The Commander was enabled to make very satisfactory bargains with them, than which hardly anything could have pleased him more. About this time some oxen were trained to draw timber, which lightened the labour of the men considerably.

In July three galleots arrived from the Netherlands, and were supplied with fresh meat and vegetables. They were the first to benefit by the Company's establishment in South Africa. JACOB RYNIERZ, who had been appointed second in command to VAN RIEBECK, arrived in one of them.

A galleot was sent to Saldanha Bay for the purpose of endeavouring to open a trade in cattle with the natives. Very little success was met with, however, as the Hottentots of those parts were mostly of the beachranger class. A French ship was found there, which had been engaged in the capture of seals for some six months. On receipt of this intelligence at the fort, the spirit of monopoly which governed all the Company's proceedings in South Africa was at once manifested. An express was sent to the officers of the galleot, instructing them to entice as many as possible of the French sailors to desert, so as "to distress the ship on her homeward voyage, and destroy the inclination of her masters to come here again." Four of the French seamen were secured, but they had been put on shore and abandoned by their captain for complaining of the quality of their food.

By supplying the ships that called in July, and the consumption of the garrison, the number of cattle was reduced to forty-four head, and on the 19th of October, while the Dutch were attending Divine service, the beachrangers, with HARRY the interpreter, murdered the European herd, and absconded with forty-two of these. Pursuing parties were at once sent out, but to no purpose. This was a very serious loss, for, independent of furnishing meat, the oxen had been trained to draw a waggon, and the cows were supplying milk and butter. It was hoped, however, that the loss would soon be made good by barter, and, in the meantime, two horses, which had been brought in one of the ships from Batavia, were to be used in place of the oxen to draw timber. Information having been given by some Saldaniers as to where the beachrangers were encamped,

a corporal and seventeen soldiers were sent to retake the cattle and apprehend the robbers. They came in sight of them, but succeeded in recapturing only one cow, as the beachrangers were too fleet of foot to be overtaken. This is the first hostile expedition on record, sent by the government against natives of South Africa. It is noteworthy that it originated in theft of cattle, the cause of so much bloodshed subsequently.

At this time there was abundance of vegetables in the garden, enough for the return fleet. Elephants, hippopotami, rhinoceroses, and many kinds of antelopes, were plentiful in the neighbourhood of the encampment, though they were not often killed. The Europeans had not yet learnt to be expert hunters.

In December two ships arrived from the Texel with their crews suffering from scurvy. They were supplied with vegetables and three oxen. Of late it had become very difficult to obtain cattle, as the Saldaniers were apprehensive that the theft by the beachrangers would be retaliated upon them, and therefore kept at a greater distance from the fort than before. Every exertion was made to restore confidence, but it was some time before they could be induced to dispel their fears.

The year 1654 commenced gloomily. Animal food was so scarce that the men had hardly strength to perform the labour required of them. Penguins and other seabirds constituted the principal supply. The Commander has placed on record that a dead baboon, as large as a small calf, having been found on the mountain side, was eaten by the people from very hunger, so little nourishment was there in their ordinary diet of potherbs. The journal for some time is little else than a record of interviews with parties of Hottentots who would not sell their cattle, and of complaints of the audacity with which the natives committed petty thefts.

The 6th of April, being the second anniversary of the landing, was set apart as a day of thanksgiving to God for His protection and for the success which had been attained. That success indeed does not seem to have been great, but it was proportionate to the means which had been taken to ensure it. It speaks well for the little band of Hollanders who, without being aware of it themselves, were founding a Christian State, that in the midst of no common distress they could thank their God for the care He had taken of them. Were they in earnest, or was this hypocrisy? When side by side with expressions of gratitude to the Creator are found schemes for robbing and enslaving natives, the genuineness of their religion may be questioned. But two centuries and a quarter have rolled by since then, and men's minds have been greatly enlightened during that period. In the seventeenth century the slave trade was not deemed a crime, and savages had practically no rights. VAN RIEBEEK and his people were certainly not in advance of their age in liberal ideas, but they were probably sincere in their profession of what they understood to be Christianity.

Another day of thanksgiving was kept three months afterwards. On this occasion it was to thank the Almighty for sending relief in the time of utmost need. Two vessels, one from St. Helena, the other from Batavia, had arrived with provisions, principally rice.

In August a vessel brought information that peace had been proclaimed with the republic of England, which relieved the garrison from the apprehension of being attacked by English ships.

Though proclamations were repeatedly issued against unauthorised trade with the natives, and severe penalties were attached to their infringement, an illicit traffic was constantly carried on. The men bought ivory, rhinoceros horns, ostrich eggs, and tortoise shells, for which they paid in copper and tobacco. The amount of business done in this way must have been very small indeed, though the Commander was of opinion that it was sufficient to destroy the cattle trade. He could not otherwise imagine why it was that only now and then a miserably lean beast was brought for sale.

The year 1655 opened with fresh troubles. Up to this time the natives in the neighbourhood had imagined that the stay of the Dutch would be only temporary, but now they began to see that there was an intention to occupy the country permanently, and this they seemed inclined to prevent. Every thing that was exposed was instantly stolen, and threatening language was frequently heard. The garrison lived in constant dread of being attacked. The men were divided into three parties, one of which mounted guard every third night. They did not venture to go to their work in the gardens and in the forests without being armed, and the utmost vigilance was constantly maintained. Owing to these precautions, probably, a collision was averted for the time.

In March an exploring party of seven volunteers, under command of J. WINTERVOGEL, was sent inland to learn something of the natives, and to seek for precious metals. WINTERVOGEL had been an explorer in Brasil, where he had aided in discovering the silver mine of Chiera. The party was provisioned for three weeks, and took six pounds of tobacco, six pounds of copper, and some beads, as samples of goods to be obtained at the fort. After proceeding some distance to the northward, they encountered a party of Bushmen, entirely savage, without huts, cattle, or any thing in the world, and a great many small tribes of Hottentots, who treated them with the greatest kindness. Similar parties were shortly afterwards sent on journeys of discovery. At that time absolutely nothing was known of the interior. The existence of a great city somewhere to the north-east was believed in, and many efforts were made to find it, as it was considered probable that its trade could be secured. It was even thought possible to divert the commerce of Benguela overland to the Cape, in which case a rich return was anticipated for the expenses incurred by the establishment of the fort. Such illusions as this were not dispelled until after the lapse of several years.

In April the Commander informed the Chamber of Seventeen that the garrison consisted of from one hundred to one hundred and ten men. The Directors had instructed him to seize and punish only the actual murderer of the herd that was killed in October, 1653, and to take no more from the robbers than the exact number of cattle stolen. VAN RIEBEECK was too faithful a servant not to obey in spirit as well as in letter the orders of his superiors; but he still attempted to argue them into allowing him to seize a tribe for slaves, and a herd of cattle for the use of the Company. He said that it would be impossible to find out the actual murderer, and that as much irritation and hostility would be occasioned by seizing only as many cattle as had been stolen as if all the Hottentots possessed were at once taken. The experiment had been made of enticing a great number into the fort at one time, and of getting them all intoxicated. It had succeeded, and could be easily repeated. The men could then be used as slaves, and be fed on seals' flesh. The women and children could be sent to Batavia and sold there. The Company would thus acquire slaves, money, and a good stock of breeding cattle, with very little trouble and only the expense of a few gallons of rum. But the seizure must be on a large scale, because it could not be repeated. He anticipated that those not captured would flee so far away that they could not easily be reached again.

In June, to the great surprise of the garrison, HARRY made his appearance at the fort, and brought with him a company of strange natives with cattle for sale. He denied having had anything to do with the murder of the herd or the theft of the Company's cattle, and as it was to the Commander's advantage to be reconciled to him, he was admitted to grace, and taken into favour again. Through the exertions which he made to testify the sincerity of his attachment to the Dutch, sixty-seven head of cattle and a dozen sheep were obtained in a few days, and barter went on briskly for some time afterwards.

In September a decked boat of sixteen or seventeen tons, which had been built near the fort, was launched, and named the *Robbejacht*. She was intended to be employed in the capture of seals. A great number of seal skins had been exported to the Netherlands by this time, and hopes of large returns were entertained; but the skins were found, on arrival, to be of an inferior description.

A source of trouble to VAN RIEBEECK was the occasional visit of an English ship. The captains of these vessels insisted on being provided with fresh provisions, or being permitted to trade with the natives on their own account. The peace of 1654 had cost the Company a large sum of money, which CROMWELL demanded for damage done to English trade and shipping. The shipmasters, holding commissions from the Protector, would not be trifled with, and the Commander was compelled to make a virtue of necessity and supply their needs, though he did it grudgingly, and always expressed his joy on their departure. A French fleet of four vessels of war, which

called at the Cape, was also provided with fresh meat, to prevent the crews from helping themselves to what they wanted.

The despatches at this period are largely occupied with discussions concerning the feasibility of converting the Cape promontory into an island, by cutting a canal across the isthmus. It would appear that this scheme was first proposed by the Councillor of the Indies RYKLOFF VAN GOENS, and was seriously entertained by the Company. If it were possible to effect this, they deemed that the island could be held in safety, and would afford ample space for all the garden ground and pasture land they would require. But on inspection, it was found that it would cost millions of money, and the plan was therefore abandoned. VAN RIEBECK proposed to compass the same end by constructing a line of forts across the isthmus, and this was resolved upon, though never carried out. It has been seen that native rights in the soil and dominion over it were disregarded by the occupation without consent of the land on which Cape Town is now built, but there seems to have been a genuine wish on the part of the Directors to intrude no further than was necessary for their requirements. It is indeed probable that if the Hottentots had bartered their cattle more freely, so as always to have kept up an unlimited supply of fresh meat for the use of the ships, the isthmus would long have remained the limit of the Dutch occupation. In that case the Company would have seen that by taking possession of the land beyond, nothing could be gained to compensate for the hostility which such an encroachment must occasion.

VAN RIEBECK had noticed that the wind often blows violently in Table valley when it is quite calm beyond the mountains, and he was of opinion that wheat would thrive better out of the range of the gales. As an experiment, in May, 1656, a plot of land at Rondebosch was taken possession of and converted into a farm. Some wheat, rice, and oats were sown in a sheltered spot where they were likely to flourish, and a small guardhouse with sod walls and thatched roof was built for the accommodation of the cultivators and a couple of soldiers. With such facility could new domains be annexed in those days, that the outpost, thus defended, was regarded as secure. A small kraal of natives was found there, and when they were requested to move away they scowled, but did not hesitate to comply. They could hardly have acted otherwise, for a European with a musket must have been to them what a lion is to a pack of jackals. The farm at Rondebosch was a pattern in more than one respect of what South African farms in general were to be for a couple of hundred years to come. It was acquired in the same manner: the original proprietors—henceforth to be considered as intruders—retiring with scowling brows, and muttering threats as the European took possession. One acre was the extent of the ploughed land in the centre of a thousand reserved for pasturage, and the sod house was a model for a frontier residence, on which little improvement was made as long as the Netherlands East India Company remained the governing power of the country.

About this time a sort of treaty was entered into with the Saldaniers about the fort, that whenever anything was stolen by them, their cattle should be seized and detained until restitution was made and the thief punished. It was more difficult to deal with the beachrangers, who were expert thieves, and who possessed nothing that could be taken from them in return. The soldiers and labourers were therefore instructed to keep a watchful eye upon the movements of these people, and to back up the order, they were held responsible for the safe custody of all the weapons and implements which they used. If anything entrusted to their care was stolen, its value was deducted from their pay, and they were liable besides to corporal punishment.

The Cape had now been more than four years in possession of the East India Company, and had already been of advantage to its ships. On the whole, the settlement had been prosperous. It is true, on some occasions it had been reduced to the brink of starvation, but relief had always in one form or other appeared when it was most needed. The natives, though evincing unfriendly feelings, and even giving utterance to threats when they found the strangers occupying and claiming permanent possession of the soil, had never dared openly to attack them, and, indeed, the Dutch possessed weapons which placed them at such an immeasurable distance above savages, that they had no reason to fear a contest. Sickness had prevailed at times, and many of their number had died; but now that provisions were plentiful and wholesome, they were healthy enough. Wild animals infested the country to an almost incredible extent; but by night the walls of their fortress, and by day their trusty muskets, defended them from these. The territory actually under the dominion of VAN RIEBEECK at this time extended no further in any direction than five miles from the fort.

The great Company which owned and ruled the settlement was now at the height of its power. The most valuable portions of the Indies belonged to it,—if we except the island of Ceylon and the coast of Coromandel, which it did not succeed in wresting from the Portuguese till 1658. It had become an object of the first importance to maintain the settlement at the Cape, and to extend it so as to meet the requirements of the ships which now, in greater numbers than ever, were expected to pass to and from the Indian seas. It was believed that this object could be attained more easily by making use of a class of men who were hereafter termed free burghers, than by paid servants of the Company. The design was merely to fill up a few square miles in the Cape peninsula with people who would produce grain and garden stuff at a cheap rate; but it opened South Africa to European colonization.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE GRANTING OF LAND TO FREE BURGHERS TO THE PURCHASE OF TERRITORY FROM HOTTENTOT CHIEFS. 1657 TO 1672.

Principal Subjects:—Regulations regarding Free Burghers and Natives.—Importation of Slaves.—First War with Hottentots.—Proclamation regarding Religious Services. Introduction of Young Women from Holland.—Dismissal of Governor Van Quaelberg for supplying foreign ships with provisions.—Occupation of Hottentots' Holland. —Purchase of Territory from Hottentot Chiefs.

Governors:—JOHAN ANTHONIE VAN RIEBEECK,

ZACHARIAS WAGENAAR,	May 9, 1662.
CORNELIS VAN QUAELBERG,	Oct. 24, 1666.
JACOB BORGHORST,	June 18, 1668.
PETER HACKIUS,	June 2, 1670.
CONRAAD VAN BREITENBACH,	Dec. 1, 1671.
ALBERT VAN BRENGEL,	March 23, 1672.

As early as 1655 the Chamber of Seventeen had decided upon locating Europeans on small farms in the neighbourhood of the fort, and had authorized VAN RIEBEECK to discharge from service as many soldiers and sailors as would engage to remain in South Africa for ten years. Their idea was virtually to retain these men in their employment, but to pay them in proportion to the amount of work done instead of by monthly wages. It was not until February, 1657, that the Commander was in a position to carry out these instructions. Ten men were then released, and ground to cultivate was allotted to them, subject to such regulations as should be made by the Commissioner RYKLOFF VAN GOENS, who was shortly expected. These free burghers must be considered the first South African colonists, in the ordinary sense of the word.

In the following month, VAN GOENS, who held the rank of Councillor Extraordinary of the Indies and Commander of the outward bound fleet, arrived at the Cape. As was the custom, he assumed command during his stay, on account of being VAN RIEBEECK's superior officer. The instructions which he issued had for their primary object the reduction of expenditure. In the first place, the Commander was directed to retain in service only one hundred salaried servants. Second, to employ these only on the most indispensable works, such as raising vegetables and grain. Third, to encourage free burghers until their number became so great that the salaried servants could be reduced to seventy, of whom fifty were to be soldiers for the defence of the fort and the protection of cultivators.

The principal regulations with regard to free burghers were:—They were to be governed by such laws and enactments as were in force in the Netherlands and in the Indies, or such as should thereafter be set forth in placaats or otherwise. After three years occupation they were to be entitled in full possession to all land which they had placed under cultivation. They were not to cultivate tobacco, without special permission. They were not to buy cattle, except with copper and tobacco obtained from the Company; they were not to give more for them than the Company gave; and they were not to sell anything except to the Company, with this reservation, that three days after the arrival of a Dutch ship they might sell to her crew any produce which the Company did not require. On no account were they to supply a foreign ship with anything. They were to pay to the Company for protection one tenth of all the produce of their land.

With regard to the natives, the Commissioner's instructions were, that if any of them did the settlers serious harm, those suspected should be seized and placed upon Robben Island until they pointed out the offenders, when they should be released, and the guilty persons banished to the island for two or three years. If a native should murder a settler, no blood was to be shed, without further orders from the Chamber of Seventeen, unless the murderer was certainly known. With the chief's concurrence he should then be put to death, having the execution performed, if possible, by the natives themselves. As a general rule, every means should be tried to gain their good will.

Landmarks with the Company's arms upon them were to be placed on Dassen Island and on the north side of Saldanha Bay. The Company's charter was to be understood as unlimited over sea and land, east, north, and south. Another great Mercantile Association of the Netherlands,—the West India Company,—enjoyed the exclusive right of trading in all seas and lands westward of the Cape of Good Hope; and as its charter could not be infringed upon, the word "west" was not added.

These regulations and instructions were issued at the fort of Good Hope on the 16th of April, 1657.

The European population consisted at that time of one hundred and thirty-four souls, viz., one hundred salaried servants of the Company, ten free burghers, six married women, twelve children, and six convicts. There were in the settlement three male and seven female slaves. They had six horses fit for work, and were well stocked with horned cattle and sheep.

As the free burghers possessed nothing, the Company supplied them with agricultural implements, seed, cattle, and food, together with muskets and ammunition for their defence, all of which was charged to their debit, and which they undertook to pay for in produce of the land. In the course of the year about fifty men were discharged and became farmers on these terms, all of them being located within a few miles of the fort.

The class of men introduced into South Africa in this manner was neither then nor at any subsequent period that of which a prosperous and independent community is formed. The sailors and soldiers of the Company were not such men as had followed gallant BARENDZ to the polar seas or heroic HEEMSKERK in his glorious career. The republic had barely sufficient of these to serve her at home, and had there been myriads of them, the Company's service was the last employment to which they would have devoted themselves. For that service,—in its lowest branches,—had acquired a most disreputable name in Europe. A scarcity of seamen had first caused the Company to make use of a set of wretches whom they termed agents, but who were known to every one else by the odious designation of kidnappers. These persons were constantly busy endeavouring to entice the unwary and vagabonds of all the countries of Western Europe into the service of their employers. The Company paid them two months' wages in advance for each individual they ensnared, which amount was afterwards deducted from the pay of the victim. In this manner was gathered together a motley crew of spendthrifts, vagabonds, and simpletons, the very refuse of Europe. Yet among them were to be found men who had once moved in the higher circles of society, but who now, by their crimes or their misfortunes, were reduced to the general level of their associates. This system, once commenced, could not be changed. To keep in subjection a number of men like these, rendered desperate by the circumstances in which they were placed, a discipline so severe was necessary and was carried out with such determination, that no good seaman or soldier would enter the service. Cause and effect were thus continually reacting on each other. It is not surprising that men, to free themselves from such a life, should be found willing to accept grants of land in South Africa on the terms prescribed by Commissioner VAN GOENS, and it is still less surprising that in general they made very unruly and improvident citizens.

By the assistance of a hundred men who were sent ashore from the ships, a wooden jetty, which had been commenced some time before, was now completed so far as to be of great utility. Previous to this, everything landed or shipped had to be carried through the surf.

In March, 1658, one hundred and seventy Angola slaves, mostly young boys and girls, were landed at the Cape, having been taken from a Portuguese slave ship captured at sea. The number was increased soon after by the arrival from Guinea of one of the Company's own slavers, with two hundred and twenty-eight on board, of whom one hundred and twenty-six were retained in the settlement, and the remainder sent to Batavia. The introduction of this class of people was a grave political as well as moral error. Its effects were soon apparent in fostering a feeling of pride among the Europeans, which made them despise manual labour of any kind. The development of the agricultural resources of the country was thus in fact retarded. The burghers were supplied with slaves on credit, and much of

the Company's work was also performed by them. They were fed principally on seals' flesh, and were subject to severe punishments for any offences. Many attempted to escape, but were brought back by the Hottentots, who detested them, and who received rewards for their capture.

In April the old interpreter HARRY, who had always been considered a rogue by VAN RIEBECK, was seized, and sent as a prisoner to Robben Island. His cattle were taken possession of by the Company. A niece of his, called EVA by the Dutch, was now the principal interpreter, and there was another in the person of one DAMON, who had been to Batavia with the squadron of VAN GOENS. Many of the Hottentots living near the fort had by this time acquired such a knowledge of the Dutch language as to render the employment of an interpreter unnecessary. The seizure of HARRY was not resented by his countrymen, as he appears to have been disliked by all, on account of playing first into the hands of one party and then of the other.

In May an order was issued that the burghers were no longer to purchase cattle from the natives, but must buy such as they required from the Company. They were not to buy cattle, sheep, or pigs, from each other, without first obtaining the consent of the Commander.

It was ascertained that the crime of sheepstealing, which had of late been prevalent, and which was attributed to the Hottentots alone, had been committed by some burghers. Four of them were convicted and sentenced to the following punishments: the ringleader to be flogged and to serve sixteen years in chains, two others to serve six years in chains, and the fourth to serve five years; the culprits to stand for a time as a public spectacle, with sheepskins upon their heads and shoulders; and the whole of their property to be confiscated.

With the outward-bound fleet of this year half an aum of Cape ale was sent to Batavia as a sample. Beer was considered of such importance in the early days of the settlement that a few years after this the Company sent out one JACOB LOUWEN, from Deventer in the Netherlands, to introduce the most approved method of brewing.

For some time past everything had been going on smoothly. Farming operations had been gradually extended; wheat, oats, rye, and barley, were giving large returns, maize, brought first to South Africa from the coast of Guinea, was yielding well, European and Indian fruit trees had been imported, small vineyards had been laid out, and even European flowers had been introduced. But as the cultivated lands extended, the jealousies of the natives increased. They saw themselves being rapidly deprived of their pasturage, for the Dutch no longer permitted their cattle to graze within the settlement, on the plea that there was not sufficient grass there for both. As each tribe had its own territory, those in the immediate vicinity of the Cape saw the danger they were in of losing with their land their only means of existence—their cattle, and early in the year 1659 they made an attempt to recover possession of their ancient domains. They thought that by depriving the settlers of their cattle, they

could force them to leave the country, and, accordingly, they commenced stock lifting on a most extensive scale. They did not molest the persons of the settlers, except when resistance was made to their driving away cattle; but in a few months they brought the settlement to the very verge of ruin.

Their triumph was of short duration. The Dutch were speedily reinforced from ships that called, they were supplied with horses and even hounds,—animals that caused great terror to their enemies,—the freemen were well armed, and rewards were offered for the capture of Hottentots alive and for their dead bodies. Some petty skirmishes were fought, in which the Europeans with their firearms were of course invariably successful; and the natives, finding it hopeless to carry on the struggle, were compelled to submit. The Dutch had lost only two men killed, though several had been wounded.

On the 6th of April, 1660, a conference took place at the fort between the chiefs of the Cape tribes and the Dutch authorities. The chiefs had come to solicit peace. They dwelt long upon the burghers taking every day for their own use more of the land, which had been theirs from all ages, and on which their cattle pastured. They did not object to the Dutch occupying the fort, but to their taking the best land, without once asking whether the owners liked it, or whether it would put them to any inconvenience. They therefore insisted on being allowed free access to the pasture. In reply they were told that there was not sufficient grass for the burghers' cattle and theirs, and that this condition could not be acceded to. They said: "Have we then no cause to prevent your getting cattle? for if you get many, you come and occupy our pasture with them, and then say the land is not wide enough for both of us. Who, in justice, ought to give way, the natural owner or the foreign invader?" They insisted much on their right of property, and on being permitted to gather the bitter almonds and roots which grew abundantly in the parts occupied by the Dutch. This could not be acceded to, says VAN RIEBEECK, because it would give them opportunities of injuring the colonists, and, besides, the bitter almonds were required for a hedge which it was projected to plant round the settlement. As they insisted on this point, they were told that they had lost the land in war, and must expect to be entirely deprived of it. The Dutch had won it, and intended to retain it. They complained of the ill treatment they had experienced from some of the colonists, who had beaten them, stolen sheep and calves from them, and even taken beads and bracelets from them to give to the slaves, which conduct, they said, was of itself sufficient cause for the war. They were told in reply that redress could always be obtained for grievances of this nature, by reporting the circumstances to the Dutch authorities. Terms of peace were then decided on: the Dutch to keep the land they occupied, and point out roads which the natives could take in passing to and from the fort, as well as boundaries which they were not to cross. Natives who

molested colonists were to be punished by their chiefs, colonists who molested natives to be punished by the Dutch authorities.

Through the disturbed state of the country, many of the burghers were once more reduced to absolute want, and some of them, despairing of being able to improve their condition as farmers, abandoned that occupation and returned to their former employment as sailors or soldiers.

While hostilities were being carried on, a conspiracy was discovered, the object of which was believed to be the surprise of the fort, massacre of the garrison, and seizure of a galleot, in which the conspirators intended to make their escape. The motley character of the Company's servants is shown by the fact that four English and four Scotch soldiers, three Dutch labourers, one black convict, and fifteen slaves, were engaged in the plot. The ringleaders were sent to Batavia for trial.

A French ship, bound to St. Augustine Bay, Madagascar, put into Table Bay in hope of obtaining refreshment. In a gale she was driven from her anchors, and grounded near Salt River. There was a bishop of the Latin church on board, besides some officers of rank in the French service, and one hundred and eighty men. They were all compelled to surrender their arms and to keep within certain limits which were assigned to them, until, by the earliest opportunity, they were sent away. While they were landing, a proclamation was issued by the Commander, that no religious services except those of the Dutch Reformed Church would be permitted within the settlement. For one hundred and twenty years this law was maintained inviolable, and during the whole period of the East India Company's government, no other services could be held without special permission.

After the conclusion of peace, the trade in cattle became brisk again, and commercial relations were opened up with new and distant tribes. From this time VAN RIEBECK experienced greater difficulty in his relations with the burghers than with the natives. These men soon found out that their position was little better than that of hired servants. They were prohibited from trading with the natives or with each other, everything they required had to be purchased from the Company, and every thing they had to dispose of they were compelled to sell to the Company, at its own price. The attainment of independence under such circumstances was impossible. They petitioned the Chamber of Seventeen for greater liberty; but VAN RIEBECK was informed that he should have torn their petition to pieces in front of them, as it was full of sedition and mutiny. Debarred from trading openly, they carried on a clandestine traffic with the natives, and encouraged them to steal whatever they could lay their hands on, they purchasing the stolen property. There was thus great discontent and little order in the settlement.

VAN RIEBECK had frequently requested to be transferred to some other sphere of action, and at length the Batavian government appointed a successor, who arrived and took over the reins of government in May, 1662.

The Chamber of Seventeen had always charged VAN RIEBECK to be just and kind in his treatment of the natives, and had even suggested the purchase of land from them. He appears to have carried out in good faith any positive orders, yet he introduced a system that in course of time left no native an inch of land in the country of his ancestors, for he gave the free burghers leave to depasture their cattle wherever they chose. In his time they were few in number, and dared not go far from the fort; but this liberty begat a spirit of aggression on the one hand and a feeling of hatred on the other, that has only recently died out. He left the settlement at peace with its neighbours, with encouraging prospects as far as the Company's trade was concerned, with a considerable extent of ground under cultivation, and with a good stock of cattle. One of his sons, born at the Cape, rose in after years to the rank of Governor-General of the Netherlands' Indies.

Commander WAGENAAR was not satisfied with his quarters at the fort, and, soon after his arrival, sent a request to the Directors to supply him with some glass for the windows of his apartments, calico having previously been used for that purpose. He wished also for some common paintings or illuminated plans of some of the chief cities of the Netherlands, to cover the bare walls of his front hall, which was likewise used as a place of worship. Further, he was in want of some spoons and earthenware dishes, as, he observed, he felt ashamed when visitors from the ships called on him, to see the garrison eating their food with shells, or dipping their hands into the pots in which it was cooked. So primitive was the style of living in government house at the Cape of Good Hope, in the year of grace 1662. The Directors, in their reply, promised him some window-glass, but took no notice of his other wants.

In 1663 one GEORGE FREDERICK WREEDE, a student and native of Brunswick, who had been resident in the settlement since 1659, and had acquired some knowledge of the Hottentot language, prepared in the Greek character a vocabulary of Dutch and Hottentot words, which he dedicated to the Chamber of Seventeen, requesting that it might be printed, and some copies sent to the Cape. This was done; but the Directors at the same time laid down the precept that the natives should learn the Dutch language rather than the Dutch theirs.

A regulation of this year provided that a schoolmaster, who had been industrious in teaching and catechising both Dutch and black (slave) children, should receive for each of ten Dutch children half a rixdollar per month, the children of Hottentots and baptized slaves to be taught for the love of God. Previous to this, eleven slave children and at least one Hottentot,—the interpretess EVA,—had been baptized. This EVA was in the following year married to one PIETER VAN MEERHOFF, a Danish surgeon, and the Company approved so highly of the match that they bore the expense of the bridal feast, presented the bride with fifty rixdollars, and promoted the bridegroom on the day of his marriage.

In 1665, in consequence of the war between England and the Netherlands, an order was received to increase the garrison at the Cape by three hundred men, who were to be disembarked from the ships. Soon afterwards, an English man-of-war of twelve guns and ninety-five men, ignorant of the war that had broken out, called at Table Bay on her passage home from Surat. An attempt was made to capture her, but she managed to cut her cables and escape.

In August, Commissioner Isbrandt Goske called at the Cape, and assumed the supreme direction of affairs during the period of his stay. He selected the site for a new fortress or castle, which the Company had determined to erect, at a short distance to the eastward of the old fort. In January of the following year the foundation stone was laid.

During Wagenaar's term of government, uninterrupted peace was maintained with the natives. Those residing about the fort had by this time attached themselves to Europeans as dependents, and did any light work in exchange for food and tobacco, but yet resumed occasionally their former style of living as beachrangers. These were made subject to Dutch laws; but the nomadic tribes were left in possession of their ancient rights. A brisk trade in cattle was usually carried on. This commander entertained no great respect for the free burghers, whom he styled lazy and worthless rogues. In his despatches, he remarked that many of them had ceased to work, and had implored to be received back into the Company's service, or at least to be permitted to earn their subsistence in some other way, such as setting up shops near the fort and retailing brandy to the garrison and ships' crews. The greater number of them continued as poor as ever. They were untrustworthy and treasonably inclined. "Aye," said he, "there are among them some who have long wished for the English fleet to come hither and relieve them."

With a view to improve the condition of the burghers and to fix them to the soil, the Chamber of Seventeen determined to send to the Cape a few respectable females and a competent instructor in agriculture. From the Orphan Asylum at Amsterdam they were permitted to select a number of young women, whose prospects in Holland were but poor, and who readily consented to emigrate to a new country where, they were told, wealth and comfort awaited them. They understood, of course, nothing of agricultural work, but it was expected that as farmers' wives they would soon habituate themselves to such duties. Care was taken to provide for their comfort and safety during the passage out, and the Commander was instructed to see to all their wants after arrival, and to make the best possible provision for them. By this measure a character of stability was stamped upon the settlement, which it lacked before. The sailor-farmers who received these young women in marriage now began to look upon South Africa as their home, and endeavoured to gather property about them for the sake of their families. A practical Dutch farmer was also sent out by the Directors, but nothing is now known of his labours.

The advantage of having a secure port of call at the Cape was shown in the case of the *Dordrecht*, the ship in which Commander VAN QUAELBERG arrived. Out of two hundred and ninety-four men who sailed from Holland in that vessel, one hundred and twelve died on the passage. Shortly afterwards another vessel arrived with sixty-two men dead and two hundred and twenty sick, and again another with forty-eight men dead and ninety sick. The island of St. Helena being then in possession of the English, these vessels, with many others, must have been lost, had there not been a place of refreshment between India and the Netherlands.

As it was found impossible to prevent the free burghers from dealing with the natives by any ordinary measures, the Commander issued a proclamation that all Cape sheep in their possession should be delivered to the Company, and that they should keep no other than European or half-bred sheep, so that they might easily be detected should they continue to contravene the law. This was followed by proclamations forbidding all trade and even intercourse between the free burghers and the natives under very severe penalties.

VAN QUAELBERG grievously mistook his position as a servant of the East India Company. On the occasion of a French fleet calling at the Cape, he exchanged civilities with the officers, and supplied the ships with necessaries. For this, he was summarily dismissed from the Company's service, and positive instructions were issued that in future no provisions were to be supplied to foreign ships. They were to be allowed to take in water, and, for the rest, they must float upon their own fins.

During Commander BORGHORST's term of office an outpost was established at Saldanha Bay, on account of the French having erected a beacon there. G. F. WREEDE was appointed Commander of the station. The coasts to the northward and eastward were explored, and search for mines was made by experienced men sent from Holland.

In 1671 a regulation was made providing that male and female slaves could be united as man and wife, but not formally married until baptized and instructed in their mutual obligations. The Company's slaves were to be forced to attend prayers. Children, the offspring of Europeans and slaves, of whom twelve were then at school, were to be instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, and particular care was to be taken that they were not alienated so as to remain in constant slavery, but that they might in due time enjoy the freedom to which in the right of the father they were born.

In the same year Commissioner VAN DER BRONCK, having called at the Cape, removed some of the restrictions under which the burghers were placed, and, according to the opinion of the Chamber of Seventeen, any of the inhabitants who chose to pull their hands out of their pockets could now procure a comfortable subsistence by honest industry.

The increase of population which had taken place of late necessitated an enlargement of territory. Accordingly, the isthmus had been passed, and

not only were cattle grazed but farmers were located miles beyond it. The Directors acknowledged this onward step by authorizing the occupation of the tract of land known as Hottentots' Holland.

As the natives were beginning once more to make their presence felt in an uncomfortable manner, five, who were caught in the act of theft of stock, were tried and sentenced: three, to be flogged and branded, and to serve fifteen years in chains, and two, less guilty, to be flogged and to serve seven years. It was hoped that this severe punishment would deter their countrymen from the commission of such crimes in future.

In March, 1672, ARNOUT VAN OVERBEEK, Commissioner and Commander of a fleet, arrived at the Cape. He considered it advisable, in order to prevent disputes, that a purchase of land should be made from the Hottentots. Accordingly, an agreement was made with one SCHACHER, who the Dutch pretended to believe was the hereditary sovereign of that part of the country, whereby he ceded in perpetual property to the Company the district from Saldanha to Table Bay, for 4,000 reals of eight, with the understanding that he and his kraals and cattle might come freely and without molestation, near to the outermost farms of the said district, where neither the Company nor the burghers depastured cattle, and that he should not be expelled from the same by force and without cause. By a similar agreement with another so-called prince, Hottentots' Holland was purchased for a like sum. The first was paid in tobacco, brandy, beads, and bread, to the value of about £2 16s., and the last in merchandize to the value of not quite £7. By the chiefs who agreed to it, this purchase of property was probably looked upon merely as the recognition of an existing state of affairs. The Dutch were already in possession of the land, and it was to the advantage of the chiefs to obtain even the trifle which they received in return for their signatures. That the Dutch acquired a good title by this proceeding cannot in strict justice be maintained. The natives neither then nor at any subsequent period have admitted the right of their chiefs to alienate the land which is held for the common good of all. Even among the Kaffir and Bechuana tribes, where government is much stricter and the power of the rulers much greater than among the old Hottentot clans of the Cape Colony, this power is not recognized. The chief can give permission to aliens to reside in his country, but even this license is held to expire at his death, and leave must be obtained anew from his successor. The claim of the Dutch to South Africa must be based simply upon the rights acquired by forcible occupation; the necessity, in the first instance, of securing Table Bay as a port of call for their ships, and the impossibility of permanently limiting the extent of the settlement, which has been experienced from the date of the establishment of free burghers in the land until the present day.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE PURCHASE OF TERRITORY FROM HOTTENTOT CHIEFS TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH REFUGEES. 1672 TO 1689.

Principal Subjects:—Second War with Hottentots.—Introduction of Slaves from Madagascar.—Village of Stellenbosch founded.—Introduction of Agricultural Immigrants from Holland.—Condition of the Natives in the neighbourhood of the Settlement.—Occupation of Drakenstein.—Persecution of Protestants in France.—Immigration of French Refugees.

Governors:—Albert van Breugel,

Isbrandt Goske,	October 2, 1672.
Johan Bax,	January 2, 1676.
Hendrik Crudax,	June 29, 1678.
Simon van der Stell,	October 14, 1679.

After the purchase of the district, all natives residing within it were considered and treated as subjects, but most of them removed beyond the border, where they hoped to be permitted to follow their own way of living undisturbed. There are no means of ascertaining what effect this emigration had upon the intertribal relations of other clans, but from what is known of later occurrences, it is tolerably certain that considerable commotion was occasioned by it. It could hardly be otherwise. The clans, even in the hour of greatest danger from the common foe, were usually more jealous of each other than of the Dutch. If, then, the refugees sought protection from any chief, it would most likely be at the price of aiding him to make war upon a rival; if they endeavoured to remain independent, they would be treated as intruders. However that may have been, their removal did not free them for any long time of the new dominion that had been established in the country.

Already the abundance of game had lured many of the burghers to become hunters. This mode of obtaining a livelihood had to the unmarried and restless among them an attraction which the advantages derived from cultivating the soil could not counterbalance. An expert hunter could earn even more money in this than in any other pursuit, as dried venison was always in demand at the Company's stores and fort. An attempt was made by the government to preserve the game within the limits of the settlement, but, in utter disregard of native rights, licenses were issued to hunt anywhere beyond the border. The Hottentots were incensed on seeing the country traversed in all directions by these hunters, and the game, on which they largely depended for subsistence, slaughtered in vast numbers

or driven away. It often happened that Europeans, when thus engaged, were murdered, and then a cry arose in the settlement that their innocent blood ought to be avenged. One tribe in particular, under the chief GONOMOA, cut off several hunters, and further exasperated the colonists by stealing many of their cattle.

In July, 1673, this tribe surprised the Company's post at Saldanha Bay, murdered four Europeans, and plundered the trading station. It was instantly resolved to punish the robbers, and for this purpose Ensign CRUZE, with a party of ninety men, was ordered to attack GONOMOA and his people, and endeavour entirely to ruin them. The burghers were liable to be called out at any time to take part in military operations, and on this occasion as many as possessed horses were pressed into service. The expedition managed, soon after setting out, to secure a Hottentot belonging to the hostile tribe, who was compelled, under threat of instant death, to act as guide. A few days' march brought them to their destination, and as the natives fled without resistance, they took possession of a large herd of cattle and a flock of sheep, with which they prepared to return. But they had hardly commenced to march, when they were pursued and attacked by the Hottentots, whose principal object was to recover the cattle. The burgher cavalry here performed good service, and so covered the retreat that only a few old ewes and young lambs, which could not keep up with the rest, were recaptured. The Dutch casualties were two horses killed and one man wounded, and they delivered at the fort eight hundred head of cattle and nine hundred sheep, the spoils of the first campaign of the second Hottentot war. The expedition was absent thirteen days. From eight to twelve of the captured cattle were presented to each of the burghers, conditionally at first, but afterwards in full property.

A coalition of some other Hottentot tribes was now formed against GONOMOA, though for some time hostilities were not very vigorously carried on. One occurrence that was recorded at the time shows the rancour that existed between the clans. Four prisoners, who were secured by the allies, were taken in triumph to Cape Town, and there beaten to death with clubs by their captors. In April, 1674, GONOMOA advanced towards the Dutch settlement, but was met by a force of fifty burghers, fifty soldiers, and two hundred and fifty Hottentot allies, and driven back with considerable loss. On this occasion, eight hundred cattle and four thousand sheep fell into the hands of the victors. In the distribution of the booty, the allies as well as the burghers received a fair share.

For eighteen months after this, the hostile chief remained at a distance and kept quiet, but during that time he was gathering strength, and towards the close of 1675 he made a sudden foray upon the allies of the Dutch, and carried off a great number of their cattle. A party of horse and foot was sent to the assistance of the friendly Hottentots, but, after three days' absence, returned unsuccessful, the enemy having retreated into the interior. From this date nothing more noteworthy than the

occasional murder of a burgher on the one side, or of a party of Hottentots on the other, occurred until June, 1677, when a formal peace was concluded between the belligerents, and the tribe of GONOMOA became tributary to the Company. The amount of tribute agreed upon was thirty head of horned cattle, to be delivered yearly upon the arrival of the homeward bound fleet. It was very irregularly paid, and soon ceased altogether.

Stealing cattle always was a common offence in South Africa, and at that time was not confined to the natives, though punishments that would in these days be considered barbarous, were inflicted upon any European convicted of it. As an instance, a woman, who was concerned in the theft of two cows from Hottentots, was sentenced by the Court of Justice to be scourged and branded, to stand as a public spectacle with a cow's skin above her head and a halter round her neck, to confiscation of property, and banishment to Robben Island for twelve years. Her accomplices, in addition to flogging, were sentenced to be kept in chains at the public works for eight years. By the intercession of some of the most respectable females and the pitiful entreaties of her young children, the woman was released from the branding and the halter round her neck, and the flogging of one of her accomplices was remitted.

The Hottentots living in and about the settlement had by this time acquired some knowledge of trade. As each tribe possessed territorial rights, those who came from a distance to barter cattle at the fort had always paid brokerage to the Cape tribes, or a small fee for the privilege of passing through their land. But now some of the cleverest purchased cattle on their own account, for the purpose of selling them again to the Dutch. This did not accord with the ideas the Company entertained with regard to their interests, and they therefore resolved to suppress the practice with a strong hand. It was not alone because a higher price was demanded for cattle that this resolution was made, but because the government was prevented from carrying on a direct trade with remote tribes, and thereby becoming acquainted with all the conditions and resources of the country. Parties were equipped for trading purposes, taking with them a quantity of beads, brass wire, and tobacco, and often were absent for several weeks. Occasionally trustworthy Hottentots were employed in this service, and received a liberal percentage on all purchases made. The Hottentots in the immediate vicinity of the settlement had become very poor in cattle; but large numbers were at this time obtained from tribes living further inland.

Commissioner N. VERBURG, who called at the Cape in 1676, left a memorandum, in which he directed the local authorities to avoid an over severe and rigorous system of government, so as to give some relief to the settlers, who seemed to be dissatisfied. It was desirable that the colony should be extended, and therefore settlers should be encouraged and allowed as much freedom as possible. The fisheries, he thought, ought to be thrown open to all. There was no permanent school in the settlement.

at that time, and he was of opinion that a good one should be provided at once,—schools being the best nurseries of the state. But these liberal views were not entertained by the Chamber of Seventeen, and very little effect was produced by the Commissioner's visit.

Meantime slaves had been introduced from Madagascar. The hardships they endured must have been very great, judging from the frequent cases of desertion from service that are recorded. They were no longer fed on seals' flesh, but on the meat of hippopotami and other large game, which was procured by hunting parties organised for the purpose. Some of these slaves, who performed meritorious services, were emancipated and placed upon the same footing as free burghers, and the number of half breeds was fast increasing.

In June, 1678, Governor Bax died. He was succeeded by the second in command, Hendrik Crudax, until an appointment should be made by the supreme authorities. The deceased governor was held in general esteem by the settlers, and his death was greatly regretted. It was during his tenure of office that the castle was completed.

Soon after the arrival of Simon van der Stell, he inspected a beautiful valley, with an excellent stream of water flowing through it, and ornamented with fine trees. As the spot had never before been visited by any dignitary, he named it Stellenbosch, after himself and his lady. The advantages of this valley for a new settlement were obvious, and in a short time several farmers were located there. A village was laid out, and in the course of a few years a clergyman and a landdrost were appointed. It became the centre of an important district, and was soon noted for its gardens and orchards.

The Commander Simon van der Stell encouraged the burghers by giving them tracts of land formerly held on lease; but he represented to the Chamber of Seventeen that the class of men then in the colony was not likely to develop its resources, and recommended that a number of farmers should be sent out from the Netherlands. He stated that for three years after his arrival, the colonists had been depending upon the importation of rice for food, as nearly all of them were engaged in pastoral, not in agricultural pursuits. Henceforth he hoped they would raise sufficient grain for their own consumption and that of the garrison, but a supply for the ships could not be depended upon.

An event of the year 1682 showed that the settlement was far from prosperous. An English ship, that had lost nearly the whole of her crew by sickness, was towed into Table Bay by a galleot, and her captain repaid the kindness by inducing forty-three of the garrison and colonists to desert. Another English vessel sent a boat's crew to shoot the Company's sheep on Dassen Island. But on behalf of the English it must be said that they had no alternative. The first ship must otherwise have been abandoned, or sold to the Company, for want of hands. In the second instance, the crew was compelled to steal or starve.

Baron VAN RHEEDE, lord of Drakenstein, who visited the Cape as Commissioner in 1685, made many important regulations, which, however, were only observed for a short time. The slaves were to be treated mercifully, and the Hottentots were to be considered as having the right of grazing cattle equally with the Dutch within the limits of the settlement. None but subjects of the State with good character were in future to be placed in the position of free burghers, and all burghers who, in consequence of dissipated or irregular habits, were incapable of performing their duties, were to be sent out of the country.

The Commissioner concurred in the views of the Governor with regard to the benefits to be derived from the introduction of agriculturists from Holland, and endorsed his representations to that effect to the Chamber of Seventeen. The Directors then agreed to the proposal, and made offers of free passages to the colony and grants of land to a number of small farmers. About fifty heads of families, including a few mechanics, agreed to the terms proposed, and with their wives and children embarked in the next outward bound fleet. They were located principally in the district of Stellenbosch, where choice plots of ground, each sixty morgen in extent, were assigned to them. At the same time forty-eight young women, similar to those who came to the colony twenty years before, were selected and sent out. These immigrants proved a most useful addition to the population. They were steady, industrious and religious, and had they been under a better government than that of the East India Company and free from the baneful influences of slavery, they would speedily have tested the capabilities of the country. But, being placed under the same restrictions as the freed sailors and soldiers, and like them being provided with slaves, in a few years they lost those habits of industry and steady application to one pursuit, which elsewhere would have made them most valuable citizens.

By this time the natives far beyond the settlement had become subject to the Dutch authorities. After the punishment inflicted on GONOMOA's tribe, none of the Hottentots ever even attempted to resist European encroachments. They were still ruled according to their own forms of law, but their chiefs had become the tools of the Company. In some instances they were men appointed by the Governor, who gave them a staff of office, upon which was engraved the Company's arms, as a symbol that their authority was derived from the Company alone. Disputes between them were settled by the Company's servants. And yet, while depriving them of their independence and their land, men like the Baron VAN RHEEDE and the Commissioner VAN GOENS directed that they should be kindly treated and justly dealt with. It is not surprising that instances were rare of those who appreciated such justice and kindness. Of what use could such instructions as those issued by VAN RHEEDE have been? The natives were to have the right of grazing cattle equally with the burghers within the limits of the settlement. But the Dutch took land for agricultural purposes

wherever they chose, and would suffer no intrusion either upon or near it; and as soon as a district became dotted over with patches of ploughed land, the natives were compelled to move beyond it, or sink to the position of serfs. Even the waifs of the ocean were now denied to them, for the Governor has placed on record that on the occasion of some dead whales drifting ashore, they commenced to make a feast, which he speedily put an end to, as they were defrauding the Company in its monopoly of oil.

The tyranny of the government was often displayed in trivial matters. One day some women were observed with parasols, as the sun was shining very hot. The Governor deemed this a token of idleness, something really too bad to be endured, and therefore gave orders that they were not to be used in future.

In October, 1687, an extensive fertile valley on the Berg River was selected by the Commander for a new location, and farms therein were allotted to twenty-three burghers. The new district, which was called Drakenstein, after the Commissioner whose visit has been recorded, lies to the north of Stellenbosch, from which it is separated by a range of mountains. No portion of the settlement was more capable of improvement than this, as the land along the river consists of a rich loam in which almost anything will grow to perfection. It soon became the granary of the colony, and is to the present day celebrated for the excellence of its farm produce. Within a few years the population there was largely increased, when vineyards and orange groves were laid out in the valley to such an extent as greatly to add to its natural beauty. Here, if anywhere in the world, the cultivator should be richly rewarded for his labour; but under the rule of the East India Company the profit pertained to the government, not to the individual proprietor, so that even this splendid tract of country remained a waste comparatively to what it now is.

In November the Chamber of Seventeen apprised the Cape government that they were sending out some French and Piedmontese fugitives, of the reformed religion, among whom were vine cultivators and brandy distillers, who would be useful in South Africa.

The seventeenth century was productive of great events in Europe, not the least among which was the terrible persecution of the Protestants in France. In 1598, HENRY IV issued from Nantes an edict by which Protestants were permitted to enjoy freedom of worship in all the towns where their creed then prevailed. At that time they formed a party of considerable power, and HENRY, who had in his early years been a Protestant and their political leader, was actuated by gratitude for the aid they had given him, as well as by a desire to unite into one firm power the different factions that were destroying the strength of France. The Protestants lived in security while the edict was observed in its integrity. But, gradually, as their political power decreased, severe laws were enacted against them, until their ruin was finally determined upon. LOUIS XIV, who was one of the most licentious men of his age, was entirely devoted to the Romish

church. He was taught by his confessors that the salvation of his soul required him to suppress heresy. Absolute monarch of France, his will was law, and his orders were carried out relentlessly. At that time there were at least a million and a half of Protestants in France, and they comprised the most industrious section of the nation. Their exclusion from public employment had been the means of causing them to devote their attention entirely to manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, in all of which they excelled. Their loyalty, their upright conduct, their pure morals, are admitted by their enemies, and proved by the benefits they conferred on all the countries which gave them shelter when they fled from their homes. From the year 1665 the Edict of Nantes may be said to have been practically set aside. The Protestants could no longer obtain protection or redress for insult or injury. For twenty years they bore their trials patiently, hoping that in time justice would be granted to them. But at length the king, urged on by his Jesuit confessors and Madame DE MAINTENON, his mistress, resolved to root Protestantism out of the land at once and for ever. The time seemed opportune for such a deed. In April, 1685, JAMES II, an avowed Romanist, was crowned king of England. The French monarch had therefore nothing to fear from that Power, which so recently under the Protector CROMWELL had been the bulwark of Protestantism throughout Europe. The other States in which the Reformed religion prevailed were too weak to do more than remonstrate. The Huguenots beheld in dismay the dreadful storm that was gathering over their heads. Their love of France had hardly been weakened by those twenty years of suffering, but they saw that the only choice left to them was that of their country or their creed. As many as could convert their property into money did so at once, and fled. Already their churches were burning, and the king's dragoons were quartered upon them, with orders to plunder and insult.

In October, 1685, LOUIS XIV issued the ordinance which revoked the Edict of Nantes. It forbade all exercise of the Reformed religion, banished all the pastors of the Reformed church from the kingdom within fifteen days, commanded the baptism of all infants in the Romish church, condemned to the galleys all except the pastors who should attempt to expatriate themselves. These were its principal clauses; but it contained others nearly as severe, and some offering bribes to those who would abjure their faith. The ordinance was enforced with a severity never before witnessed in any religious persecution. From all parts of France arose a wail of agony. Children of tender years were torn from their parents' arms and thrust into convents. Men and women were hunted down like beasts of prey. All pastors caught were put to death, as also were all others who were taken in the exercise of their religion. A price of five thousand five hundred livres was put upon the head of every clergyman, and anyone who harboured or assisted a clergyman was sent to the galleys. When they attempted to flee, they found the frontiers guarded by troops,

so that it was only by stealth and by the sacrifice of all their property that they could effect their escape. Death or the abjuration of their faith were the only terms offered. The number of those who perished can never be accurately known: it has been computed usually at between three and four hundred thousand, including all who died in prison, in the galleys, under torture, and on the scaffold, and those who were shot down when attempting to escape. About the same number, including those who fled before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, safely reached foreign countries. In England, Holland, Northern Germany, Switzerland, and the United States of America, (then British colonies), they were warmly welcomed, and each of these countries benefited by their presence. Most of those who could not escape from France were dragooned into apparent submission. But Protestantism only slumbered, never slept; and when the progress of liberal ideas towards the close of the eighteenth century restored to men their natural right of freedom of conscience, the descendants of the Huguenots were found professing the faith for which their fathers suffered so much.

In Holland the refugees might be welcomed; but there was no room for all who arrived, nor was there anything there for so many to do, by which they could maintain themselves. Some indeed found employment in the manufacturing centres, and the Stadtholder enrolled three or four regiments of them as soldiers, besides manning a portion of his fleet with them; but the country was already teeming with people. The East India Company might therefore have obtained some thousands of them; but there were reasons for not sending many to South Africa. They did not want a populous colony, but merely a victualling station. A small body of such men as these refugees might be kept in subjection by a government like that of the Company, a large body never. Of late, the number of burghers at the Cape had been greatly increased by emigrants from Holland and others discharged from service, and the Chamber of Seventeen did not desire to be at a large expense for transport. It was therefore considered advisable to send out only a select few, who would engage in those branches of agriculture of which the Dutch were ignorant. Within a couple of years, ninety-seven families, comprising about three hundred individuals, including men, women, and children, arrived, and were located at Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, Fransche Hoek, and the Paarl. Before leaving Holland, the heads of families were required to take an oath of fidelity to the Company, and to agree to conform to all regulations which might be made for the South African settlement. This placed them on exactly the same footing as the former colonists, that is, they had no freedom to carry on trade and no voice in the government, but were in reality unpaid servants of the Netherlands East India Company.

These were undoubtedly the best settlers the colony had yet received. The immigrants from the Netherlands were all of one class, but these were of various stations in society. Some had been of high rank in France,

others were manufacturers, others again vinedressers or gardeners. Having lost everything in their flight, they landed in so destitute a condition that the authorities had to supply them in the same manner as discharged sailors and soldiers; but, by their industry and frugality, they soon placed themselves beyond the reach of want. It is from the date of their arrival that the manufacture of wine on a large scale was carried on. Previous to this, wine had been made, and even exported, but in such small quantities as hardly to deserve notice. A stock of sixty-nine leaguers on hand and an exportation of eighteen leaguers to Mauritius and Ceylon in 1688 was considered by Commander VAN DER STELL a matter of congratulation.

The French Refugees brought with them to this country an earnest religious feeling, which was soon imparted to all of the colonists. In course of time, through ignorance of every other book excepting the Bible, their descendants came to hold views repugnant in many respects to those of a progressive people, but it is hardly possible to over-estimate the value of the religious principle which was so fully developed in them. It enabled them to push their way singly into the interior, without schools or churches or shops, with only savages around them, yet without becoming savages themselves. A people less strong in faith would assuredly have been unable to do this. The practical part of their religion was drawn from the Old rather than from the New Testament, but where has this not been the case when Europeans have met races of another colour?

The French language was introduced into South Africa by these people, but was lost in the course of only a couple of generations. It had scarcely any influence in modifying the Dutch, so far as the incorporation of new words was concerned, but the sudden exchange of one tongue for another by so large a proportion of the inhabitants was one of the earliest and most potent causes which tended to break down in this country the structure of the language of Holland and to build up in its stead the expressive, though ungrammatical colonial dialect. The French language was lost so soon, because the Company willed that it should be so. Religious services were ordered to be conducted in Dutch only, and no other language was permitted to be used in the courts of law or in any public transactions. Thus a knowledge of Dutch became absolutely necessary, and their own tongue was soon forgotten by the new settlers. In addition to this, the intermarriages which after a few years became common between the colonists of different nationalities tended to obliterate all distinctions between them.

Though the French Refugees and the agricultural immigrants from Holland together formed but a small proportion of the Europeans who arrived in this country during the government of the East India Company, a very large number of the South African Dutch of the present day are descended from them. This is owing to natural circumstances, and is in accordance with laws of selection which prevail everywhere. With the exception of those who had held superior appointments, comparatively few

of the servants of the Company, discharged after this date, became the heads of families. They were usually men already past the vigour of life when their freedom commenced, and their habits had frequently been such as to prevent them from being accepted as husbands by the young white women of the settlement. To them most of the half breeds owe their origin, though instances are not wanting of some among their number acquiring not alone wealth, but distinction among the colonists.

NOTE.—The following is a list of the family names of the French Refugees who came to South Africa at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It is taken from a little book published in Cape Town in 1854, and entitled *Geschiedenis der Fransche Vlugtelingen. Vertaald uit het Fransch, door A. N. E. Changuion.* Names—(slightly disguised, in some instances, under a Dutch form of spelling)—that are now to be met with all over the country are printed in italic, while some of the others have entirely died out.

Avis	Debeurieux	Gounay	Maniet	*Sénécal*
Barret	Decabrière	Grellon	Marucène	Senquette
Bachet	*Delporte*	*Jacob*	*Marais*	Simon
Basson	Déporté	*Joubert*	Martinet	Tabordeux
Bastions	Deruel	*Jourdain*	*Ménard*	Taillefer
Beaumons	Dumont	*La Grange*	*Niel*	Tenaumant
Beck	*Duplessis*	Lanoy	Norman	*Terre-Blanche*
Bénéret	*Duprés*	*Laporte*	*Nortie*	Terrier
Bruet	*Dutoit*	Lapretois	Passeman	Terrout
Bota	*Durant*	*Leclair*	Peron	Valleti
Camper	*Dubuisson*	Lecrivant	*Pinards*	Vanas
Cellier	Desavoye	*Lefebvre*	Prévôt	Vattré
Cordier	Entreix	*Le Grand*	*Rassemus*	Vaudray
Corprenant	Fracha	Le Riche	*Retif*	Verbal
Couteau	*Fouche*	*Le Roux*	Richard	*Villious*
Couvert	Floret	*Lombard*	*Rousseau*	*De Villiers* (3)
Crognet	*Foury*	Longue	*Roux*	Vyot
Daillé	Ganche	*Malan*	Sebatier	Viton
Debuse	Gordiol	*Malherbe*	Sellier	Vitreux

At present there can be very few, if any, Dutch South Africans without a mixture of Huguenot blood in their veins. In addition to the above, there are several French names of long standing in the country, derived from individuals who came from Europe at a later date.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH REFUGEES TO THE RECALL OF ADRIAN VAN DER STELL FOR TYRANNY.—1689 TO 1706.

Principal Subjects:—Capture of French Ships.—Exploration of South Africa.—Planting of Constantia.—Tyranny of Adrian van der Stell.—His Recall.—Settlement of the Tulbagh Valley.—Expansion of the Colony.—Descriptions of Cape Town.—Form of Government.

Governors:—SIMON VAN DER STELL,
WILLEM ADRIAN VAN DER STELL, February 11, 1699.

THE recent increase in the number of burghers caused the Company to hope that they would now be able to reduce the strength of the garrison and to command a constant and ample supply of fresh provisions for the crews of their ships. They expected also to raise a small revenue from licenses to retail spirits and from fees upon the sale of fixed property, so as partly, if not wholly, to cover the expenses of their South African establishment. But their anticipations in these respects were groundless. They were still compelled to maintain a strong garrison, to prevent rebellion as much as to guard against a foreign foe, and as to revenue, it constantly fell short of the needs of government, though, if the advantages connected with having a secure port of call and place of refreshment be taken into consideration, the Company had no reason to be dissatisfied.

In 1689, two French ships, *La Normande* and *Le Coche*, on their homeward voyage from Pondicherry with valuable cargoes on board, put into Table Bay for refreshment. Their commanders were unaware that hostilities were then being carried on between France and Holland. A small Dutch fleet was there at the time, and partly by strategy, partly by force, the French ships were seized. Their crews were made prisoners of war and sent to Batavia.

In SIMON VAN DER STELL'S time much geographical information was obtained concerning South Africa. The Commander himself, with a large retinue, explored the country to the northward as far as Little Namaqualand, and discovered extensive copper mines there, which, however, were considered to be at too great a distance from the sea-coast to be of any value. Other exploring parties penetrated the country far to the eastward. Simon's Bay was surveyed at this time, and named after the Commander. The cultivation of the vine was rapidly being extended, mainly through the exertions of the French immigrants. The Commander himself carried

on farming on an extensive scale. It was by him that the celebrated vineyard of Constantia was planted, the name given to the estate being that of his wife. In the country districts, farmers were ordered to plant a hundred oak trees on each grant of land, but this injunction was in most cases disregarded. The destruction of timber trees was prohibited under heavy penalties. Not only was the European population increasing rapidly, but the settlers were becoming individually more wealthy, and many of them began to construct neat dwelling houses and to ornament their estates. Some few differences occurred between the French immigrants and the Commander, but on the whole the period of his government was one of prosperity to the settlement. This Governor, unlike all those who preceded him, was attached to the country, and took a personal interest in its welfare. Having secured the appointment of his son as his successor, in 1699 SIMON VAN DER STELL resigned, and retired to a beautiful estate near Stellenbosch, where he spent the remaining thirteen years of his life.

In a country blessed with a constitution, the personal character of the head of the government may not affect the people to any great extent; but where the ruler is absolute, the happiness and prosperity of all depend upon his actions. The younger VAN DER STELL was a man of ability and of considerable scientific attainments, but he was passionate, tyrannical, and covetous of wealth. He took possession of an immense tract of country at Hottentots' Holland, and by farming operations enriched himself and deprived the burghers of all hope of profit by the sale of produce. In his corn-fields, vineyards, and gardens, the Company's servants and slaves were employed, and the edifices he constructed were built of materials belonging to the Company, so that he could well afford to supply provisions at a cheaper rate than the burghers possibly could. By this time the Company had pretty nearly relinquished growing grain on its own account. The farmers saw nothing but ruin before them. The Governor was not wholly selfish, as he had favourites whom he allowed to do pretty much as they liked. They were his younger brother, FRANS VAN DER STELL, the second in command, SAMUEL ELZIVIER, and a clergyman, PETRUS KALDEN. Among them they monopolized everything. They bartered cattle with the natives, and would permit no one else to do so. They erected mills, and compelled all who were in their power to bring corn to be ground there. They enjoyed an exclusive privilege of fishing. The burghers soon felt that if the monopoly of buying and selling which was claimed by the Company, but which could not be exercised in its entirety on account of the great distance intervening between them and the seat of power, was oppressive, the kind of monopoly that was exercised by the Governor and his friends, who were on the spot, was unendurable. They therefore framed two petitions, of course clandestinely, one of which they managed to get conveyed to the government in Batavia, and the other they intended to forward to the Chamber of Seventeen. In these they prayed for redress of their grievances, and the removal from the settle-

ment of the Governor and his friends. In addition to the charges made conjointly against these, VAN DER STELL was accused of neglecting the public business, receiving bribes, and oppressing the colonists in various ways.

Of the clergyman, the petitioners complained that he paid more attention to his farm than to his pulpit. It frequently happened that people who came a long way to receive the sacrament, to have their children baptized, or to be united in marriage, were compelled to return home disappointed, on account of his absence. He paid no regard to the murmurs of the people, and did not hesitate to say that when the Governor and second officer in rank were absent from town, he saw no reason why he should remain to preach to the vulgar.

In February, 1706, the Governor was apprised that complaints concerning him had reached the authorities in India. Naturally passionate, his fury now knew no bounds, and a reign of terror commenced at the Cape. The first to feel his resentment was one ADAM TAS, a resident of Stellenbosch, who was dragged from his bed at night and thrust into prison. In his possession was found the copy of the petition intended to be forwarded to Holland. The first name among the signatures was that of JAN ROTTERDAM, a man of seventy years of age, and so feeble that he could barely walk. He was ordered to leave the colony within twenty-four hours, and was forced on board a ship bound to Batavia. VAN DER STELL caused a document expressing entire satisfaction with his government to be circulated, and all who refused to sign it were treated as rebels. He even went so far as to issue a proclamation forbidding every one, under penalty of death, from signing or persuading others to sign any petition against the chief authorities of the settlement. Several of the best men in the country were banished, others were imprisoned, and others again were deprived of their land. But the Governor committed a blunder fatal to himself in banishing his opponents. Some of those who were thus sent to Holland found means to enlist the assistance of men high in power there, through whose influence VAN DER STELL and his associates in oppression were recalled. Tyranny and corruption were, however, not considered by the Chamber of Seventeen to be crimes of such magnitude as the infringement of their monopoly. VAN QUAELBERG, who had been guilty of the latter, had been degraded and dismissed from their service. VAN DER STELL was merely recalled, and was permitted to retain his rank and to draw his salary for some time afterwards. The property which he had acquired in the colony, at the Company's expense, was confiscated. At the same time an order was issued debarring the chief officials of the settlement from carrying on farming operations on their own account. The principal edifice erected by VAN DER STELL was pulled down by order of the Chamber of Seventeen, and the lands held by him,—some with fine buildings upon them,—were sold to a number of farmers.

During the government of ADRIAN VAN DER STELL farms were given out in the great valley in which the present village of Tulbagh is situated. This rich tract of country was subject to the disadvantage of being beyond a formidable mountain barrier, over which no attempt to construct a road was made in those days. It followed from this circumstance that the residents turned their attention almost entirely to the breeding of cattle, and never cultivated the ground to a greater extent than their own consumption required. At the present day the valley is in easy communication with Cape Town, not only by an excellent road through Bain's Kloof, but by rail as well, so that large quantities of grain, fruit, and wine, are produced there. But as long as the district had no outlet, few improvements were made. And during the government of the East India Company there was no inducement for the farmers to open a road for themselves. They knew well that produce taken to Cape Town could only be sold at the Company's stores at prices fixed by the purchaser, which were usually from one fifth to one third of the rates charged for the same produce if it was resold. Little encouragement this to till the land, or to make roads; and there is little cause for astonishment that under such a government the only use to which the Tulbagh valley was applied was the grazing of cattle. The new settlement was at first called Roodezand, or sometimes Waveren, after the Waveren family of Amsterdam, who were relatives of the Governor.

In 1702, an exploring party, consisting of forty-five burghers, travelled eastward into the country occupied by the Kaffirs. Other parties travelled far to the northward and north-eastward. In 1704 the foundation stone of the Dutch Reformed church near the government gardens in Cape Town was laid. Notwithstanding his tyranny, ADRIAN VAN DER STELL'S term of office was marked by improvement. His memory ought to be held in respect, if for nothing else, on account of his having been the first in South Africa to construct artificial reservoirs for the preservation of water wherewith to irrigate land. A great part of his success as a corn farmer may be attributed to this.

At this time the settlement included the present divisions of the Cape, Stellenbosch, the Paarl, Malmesbury, and parts of Worcester, Caledon, and Tulbagh, that is, nearly the whole of the present wine producing district of the colony. It was certainly very thinly inhabited, but the richest farms were already given out. From this date, therefore, the supply of wheat, vegetables, and fruit, was always equal to the demand, and in good seasons a considerable quantity of grain was exported. Had the Company been more liberal in its dealings with the colonists, this branch of industry might have been greatly enlarged, to the profit of the government as well as of the cultivators; but in the eyes of its rulers the Cape never rose to be more than a place of refreshment for the Indian fleets. Now, therefore, that agricultural produce was plentiful, a constant supply of cattle was the object most to be desired. The natives never

could be depended upon to provide as many oxen as were needed, and it was already evident that this source of supply would ere long fail altogether. To breed cattle purposely for sale was a step too far advanced for the improvident Hottentots to take, and hence Europeans were encouraged to embark largely in that occupation.

From this date different causes will be found in operation, tending towards a rapid expansion of the colonial boundaries, one of these causes being the policy of the government with regard to graziers, to whom great tracts of land were leased almost at a nominal rental. The tyranny of the authorities was another cause of expansion. Beyond the parts where farms had been given out, there roved a number of Europeans, leading a pastoral life, and caring nothing for the cultivation of the earth. They had found in dried venison a substitute for bread, and lived almost exclusively on a flesh diet. Whenever these people fancied that the government oppressed them, they had merely to move a little further into the interior to be beyond the reach of authority. As they moved inland, the places they had occupied were filled up behind them, and thus an expansion was constantly going on. In advance of these rovers moved the bulk of the Hottentots, who never attempted resistance, and whose rights to the soil were wholly disregarded.

While the colony was thus increasing in extent, its capital was gradually assuming the appearance of a town. Pictures of it are given by so many voyagers and travellers, that there is no difficulty in bringing it before our eyes and ascertaining how its inhabitants lived, and throve with all the disadvantages of an oppressive government. In April, 1691, the English ship *Defence*, from the Indies, called at the Cape. She had on board an adventurous seaman named WILLIAM DAMPIER, accounts of whose voyages have ever since been read with interest. His description of Cape Town, where he resided for six weeks, is exceedingly graphic. In April, 1706, BARTHOLOMEW ZIEGENBALGH and HENRY PLUTSCHO, the first Protestant missionaries to India, touched here on their passage from Copenhagen to Tranquebar. In one of their letters a short description of the place is given, special reference being made to the spiritual state of the people. And PETER KOLBEN, who resided in South Africa from 1705 to 1713, published a book upon the country.

DAMPIER's ship approached the Cape in distress, as nearly the whole of her crew were sick. The guns which were fired every hour were heard by a Dutch captain, who put off in his boat, and, after ascertaining the state of affairs, sent ashore for a hundred lusty hands to bring the *Defence* to anchor. They took her in, stowed her sails, got everything snug on board, and then went ashore again, having made prize of whatever they could lay their hands on. DAMPIER followed them to land, and took up his quarters with one of the residents, who charged him three shillings a day for board and lodging, though bread and meat were as cheap as in England. He found that the inhabitants depended to a considerable extent upon thus

providing for strangers, and in purchasing trifles from sailors, which they resold at a good profit to the farmers. His landlord was in the habit of absenting himself from home for several days at a time, and DAMPIER ascertained that on these occasions he was trading with the Hottentots inland, evading the Company's regulations by purchasing sheep for tobacco. The price of a sheep was a piece of twisted tobacco of the same length as the animal. To save appearance, one was purchased occasionally from the Company's butcher, while those obtained illegally were slaughtered in the night time. There were three licensed dealers in strong drink, but the charge for a license was so great that a flask of wine cost eighteen pence, whereas the crafty sailor found that he could purchase a flask of the same quality from a smuggler for only eight pence. Discovery was sure to bring ruin to those who carried on an illicit trade, but the profit was so great that many persons were tempted to run the risk. Here, then, was the result of over stringent government.

The accession of the Prince of Orange to the throne of England had caused the crews of English ships to be better treated than formerly, and the captain of the *Defence*, together with his sick men, were all on shore, enjoying the comforts of the place. Those left on board were kept well supplied with fresh meat and vegetables. The fish in Table Bay were particularly good, and the Company's servants were not the people to neglect catching them. A good many men were employed in this pursuit, and great quantities of fish were preserved for the use of the garrison and the ships' crews. Some of the choicest kinds were even exported to Europe. The colonists were not allowed to catch fish for sale on their own account, —a prohibition which appears to have been as unwise as it was harsh. The consequence of this has been that the Dutch, who were the most hardy and successful fishermen in Europe, have never turned their attention to that branch of industry in South Africa. DAMPIER speaks in high terms of the Company's gardens, where strangers were permitted to walk, and of the fruit which grew in great abundance there. Such pomegranates he never saw elsewhere. But then, strangers were not permitted to pluck them without permission, as was proved one day by an acquaintance of his, who made prize of half-a-dozen. A slave who detected him raised a hue and cry about his ears, threatened to march him off to the Governor direct, and was only pacified on payment of a bribe. Nearly every family had a few Hottentots as retainers, who carried messages and did any light work in return for their food. They lounged about all day, dressed in sheep skins, and made a great noise on moonlight nights, singing and dancing. The *Defence* was shorthanded, but no seamen were to be had from the Dutch ships, nor from two English East Indiamen that called at Table Bay while she was there. Her captain managed, however, to induce nearly forty of the townspeople and soldiers to take a trip to Europe with him, and these he conveyed on board of nights, and stowed them away so cleverly that the Dutch officers could not find them.

The missionaries drew a different picture. They found that most of the residents in the town were Germans, who professed to be Lutherans, but who said they could not serve God as well in Africa as at home, and therefore took no concern in religion. The Dutch were in a more hopeful condition, inasmuch as they had always their bibles ready at hand, and were glad to take part in religious exercises. They found a youthful class engaged in learning the catechism, and were overjoyed to hear some slave children answer readily to questions on the Christian religion. The ignorant and wretched condition of the Hottentots moved them to a hearty compassion, and they expressed amazement at the slaves being treated so harshly. They made mention of the Company's fine and spacious garden, which was stored with all manner of rare and precious plants. It contained also a collection of wild animals native to the country, among which they saw the lion, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, zebra, eland, various kinds of small antelopes, &c. They made the acquaintance of some learned men in the town, and took up their quarters with a family, the head of which had formerly been a student at one of the German Universities.

KOLBEN describes Cape Town as containing several wide streets, laid out at right angles with each other, and nearly two hundred houses, many of them with large courtyards and fine gardens. The streets, the courtyards, the houses, and everything in them, were kept extremely neat and clean. The houses were built of stone, most of them only one story high. None were of more than two stories, on account of the violence of the winds, which now and then shook and damaged them, low as they were. Most of the houses were thatched, but a few were covered with slates or tiles. Building was encouraged by the Company. A man who wished to build a house whether contiguous to the town or in the country, had ground sufficiently extensive for a garden and building purposes allotted to him without payment. Two hundred soldiers were quartered in the castle. There was only one church, which was a spacious edifice, but very plain. There was a hospital in the town for the sick. It was situated near the Company's garden, and was large enough for the accommodation of several hundred patients. It was seldom that a ship arrived at the Cape, either from Europe or the Indies, without a considerable number of sick. From one hundred to one hundred and fifty frequently arrived in a single vessel. The ship was no sooner at anchor than these were conveyed to the hospital, where they were carefully attended to. Such as were in a fair way of recovery, if they felt so disposed, might walk in the Company's garden, which furnished the hospital with abundance of vegetables. There was in the town a large building called the lodge, where the Company's slaves were kept. The government owned about six hundred slaves, most of whom were brought from Madagascar. KOLBEN's book is prefaced with a view of Cape Town, in which a gallows is a conspicuous object. Two other gibbets were afterwards erected near at hand, one on each side of the town, as a warning to the evil disposed. Racks and other instruments

of torture stood opposite to the castle. In the neighbourhood, for eighty years yet to come, wild animals abounded: hyenas performed the work of scavengers in the streets by night, and jackals were plentiful in the mountains.

At a short distance from the town were many beautiful gardens and vineyards, two of them belonging to the Company. In one stood a fine pleasure house belonging to the Governor, and near it was a grove of young oaks, called the Rondebosch, from which the garden took its name. The other was called Newlands, because but lately planted. Both of these gardens were well watered, and a considerable quantity of vegetables and fruit was obtained from them. Many charming estates adorned the settlement. He was a farmer of little consideration who had not more than six hundred sheep and one hundred head of horned cattle. Horses had increased so greatly in number that they could be had for a mere trifle. KOLBEN does not mention where the stock of these horses came from, and it appears at the present day to be a doubtful matter. A few were brought direct to the colony from Batavia, and a few more were left at St. Helena, whence, after running wild for some time, they were brought to the Cape; but there must have been other and larger importations, accounts of which are now lost.

The settlement was at that time divided into four districts: the Cape, Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, and Waveren. The last two, however, did not long remain separate. Both were subsequently united to Stellenbosch, Drakenstein losing its landdrost but keeping a distinct heemraad, Waveren losing both. The religious wants of the community were attended to by three clergymen. There were in Cape Town, a petty court for the trial of assaults and trespasses and the adjustment of trivial debts; an orphan chamber, to guard the interests of orphans; a matrimonial court, to see that all contracts of marriage were properly made; and an ecclesiastical council. In each of the country districts there was a court of landdrost and heemraden, which heard and determined all cases of debt, trespass, or any other matter, wherein the amount in dispute was less than fifty rixdollars, and which tried all persons accused of petty crimes and slaves charged with the commission of any crimes or offences whatever. The heemraad was formed by selecting a number of the most respectable burghers in the district, whose duty was to act conjointly with the landdrost, and to inform their fellow burghers of all new laws, ordinances, or regulations issued. Two of the number retired every year, when others were selected by the Governor from a list of names submitted to him by the Court. The members of the heemraad received no salary, but the office was coveted as being one of honour and distinction. Courts composed in this manner were usually popular, but very often their decisions,—especially in cases between Europeans and natives,—were not given in accordance with strict justice. In addition, the courts of landdrost and heemraden had power, similar to that of Divisional Councils at present, to assess rates upon land-

owners for the purpose of making and repairing roads and bridges. But taxation of this kind was never popular, and the farmers were not overburdened with rates when it could by any possibility be avoided. It was usual instead to call upon them for a certain amount of labour, which they supplied through their servants or slaves. What would now be termed good roads were, however, in those days, considered unnecessary, and it was only when the highways were impassable for the heavy bullock waggons in general use, that any attention was bestowed upon them. The courts of landdrost and heemraden were further required to keep registers of the landholders in their respective districts, and they kept records of all births and lists of all persons residing within their jurisdiction. Each district had an office for the landdrost and a prison for delinquents, the latter being, however, a mere hovel consisting of one unlit and filthy apartment.

The government was vested in a Council, which possessed legislative and judicial as well as administrative power. It consisted of the eight officers highest in rank in the settlement. These were, the Governor, the Second in Command or Lieutenant Governor, the Independent Fiscal or Attorney General, the Commandant of the Castle, the Secretary of the Council, the Purveyor General, the Officer in charge of the Company's Warehouse, and the Agent for the sale of the Company's goods. The first four of these ranked as Senior Merchants, the last four as Merchants, the titles given to the Company's officers being purely mercantile. Thus the clergymen and landdrosts ranked as Merchants, and were so entitled, while the subordinate officers of government, such as lieutenants and clerks, were called Under Merchants. This word Merchant (Koopman), in common use in those days, must never be taken to mean a purchaser and seller of goods, but simply an officer of a certain rank in the East India Company's service. In the Council, sitting as a legislative body, the Governor presided, and had nominally only a casting vote. But in reality he was a dictator, as his commission empowered him to do as he chose, whenever he was prepared to take upon himself the responsibility for so acting. When sitting as a High Court of Justice or Court of Appeal, the Governor and Second in Command usually absented themselves, and the Commandant of the Castle presided. The Council had the management of everything that affected the safety or interest of the settlement. It corresponded with the government in Batavia and with the Chamber of Seventeen in Holland. Appeals from its judgments lay to the Court of Justice in Batavia, and finally to the Supreme Court of Holland; but it may well be understood that such appeals were never made.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE RECALL OF ADRIAN VAN DER STELL TO THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH A MISSION AMONG THE HOTTENTOTS. 1706 TO 1744.

Principal Subjects:—Great Fire at Stellenbosch.—Ravages of the Small Pox.—Tyranny of Governor Van Noot, and Romantic Account of his Death.—Position of the East India Company.—Shipwrecks, leading to Simon's Bay being made use of.—Extension of the Colony to the Gamtoos River.—Condition of the Natives.—The First Missionary in South Africa.

Governors:—JOHAN CORNELIS D'ABLEING,	June	3, 1706.
LOUIS VAN ASSEMBURG,	Febry.	1, 1708.
WILLIAM HELOT,	Decr.	28, 1711.
MAURITZ PASQUES DE CHAVONNES,	March	28, 1714.
JOHAN DE LA FONTEINE, (acting)	Sept.	8, 1724.
PIETER GIJSBERT VAN NOOT,	Febry.	25, 1728.
JOHAN DE LA FONTEINE,	April	24, 1729.
ADRIAN VAN KERVEL,	Nov.	14, 1736.
DANIEL VAN HENGHEL,	Sept.	20, 1737.
HENDRIK SWELLENGREBEL,	April	14, 1739.

THE recall of ADRIAN VAN DER STELL was a warning to future governors not to carry tyranny too far. No more liberty was granted to the burghers than before, but they were relieved from such competition in farming operations as that of which they had so justly complained. For a long series of years little occurred that is worthy of being mentioned. Successive governors came and went, but the position of the colonists remained unaltered.

In 1710 a very disastrous fire occurred in Stellenbosch. The church, council chamber, and all the dwelling houses except three or four, were destroyed. The whole of the buildings were thatched, and, as a high wind was blowing at the time, when the fire burst out it could not be arrested.

Before the arrival of Europeans, the natives of South Africa were singularly free of destructive diseases. Contact with foreigners brought them into contact with foreign diseases, the most deadly of which was the small pox. This loathsome complaint was brought into the colony by a ship which had several of her crew laid up with it. It committed great ravages among the colonists. Among the natives it spread with dreadful effect, slowly travelling northward and eastward, and nearly extirpating some of the tribes as it advanced. At the kraals and along the road-sides the bodies of the dead lay exposed during the height of the pestilence,

the survivors making no effort to remove them. This disease has frequently visited the colony since that time, but on no other occasion has it been so destructive of life. The natives fell into despair on its approach, and made no effort to help themselves. Their filthy habits, the wretched huts in which they lived, their lethargy and despair, all tended to encourage the pestilence.

During the government of the Marquis DE CHAVONNES, an attempt was made to establish a system of religious education in the settlement. The schoolmasters were required to be of the Reformed faith, and to signify their assent to the articles of the Synod of Dort. They were required to teach the Lord's prayer, the commandments, the creeds, prayers for morning and evening, grace to be used before and after meals, and the Heidelberg catechism. They were not permitted to use any other books than those authorized in Holland. Unfortunately, the system was not long in operation. Like many similar attempts since that day, it failed on account of the absence of large centres of population, rather than from a want of appreciation of the value of education on the part of the colonists.

The wars which were frequently carried on between European Powers, especially since their attention had been directed to India, made the Company anxious for the safety of its possessions, and as the Cape was considered a station of great importance, it was thought advisable to extend its fortifications. The castle was not in a good position, but supplementary works might greatly increase its power of offering resistance to the fleet of an enemy. With this view the Chavonne battery was built in 1719.

Very few of the early governors ever ventured far from Cape Town. Governor VAN NOOT was an exception. He made a tour through the settlement, and was absent for five or six weeks; but, as he issued only a few trifling orders for the improvement of roads and the construction of a small bridge, he might almost as well have remained at home. This Governor was a tyrant of the worst description. He was in the habit of receiving bribes for the alienation of land from the heirs of deceased persons, and, in many other ways, oppressed the people and filled his own pockets. The pay of the soldiers being extremely small, a practice had long been in vogue of allowing some of them to hire themselves to the farmers, and the money they earned in this way was divided among the whole garrison. This custom seems to have been encouraged by the Company from motives of economy. The soldiers stationed at the Cape were pretty much in the condition of Sir JOHN FALSTAFF'S band, as to apparel, being shoeless and stockingless, and requiring a lengthy roll of names to be called over before one decent coat could be found. In fact, they might be described in the same words that VAN RIEBEECK used regarding the beachrangers, as possessing nothing but hungry bellies. For they were half starved as well as half naked. But their miserable condition excited no compassion in the callous heart of VAN NOOT, as he required all their

earnings to be paid to himself, on the pretence that he intended to supply them with clothing, and then, when the money was in his possession, would not expend so much as a penny for their benefit. Upon this, thirty or forty of the garrison resolved to desert, and march along the coast until they reached some settlement from which they could get to Europe. But the conspiracy was discovered, and seven of the ringleaders were executed by order of the Governor.

In 1729 VAN NOOT died very suddenly, to the great joy of the colonists. Though he held office only fourteen months, he found means in that short time to make himself universally detested. He is kept in remembrance as the worst of all the governors under the East India Company. A very romantic account of his death is given by a German author of the time, a translation of which may be found in a *Collection of Poems, Essays, and Sketches* by W. R. THOMSON, and also in the *Cape Monthly Magazine* for May, 1874. Condensed, it is as follows:—

"Among the seven soldiers who were condemned to die for the crime of conspiring to desert, were two who had once been students of theology in Germany. In their dreadful position, the folly of their past conduct came home to them, and they now endeavoured to prepare themselves and the others for death. For this purpose they were allowed twenty-four hours after the sentence was read to them. On their way to execution, one of them took three, and the other, two of their companions, comforting and praying with them as they went. The prisoners were hanged in succession, and one of the students was the last to suffer. The hangman was about to put the rope round his neck, when he turned his face towards government house and cried out "Governor VAN NOOT! I summon you in this very hour before the judgment seat of the Omniscient God, there to give account of the souls of myself and my companions." After the execution, the members of the Council, escorted by the guard, went to the Governor's residence in the usual manner, to report that the sentence had been carried out. They found VAN NOOT seated in a chair at one end of the large audience hall, but upon bowing to him they received no mark of recognition. They approached, and found he was a corpse. A cry was raised, "The Governor is dead," but it was not believed at first, for he had been seen only half an hour before, healthy and hearty. The occupants of the castle rushed to the spot, but a guard was placed over the door with orders to admit no one. The members of the Council then withdrew to the house of JOHAN DE LA FONTEINE, the second in command, to deliberate as to what was to be done. While they were there, a soldier who was under arrest in the castle heard what had happened, and raised the joyful cry "NOOT is dood," which was at once caught up and echoed by all the soldiers, sailors, and workmen, "NOOT is dood, nu is er geen nood," (NOOT is dead, now there is no need). A plain coffin was then prepared, and the body, just as it was, being put into it, it was carried out by slaves the same night, and buried in a place pointed out by the captain of the guard."

The chair in which the Governor died is now in the South African Museum, Cape Town, but the above narrative is probably overdrawn in some of its details. The account of the ceremony of the public funeral, which is taken from the same source, is more likely to be accurate, as it accords perfectly with the state observed at the time. It is given unabridged:—

"The carpenters had after this to prepare a magnificent coffin of Indian teak, and as soon as this was ready, the funeral ceremonies were arranged with an empty coffin. The two trumpeters, whom the Company allows to the Governor at the Cape, went before, with their trumpets muffled in black cloth. An ensign, with pike reversed, and draped in black, led the six hautboy-players, whose instruments were also draped with black cloth. Then followed the commandant and all the other officers, with the whole garrison, marching with arms reversed; the spontoons were simply draped, but both banners were completely enveloped in black. The drums of the drummers were each wrapped round and muffled with three ells of black cloth, and the sergeants had crape on their halberds. The adjutant, apparently in deep mourning, but inwardly rejoicing, bore aloft, on a pole covered with black cloth and with long pieces of crape fluttering from it, the Governor's coat-of-arms, painted on a square board. Then came the empty coffin, borne by secretaries and assistants, surrounded by the Governor's guard. Four under-merchants held the four corners of the pall. Behind the coffin followed the Acting Governor, the Fiscal-Independent, the clergy, merchants, and all the people of distinction. In marching past, the guard at the gate presented arms, the officers saluted, and the drummers beat the drums. Every minute during the procession, according to a watch held in his hand by the constable, a gun was fired from the bastions of the castle, and answered from all the ships lying in the bay, and at each gun the flags on the ships, as well as the one flying on the Catellenbogen bastion of the castle, were dipped. After the coffin had been carried into the church and interred in the vault, the whole garrison fired three rounds with small arms, each of which was answered by the guns from the castle, and then the soldiers marched back to the strains of lively music. As this imposing funeral ceremony had been conducted with an empty coffin, the common people found cause to believe and to relate that the devil had made away even with the soulless body of the deceased Governor Van Noot."

De la Fontaine, who succeeded to the government, was of a very different character. He was known to the colonists as "The man of the Pleasant Face," and was not only esteemed, but beloved. For nearly a year after Van Noot's death he was merely acting till a successor could be named, and when his own appointment was known, it gave hearty satisfaction. One of his first acts was to release all prisoners unjustly confined by his predecessor, and this was followed by the payment in full, out of the deceased governor's estate, of all money due to the soldiers.

By order of the Chamber of Seventeen, the colonists were shortly afterwards relieved of one custom by which an unjust governor could extort money from them. This was with respect to property in land held on rental. Formerly, the government claimed the right of resuming possession of such farms, with all improvements upon them, at the death of the tenant; though it was usual for an honest governor to permit the heirs of the deceased to succeed to the land on payment of the same rental. Men like ADRIAN VAN DER STELL and VAN NOOT, however, were always ready to grant such farms anew to the one who was willing to give the largest bribe, so that there was no incentive to build or make any other improvements, and the heirs of those who did build sometimes lost all. The supreme authorities now ordered that the heirs were to be at liberty to continue in possession, upon paying the usual rent. But this was not to be considered as a renunciation of the right to resume possession of a farm held on rental, at any time when such farm might be required for the use of the government. From this time forward a farmer might be tolerably certain that as long as his rent was regularly paid, neither he nor his heirs would be disturbed, though he held no other title than the receipt for the rent, issued year by year as the money was paid.

The fortunes of the colony were so dependent upon those of the Company which owned it, that it is necessary to notice at various periods the position of that great Association. From its formation until the year 1665, when its conquests were completed, the yearly dividends were at the rate of twenty and three-quarters per cent, and the shares were selling sometimes as high as six hundred and fifty per cent above par. From 1665 to 1728 the dividends stood at about twenty-three per cent, when they commenced to fall rapidly. Within the first fifty years of its existence, no less than three hundred Portuguese ships, mostly laden with valuable cargoes of Eastern produce, were taken as prizes, and brought in enormous gain. The Portuguese, who met with little opposition from the unwarlike nations of India, had constructed extensive fortifications and government buildings, nearly all of which with the rich spoil contained in them fell into the Company's hands. The management of affairs was conducted with vigour, and at the same time without any ostentation or expense that could be avoided. The coasting trade of Asia was secured, which gave the Company command of a powerful fleet and numerous seamen, without the expense of maintaining men-of-war. But such unexampled prosperity was the cause of final ruin. Luxurious habits were acquired by the officers in the eastern settlements, and situations were multiplied beyond reason or necessity. A desire for display succeeded the primitive simplicity, corruption followed and extended through all branches of the service, even to the very highest. The numerous forts required garrisons, and though many were useless, pride prevented their abandonment. It was the same with the trading establishments. A large proportion of them did not pay expenses, but they were kept up for the sake of appearance. Rivals were already in the field, and English ships were to

be found pushing their commerce everywhere in India, and competing with the Dutch in the markets of Europe. Heavy losses had been sustained in the wars with England, and to a smaller extent in collision with native powers. The manufacture of cotton goods was being extended in Europe, and Indian calicoes were no longer in demand at such high prices as formerly. The coasting trade of Asia fell into the hands of individual merchants, and was lost to the Company.

In Holland itself matters were nearly or quite as bad. The directory was secured by the members of great families, who were content to draw a revenue without caring to correct abuses. Their influence was sufficient to prevent the States-General from exercising the right of inspection into the Company's affairs, and of seeing that its trade was carried on in such a manner as not to be prejudicial to the interests of the Republic. With all these causes combined, the ultimate ruin of the East India Company was already foreseen, unless reforms should be introduced into its administration. But it seemed impossible to alter the vicious system in which its affairs were conducted, so corrupt were its officials, and so difficult would it have been to replace them by other and better men. Many of them were openly trading on their own account, and the only remedy that could be suggested was to allow a commission on all transactions, which was to be divided according to their rank among all the servants of the Company. This plan was adopted, and was in force for a few years, but as it did not even lessen the evil, it was discontinued, and matters were allowed to take their course. Yet the Company managed for more than another half century to preserve its existence, so enormous were the profits of the spice trade, of which it retained the monopoly. Never before had there been anything like the pomp and ceremony that was now displayed by the principal officers of even the pettiest of its settlements. The Cape was no exception. The Governor lived in a style of magnificence that would have dazzled Commander VAN RIEBEEK or his immediate successors. He was not to be approached unless with the greatest humility, and when passing his residence, even though he should not be visible, the common people were obliged to uncover their heads. When his carriage was seen in the streets, every one was required to dismount and stand hat in hand till he passed. This was not custom merely, but law, and punishments were prescribed for the non-observance of these and a hundred other formalities. In the old conquering days of the Company, the members of the Batavian Council dressed as ordinary merchant skippers and sometimes met in their shirt sleeves, to show the natives of the East how widely they differed from the effeminate Portuguese; and here were the servants of their successors exacting homage as if they had been Asiatic despots.

On the 20th of May, 1737, during a very violent gale, eight of the Company's ships were wrecked in Table Bay, and two hundred and seven lives were lost. This great disaster caused the directors to issue an order that in future their ships should make use of Simon's Bay during the

winter months, the season when gales from the north-west are commonly experienced. This necessitated the erection of several government buildings as storehouses and quarters for officers and men, and very shortly a small village sprang up at the new port. But nothing more than was absolutely necessary was removed from Cape Town, though from this date Simon's Bay has taken rank as an important naval station.

About this time the Gamtoos River was declared to be the eastern boundary of the colony. This does not imply that no jurisdiction was to be exercised over tribes beyond that river, but that the farmers were prohibited by order from occupying land there. This was done less with the object of preventing aggression than to enable the government to collect its rents easily. The graziers were accustomed to make use of two farms, often at a great distance from each other, so as to furnish change of pasturage for their cattle, and only paid rent to the government for one, alleging that the other was beyond the boundary. Attempts were more than once made to limit the extent of the colony, but were never attended with success. Restrictions which could not be enforced were insufficient to prevent the graziers from taking for their own use the best pasturage within their reach. They were constantly moving onward, and all the government could do was formally to annex a new district as soon as it was permanently occupied.

On the line of frontier, wherever that was at any given time, difficulties were constantly arising with the natives. That these should rob the graziers of their stock was only what might have been expected, and that those who were thus plundered should feel exasperated was quite natural. But a bitterness of feeling towards the unhappy aborigines, that could have been prevented, was created by the system of defence adopted by the Company. Neither soldiers nor police were employed in the interior, solely to prevent expense, and the government armed the colonists and left them to protect themselves. Officers entitled Field Commandants and Field Cornets were appointed, who had power to call out all the adult male inhabitants of their districts to punish thieves and marauders. A body of farmers brought into service in this manner was termed a commando. To the persons aggrieved was thus left the punishment of the offenders, which was often executed without mercy or moderation.

The conquest of one people by another more highly civilized may prove a blessing if the conquerors intermingle with the vanquished, and give them in exchange for their independence a better religion, better laws, and a more comfortable mode of existence. The early colonists in South Africa did nothing of the kind. As a people, they never bestowed a thought upon the welfare of those whose lands they had seized. Most of the Hottentots residing within the limits of the settlement were now sunk in poverty and misery. The tribes that VAN RIEBEEK found so wealthy in cattle had disappeared, and in their place was a mere remnant, a large portion of which was in a state of servitude. The government, it is true,

had never formally enslaved them,—this could not be done in accordance with the laws of Holland,—it had even inculcated the propriety of dealing justly with them; but it was powerless to prevent oppression. Sometimes bartering cattle with those beyond the border was legal, at other times it was prohibited; but at all times there were individuals to be found, whom the law could not reach, capable of committing violent acts for the purpose of acquiring stock. In one instance of a raid upon native kraals, that had been more than usually successful, we find the Governor complaining in his despatches that he could not bring the criminals to justice, because so many of the inhabitants of the settlement were implicated. Those natives who were in the employment of the settlers were in a position, as regards comfort and happiness, inferior even to that of their ancestors. Their life was one of toil, and the colonist seemed to think that if he supplied them with tobacco and an occasional glass of brandy he was acting generously towards them. Their conversion to the Christian faith was never attempted, except in a few isolated instances. The idea seemed to prevail that because they did not already possess the Christian virtues, they could never be brought to cherish them.

The Bushman, deprived of his land and of his game, could exist only by plunder, and the Dutch either could not or would not discriminate between him and the Hottentot. It is indeed highly probable that the Bushmen ranks had received many recruits from the Hottentots whom hunger and misery had made desperate. Those who preferred an independent life to one of subjection had hardly any other choice than to live as Bushmen. One or two clans, indeed, are supposed to have removed far away, beyond the Orange River, where their descendants are still found; but when once impoverished, such a course was impossible. Those who had sufficient foresight to emigrate in time were so few that they can hardly be taken into account when the condition of their countrymen as a whole is under consideration.

Accounts of the condition of these people reached Europe from time to time, and created among the benevolent a hearty desire to aid them. The Moravian Society was the first to take the matter in hand in earnest. A missionary was selected and sent out to form an experimental station, so that the Society might afterwards be guided by his experience. In the year 1737 GEORGE SCHMIDT, the Apostle of the Hottentots, arrived in South Africa. He appears to have met with no opposition at first, as he was readily permitted to commence the work to which he had devoted himself. At a place then called Baviaans Kloof, now known as Genadendal—the Vale of Grace,—in the present division of Caledon, this zealous man collected a number of Hottentots, whom he instructed in the principles of the Christian religion. He opened a school, in which he taught the youth to read Dutch, and he even attempted to train several of them as artizans. He cultivated a garden for his own use, and induced some of the Hottentots to follow his example. In 1742 he considered five of his pupils sufficiently

advanced in Christian knowledge to be admitted to all the privileges of Christian membership, and, at their own request, he baptized them. The report of this proceeding roused the jealousy of the clergy at the Cape. They disputed his right to administer the sacraments, as, according to law, only clergymen of the Reformed Dutch church were at liberty to do so in the colony. Henceforth he was subjected to much annoyance and opposition from both the officials and the burghers. So little were his labours understood or appreciated by the colonists, that they imputed to him the design of making himself a chief of the Hottentots, or at least of enriching himself by illegally purchasing cattle from his converts and their friends. This was the reason assigned to the traveller SPARRMAN, thirty years afterwards, for the treatment which SCHMIDT experienced.

The missionary himself appears to have looked forward to very great results in a short time. Like others a hundred years later, he thought the truths which he proclaimed were so grand that the savages who heard them would at once believe and act accordingly. Like his successors in the same work he was disappointed; for so strong is conservatism, or the force of hereditary habit, in all barbarians, that the first stages of their advancement towards civilization must always be slow and tedious. With the knowledge that has now been gained, it is rather a matter of astonishment that SCHMIDT was able to accomplish as much as he undoubtedly did, in so brief a period as seven years. But knowledge is only an accumulation of experience, and the missionary among such a people as the Hottentots then were had no man's previous labours for a guide. Under such incessant labour, far away from society, and deprived of everything like ordinary comfort, it is no wonder that his strength and spirits began to give way. In 1744, after taking an affecting farewell of his little flock, now numbering forty-seven, and leaving them in charge of the most steady of their number, he returned to Europe to recruit his failing health and obtain assistants for the work. In the following year he applied to the East India Company for permission to return; but an objection having been made by some persons of influence, that the propagation of Christianity by the Moravians among the Hottentots would be detrimental to the interests of the colony, his request was refused, to his great grief and disappointment. A long night of darkness and misery was yet before the wretched Hottentots.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE ATTEMPT OF THE MORAVIANS TO ESTABLISH A MISSION TO THE EXTENSION OF THE FRONTIER TO THE GREAT FISH RIVER. 1744 TO 1780.

Principal Subjects:—Formation of the District and Village of Swellendam.—Prosperity of the Colony under Governor Tulbagh.—Exports.—Condition of the Slaves.—Treatment of Hottentots and Bushmen in the Frontier Districts.—The Orange River visited by Colonel Gordon.—Petition of the Colonists to the Home Government.—The Fiscal's Statement of the Principle on which the Colony was governed.—Permission granted to the Lutherans to establish a Church in Cape Town.—Extension of the Colony to the Great Fish River.

Governors:—HENDRIK SWELLENGREBEL,
RYK TULBAGH, March 30, 1751.
JOACHIM VAN PLETTENBERG, August 12, 1771.

As early as 1740 a resolution was passed to form a new district out of the great tract of land recently occupied eastward of Stellenbosch, and a site was selected for government offices. In 1745 a landdrost and heemraden were appointed, and a court was formally opened. The village was named Swellendam after the Governor, SWELLENGREBEL, and his lady, whose maiden name was DAMME. The district included all the country from the Breede River to the Gamtoos. The village was at too great a distance from a market to prosper as rapidly as Stellenbosch. The roads were merely waggon tracks across the country, upon which no labour worth mentioning had been expended. The district was not occupied for agricultural, but for pastoral purposes, and was therefore given out in large runs to graziers, upon payment of a small yearly rental.

Governor SWELLENGREBEL, who was a colonist by birth, took much pains in improving his native town. It was during the period of his government that the great parade ground in Cape Town was levelled and turfed.

In 1751 the Astronomer LACAILLE arrived in South Africa, having come hither for the purpose of measuring an arc of the meridian. His observatory was in Cape Town, and he remained two years in the colony. The amount of scientific work which he accomplished was very considerable, and, considering the appliances at his disposal, his measurements were remarkably accurate.

It was the policy of the Company to keep only two harbours open on the coast. Their object in this was to prevent ships of other nations from obtaining supplies, and they did not care to be at the expense of garrisoning more than Cape Town and Simon's Town. In 1752 the Danish ship *Crown Princess* was wrecked in Mossel Bay. The crew got safely to shore, and

erected a flagstaff in a prominent position, to serve as a guide to any ship that might wish to enter the bay, which was purposely very inaccurately laid down on the charts. Immediately after the departure of the ship-wrecked crew, the government caused the flagstaff to be removed, and prohibited the erection of any building in sight of the harbour.

In 1753 the small pox appeared again in the colony. In Cape Town a large proportion of the inhabitants perished of it, though in the interior it was less destructive of life than on its first appearance forty years before. But on this occasion also whole kraals of natives were swept off by this fatal disease, for which no remedy was then known.

In 1755 the English East India Company's ship *Doddington* was wrecked on one of the Bird Islands, in Algoa Bay, when upwards of two hundred lives were lost. Those who were saved despatched two of their number in a little boat to explore the neighbouring coast, and as they must have landed on or near the site of the present town of Port Elizabeth, it is interesting to learn how they fared. Beaching the beach near nightfall, and being very weary, they turned their skiff upside down, and crept under her to try to get some rest. They were soon disturbed by the hyenas prowling about and sniffing under the gunwale, but nothing worse than fright befell them from being in the company of these voracious animals. Next morning a party of natives, either Bushmen or Beach Hottentots, made their appearance, and robbed the strangers of their clothing and weapons. After this inhospitable reception, the poor fellows thought only of saving their lives, and were thankful to be permitted to return in the skiff to their comrades on the island. There some months were spent in building a large boat, with which the whole party ultimately escaped.

There were now some eight or ten thousand persons of European extraction in the colony. There had been no large immigration from Europe since that of the French refugees, the increase being due to the discharge of the Company's servants and to the prolific nature of the settlers. The colonists usually married at an early age, and were then, as now, noted for their large families. From ten to fifteen children was the usual number in a household. The French as well as the German settlers had lost their nationality and their language, and all had become blended into one race, the individuals composing which were undistinguishable from each other save by their names. All spoke the colonial dialect of the Dutch language. No lands were granted in freehold, excepting in the immediate vicinity of Cape Town. In the newly settled parts, the houses were seldom nearer to each other than an hour's ride on horseback. Farms ranging in size from five thousand to twenty thousand acres were leased at a yearly rental of less than £5. Over the people scattered about in such an extent of country the government could have but little control. In Cape Town and its neighbourhood the colonists were kept in such subjection that laws were even made to regulate their clothing and that of their wives and children, and to determine who should, and who should not, carry an umbrella; but on

the ever extending frontier the white man did exactly what he chose. The graziers there led an indolent life, and not a few of them had become nomads. They were exceedingly hospitable, so that though there was no such thing as a wayside inn, a stranger found no difficulty in travelling from one end of the colony to the other. Everywhere he was welcome to stay as long as he pleased, but was expected to conform to the habits of his hosts. From travellers the inhabitants got all the news they ever heard, for there were neither newspapers nor posts in the country. Once in his lifetime the grazier was compelled to visit Cape Town, for the purpose of getting married, but many of them never visited it afterwards. They obtained nearly all they required from their herds. What money they needed was procured in exchange for slaughter cattle and sheep, which were sent in droves to town upon the arrival of a fleet. Besides these, butter was almost the only article they had to dispose of. This they sent to Cape Town when they required clothing or ammunition. Their dwelling houses were mostly rude buildings of two rooms each, with earthen floors and unglazed windows, and were nearly devoid of furniture. Cattle had become with them, as with the Hottentots, the sole source and representative of wealth.

In 1771 Governor TULBAGH died. He was very highly esteemed by the colonists, and was the most popular of all the governors of the colony during the rule of the East India Company. This was owing to the new maxims which he introduced into the government, rather than to any relaxation of the rigidity of the laws. None of his predecessors enforced such a strict observance of etiquette, and in military matters he was a perfect martinet. It was he who introduced the sumptuary laws of India into this colony,—regulations which were intended to keep the common people from imitating the expensive habits in dress and style of living which characterized the officers of government. Laws of this nature had been in force in South Africa long before, but none were so strict or so minute in detail as those which TULBAGH introduced. By ability and bravery he had risen from the rank of a private soldier in the Company's service, through the various grades of office, until he obtained the rank of Senior Merchant and Governor of the Cape Colony; and as he had done his duty thoroughly in every station, so he required every one else to do his. A man of sterling good sense and honesty, he was also keen in business matters, and knew well how to bring money into the coffers of his employers. During the twenty years of his government, the colony entailed no expense whatever upon the Company, and yet no new taxes were levied upon the burghers. He was the first to encourage foreign ships to call at the Cape for supplies, and by furnishing them with provisions at high prices, he was enabled to purchase all kinds of farm produce at rates remunerative to the growers, and yet leave a good margin for the Company. Before his time so unfriendly was the reception usually accorded to foreigners, that very rarely more than ten or a dozen vessels

under any other than the Dutch flag called at Table Bay in the course of a year. He saw that English and French ships reached India without assistance, and that it was folly to withhold any thing from them which they were prepared to purchase. Not only did he see this himself, but he managed to induce the Chamber of Seventeen to allow him to act according to his own judgment. During the wars between France and England, the ships of both those nations were supplied with provisions from the Company's stores at the Cape, as long as TULBAGH was Governor. He looked upon them as good customers, from whom the Company could make a handsome profit, and who could purchase elsewhere if he were to decline dealing with them. At the same time he permitted no such thing as free trade to the burghers: the Company bought from them to sell again, and if they received better prices than formerly, they ought to be grateful. And grateful they were, for this period of prosperity was long known to them and their descendants as "the good old times of Father TULBAGH."

At this time the exports consisted almost entirely of wine and wheat. The wine made at Constantia had become celebrated all over Europe, and was sent in considerable quantities to Holland. The surplus wheat was sent to Batavia. It amounted to about twenty thousand muids yearly, and was grown principally in the Stellenbosch district. A few skins and ostrich feathers, together with a little ivory, made up the balance of exports. There was always abundance of fresh provisions of every kind for ships that called at Table Bay.

The slaves were giving a great deal of trouble to their masters. Many of them were Malays, sent to this country by the Indian authorities, and these were prone to murder their oppressors whenever opportunity offered. Bands of fugitives infested the country, and were a constant source of terror to the farmers. People were compelled to sleep with their doors securely bolted and with loaded firearms at hand, and to be otherwise constantly prepared for defence in case of attack. For a long time past manumission had been discontinued, and the slaves were now equal in number to the Europeans. It is probable that their treatment was, upon the whole, less cruel in South Africa than in any other part of the world where the system has prevailed. The horrors of a West Indian sugar plantation, for instance, where the slaves worked in droves under the supervision and lash of an overseer, could never have been displayed on an equal scale in a country where agricultural operations were limited, and where the breeding of cattle was the principal source of wealth. Yet a perusal of the authentic documents of the colony at this period is sufficient to startle the most callous, so vividly are the sufferings of slaves therein portrayed, without any intention on the part of the writers to create sympathy for the bondsmen. At the will of the man who happened to own them, they could be sold at any moment, the members of a family could be separated for ever, they could be flogged, ill-fed, ill-housed, com-

pelled to perform any service. Their punishment for crimes against the community, adjudged by courts of law, was out of all proportion to that inflicted upon free men for the same offences. Yet many of these unfortunates were free born, and while some had been enslaved for their crimes and sent hither from India, the majority were guilty of no offence against the white man. They were simply ensnared, or else were purchased from some tribe with which their own was at war.

Occasionally a tragedy, long to be remembered, marked the importation of a fresh cargo. Such, for instance, attended the expedition of the East India Company's ship *Hooker de Mermin*, which sailed from the Cape to Madagascar to obtain slaves by purchase. Her captain hit upon a plan of saving his merchandise for another market. He managed to entice a large party of natives, together with their chief, aboard his vessel, and then seized them at a moment when they were incapable of resistance, put them all in irons, and set sail for Table Bay again. The voyage was nearly over, when Captain MULLER very imprudently permitted a large number of his prisoners to be released at once. The usual plan was to relieve only a few at a time of their irons, to permit them to remain on deck for an hour, and then to exchange them for another party from the stifling hold. By this means the voyage could be performed without much loss of life, and with absolute safety to the captors. Why Captain MULLER did not follow the established usage is not known. He had a strong crew, and probably he did not imagine that his prisoners would seek to regain their liberty. He was to pay dearly for his mistake. The slaves rose upon the crew, overpowered them, and put to death all of their late masters except the captain, mate, and a few men to work the ship. They then directed the vessel's head to be turned towards the east, the quarter from which they knew they had come. The course steered by day was altered by night, and soon they came in sight of Cape L'Agulhas, which the mate informed the savages was part of their own country. He further persuaded them that the vessel required some repairs, and thus no opposition was made when the anchors were dropped. Bottles containing an account of their situation were thrown overboard at the rise of the tide, and by chance were picked up by some people who happened to be fishing from the rocks. The whole neighbourhood was immediately roused, and a strong body of armed men proceeded to the beach, taking care, however, not to approach within sight. Some Hottentots were then sent to kindle a large fire on a knoll, which, when the captain saw, he raised his anchors and ran the ship ashore. The savages, seeing no Europeans on the beach and believing the fire to have been made by their own countrymen, leaped into the surf and swam ashore as soon as the ship struck. They had hardly landed when the commando made its appearance, and at once fired a volley among them. They could not resist. Some ran into the sea and drowned themselves, the remainder were re-enslaved. But the tragedy was not yet complete. Captain MULLER knew that he would be called to account for releasing his

prisoners, and rather than suffer the punishment which would fall upon him for that imprudent act, he chose to commit suicide.

Being of many different nationalities, the slaves were incapable of uniting for the purpose of throwing off their chains. No pains were taken to instruct them in the Christian faith. According to the Dutch law no baptized person could be a slave, and this law, which was intended to raise Christian bondsmen to the position of free men, effectually prevented the propagation of Christianity among them. The act of baptism being made equivalent to an act of manumission, it was to the owner's interest to keep his slaves in ignorance, and thus a law made to encourage Christianity actually prohibited it. In the long-settled parts of the colony, where agriculture was carried on, slaves were comparatively much more numerous than on the frontier, where the colonists were principally graziers.

Herdsmen and domestic servants were therefore in demand in the newly-settled parts. These were obtained by compelling Hottentots and Bushmen to take service, and very cruel measures were resorted to for this purpose. The natives were hunted down by commandos in a manner which must ever leave a stigma upon the memory of the frontier colonists of last century. The usual course of proceeding was for a farmer to complain to the landdrost that his cattle had been stolen by Hottentots or Bushmen; the landdrost reported the matter to government and requested a supply of powder and lead, which was usually granted; the farmers of the district were then called together, and proceeded to attack the nearest kraals. No mercy was shown to adults, but the children were spared to be parcelled out as servants among the members of the commando. Many of the reports made by the commanders of these expeditions to their landdrosts have been published from time to time, so that it is not alone from the statements of travellers that we are made aware of their proceedings. They themselves made no attempt to conceal or gloss over what had been done, for most of them really believed that they were doing God a service by (as they expressed it) extirpating the heathen root and branch.

It must not be supposed that the Bushmen submitted to treatment like this without any attempt at retaliation. Many farmers were entirely ruined by their depredations, and not a few perished from the poison of their arrows. It was impossible to make a treaty with them, since they had no recognized head or any form of government. Some humane individuals tried the experiment of treating them with kindness, but it failed. They collected a number of cattle and sheep, and presented them to the Bushmen in their neighbourhood, advising them to adopt a pastoral life, and live in friendship with the whites. But the savages at a distance no sooner heard this, than they attacked and despoiled their own countrymen. Others of the colonists paid an annual tribute of sheep and cattle to certain hordes for protection. But these were exceptions, as most of the frontier farmers never thought of attempting to conciliate the natives.

The servitude of the natives was of a different nature from that of the imported negroes. They could not be bought and sold like these, and therefore their masters took less interest in their welfare. They were simply distributed among those colonists who needed them, and in return for their labour, were provided with food, remaining in the service of the same master till death relieved them of their bondage. With respect to their children, the colonial regulations provided that all who were born while their parents were in service, and all who during youth received food from a colonist, should serve him till they were twenty-five years old. But, as they could easily be kept in ignorance of their age,—though according to law, every birth was required to be registered,—their term of service virtually lasted till their strength was exhausted and themselves so decrepit as to be useless, when they were discharged or provided for, according as their master was cruel or humane.

In 1778, Colonel GORDON, commander of the garrison in Cape Town, explored the country to the northward as far as the great river, which after the title of the Stadtholder of the United Provinces, he named the Orange. This name it still bears, though it is generally called by the Dutch Groote Rivier, and is laid down in some maps as the Gariep, that being its native designation. The Colonel saw the river near where Colesberg is now built, and knew nothing of its course further up or down, except what he could gather from natives whose information was vague and limited. Its mouth had been explored a century before, but it was reserved for a missionary thirty-four years later to trace the course between, and to make known the existence of the cataracts that are midway.

Under VAN PLETTENBERG'S administration the colony returned to the same condition in which it was before the time of TULBAGH. Real liberty had never been known, but the sweets of prosperity had once been tasted. Now, however, there was neither liberty nor prosperity. At this time the white population of the colony was being increased rapidly by the discharge of soldiers and sailors, while adventurers from Europe occasionally travelled from one end to the other, and made the inhabitants acquainted with events that were transpiring abroad. The American colonies of Great Britain had recently declared themselves independent, and the story of how they were fighting for freedom was listened to with attention by those who were themselves oppressed in so many ways. Henceforth the aspirations of the burghers were directed towards a new object: they, too, became desirous of enjoying a share of personal and commercial freedom.

In 1779, those residing near Cape Town empowered four of their number to draw up and present to the Home Government a memorial setting forth their wrongs and praying for relief. In this petition they desired, among other things: That the officers should be interdicted from carrying on commerce, and that burghers should be empowered to sell their produce to foreign vessels. That the fiscal should be prevented from arbitrarily committing burghers to prison, and from compounding crimes by fines

which went to his private purse. That a prohibition should be issued against the seizure of the inhabitants and their deportation to the Indian settlements, against their will and according to the caprice of the authorities. That the laws in force should be clearly made known to them, so that they might no longer be subject to the arbitrary exactions of fiscals and landdrosts in the extension and limitation of fines and penalties. That they should be allowed a right of appeal from judicial decisions to the courts of Holland instead of to the Batavian court. That they should be allowed a direct trade with Holland to the extent of purchasing annually two ships' cargoes of goods there, and loading the same vessels with Cape produce to be sold by the Company in Holland in payment for such purchases. That they should be allowed some vessels to carry the produce of the colony to India after the requirements of the Company were supplied, and to receive in return wood, rice, and other articles of commerce. And that they might be permitted to trade in slaves with Madagascar and Zanzibar, so that foreigners might not secure all the profit of this traffic.

This petition failed in its object. It was referred to the fiscal, W. C. Boers, whose report upon it shows clearly the principles upon which the colony was governed. "It would be mere waste of words," wrote he, "to dwell on the remarkable distinction to be drawn between burghers whose ancestors nobly fought for and conquered their freedom from tyranny, and from whose fortitude in the cause of liberty the very power of our republic has sprung, and such as are named burghers here, who have been permitted as matter of grace to have a residence in a land of which possession has been taken by the sovereign power, there to gain a livelihood as tillers of the earth, tailors, and shoemakers. The object of paramount importance in legislation for colonies should be the welfare of the parent state. No great penetration is needed to see plainly the impossibility of granting this petition. The dangerous consequences which would result to the State in general, and in particular to the Honourable Company, from the concession of free commerce to a colony situated midway between Europe and the Indies, are manifest. It would soon be no longer a subordinate colony, but an independent state." It was held to be a principle of law at the Cape of Good Hope in those days, that no one could transfer any greater right than he himself possessed, and that the descendants of the Company's freed servants were therefore in precisely the same position as their ancestors. This was not only the theory but the practice of the law, since citizens could be, and were, seized and banished from the colony at the pleasure of the government.

The Reformed Dutch Church had hitherto been the only one tolerated, but in 1780 the Lutherans were permitted to establish a church in Cape Town, with a pastor of their own persuasion. To this communion belonged not only many of the inhabitants, but very often the principal officers of the garrison and a large proportion of the soldiers, so that a concession in their favour was politic, if not necessary.

In this year the Cango caverns, in the present division of Oudtshoorn, were accidentally discovered by a boer named VAN ZIJL, who was on a hunting excursion. They are believed to be the largest caverns in the world, passages having been explored for a distance of at least a mile into the mountain, without the end being reached, while on each side openings of unknown depth occur at short intervals. The stalactites in some of the chambers present a very grand appearance when seen by the light of numerous torches. Being constantly saturated with water, they are semi-transparent and of dazzling brightness, while they present innumerable varieties of fanciful and grotesque forms. Several of the halls and chambers that have been explored are of immense size, one being eight hundred feet in length, another six hundred feet in length, one hundred in breadth, and sixty to seventy in height.

By this time the colonists had reached the Great Fish River, which was to be the eastern boundary for nearly seventy years to come. As they had advanced and occupied the country by successive stages, the government had followed them, but here they met with the powerful and warlike Kaffir tribes, by whom their progress in this direction was stayed. In 1754 the country as far as Algoa Bay was taken in. The next extension was in 1778, when Governor VAN PLETTENBERG caused a beacon to be erected on the bank of the Zeekoe River, a few miles west of the present village of Colesberg, thus extending the boundary in that direction. The Governor, attended by Colonel GORDON, was at the time making a tour of inspection through the colony. Having arrived at Bruintjes Hoogte, in the present division of Somerset East, he sent the Colonel into Kaffirland to invite the nearest Kaffir chiefs to visit him and arrange a boundary. Eight of the chiefs accepted the invitation, and proceeded to meet the Governor at his temporary quarters. There an agreement was concluded that the Great Fish River was to be a permanent boundary between the colonists and the Kaffirs, neither of which people had then reached its banks except at a few points along its upper course. Two years afterwards the farmers are found quite up to the river along nearly its whole length, and the Kaffirs were moving onward just as rapidly from the opposite direction. From 1780 then, the Great Fish River became the boundary, not because Governor VAN PLETTENBERG had proclaimed it as such, but because on the other side was a race capable of holding its own against intruders. Had none but Hottentots been there, the river would have been passed as so many others had been before, in contempt of all orders to the contrary. From this date the Hottentot tribes must be considered to have lost all semblance of independence in this part of South Africa.

CHAPTER XI.

ABORIGINES OF SOUTH AFRICA.—THE KAFFIRS.

THE people to whom the colonists had now become neighbours are known to us under the name of Kaffirs. Europeans have designated them thus ever since the discovery of the country, though they themselves cannot even pronounce the word, as the English sound of the letter *r* is wanting in their language. *R* in Kaffir words as now written, represents the same guttural sound as *g* does in Dutch, or the Scotch sound of *ch* in loch; thus Rarabe is pronounced Khah-khah-bay. They have no word by which to signify the whole race, but each tribe has its own title, which is usually the name of its first great chief, with the plural prefix Ama, Aba, or Imi. A very large portion of South Africa is occupied by these people. All along the eastern coast as far southward as the Great Fish River, from the sea to the great mountain range, the country is thickly populated with Kaffir tribes. On the other side of the mountains, the Bechuanas, their near kindred, are found stretching almost across to the Atlantic shore, from the very heart of the continent southward to the Orange River.

The country to the north-eastward of the Cape Colony and to the south-westward of the present colony of Natal was found in the occupation of four great tribes,—the Amampondomisi, the Amampondo, the Abatembu, and the Amaxosa,—who formed nations as distinct from each other as are the French and the Italians. Their language was nearly the same, and their laws and customs varied very slightly, but in all that respected government they were absolutely independent of each other. The tribes further northward differ somewhat from these, but not very materially. The difference that exists has arisen from a mixture of Hottentot blood in the south-western tribes, especially in those furthest in advance, by whom some of the Hottentot clicks have been incorporated into the language. The Amamfengu tribe, now residing eastward of the Kei, is of recent formation, and its history will be traced in ensuing chapters. The Amabaca, who are living at present between the Cape Colony and Natal, are also only late immigrants. Of the four nations named as residing there in 1780, the Amaxosa was the one bordering immediately upon the colony, and with which the white man has had to contend for supremacy. It had recently separated into two great sections: the Amagcaleka residing eastward of the Kei, and the Amararabe westward of that river; but its subdivisions were numerous and intricate. The Abatembu at that time occupied the land between the Bashee and Umtata rivers, from which position they were afterwards driven to the country about the sources of the Kei, where some of their clans came into collision with the Europeans.

Since 1780 great changes have taken place with regard to the customs as well as the government of a large proportion of the Kaffirs adjoining the colony, but some of the tribes are yet independent, and as these have not been influenced to any great extent by European civilisation, a description of them as we see them to-day will be a correct representation of the condition of the whole of their race a hundred years ago.

Each tribe is presided over by a great chief, whose government is, however, but little felt beyond his own clan, each petty division being under a ruler who is in reality nearly independent. All of the chiefs of the four tribes mentioned, with a solitary exception, are descendants of one ancient house. The offshoots of this great house, who are not themselves chiefs, are of aristocratic rank, and are exempt from obedience to the laws which govern the commonalty. The person of a chief is inviolable, and an indignity offered to one of them is considered a crime of the gravest nature. With regard to the common people, the theory of the law is that they are the property of the rulers, and consequently an offence against any of their persons is atoned for by a fine to the chief. Murder and assaults are punished in this manner. Thus in theory the government is despotic, but in practice it has many checks. The first is the existence of a body of councillors about the person of each chief, whose advice he is compelled to listen to. A second is the custom prevailing that a man who can escape from a chief whose enmity he has incurred will be protected by any other with whom he takes refuge, so that an arbitrary or unpopular ruler is in constant danger of losing his followers.

The chief in council makes the law and administers it, but from the courts of the petty chiefs there is an appeal to the head of the nation. Only two kinds of punishment are known: fines and death. Lawsuits are of frequent occurrence, and many of the Kaffirs display great ability and remarkable powers of oratory in conducting them. The decisions of celebrated chiefs in important cases are carefully preserved by the elders of the tribes, and these precedents form a body of common law recognised everywhere as binding. The judges have therefore something to guide them in their proceedings, though most of them are exceedingly venal. They will sit, however, with exemplary patience, for days together, to hear all the details of a case, and, when bribery is impossible, their sentences are usually in accordance with strict justice.

The manner in which the Kaffirs became divided into independent tribes in ancient times is clearly shown by the law of succession to the chieftainship, which is in force to the present day. The first wives of a chief are usually the daughters of some of his father's principal retainers; but as he increases in power his alliance is courted by great families, and thus it generally happens that the last of his wives is the highest in rank. Probably she is the daughter of a neighbouring chief, for it is indispensable in her case that the blood of the ruling line should flow in her veins. She is termed the great wife, and her eldest son is the principal heir. Another of his wives

is invested at some period of his life, with the consent of his councillors and friends, with the title of wife of the right hand, and to her eldest son is allotted a portion of the tribe, with which he forms a new clan. The government of this is intrusted to him as soon as he is full grown, so that while his brother is still a child he has opportunities of increasing his own power. If he is the abler ruler of the two, war between them follows almost to a certainty as soon as the great heir reaches manhood and is also invested with a separate command. Should peace be maintained, upon the death of his father the son of the right hand acknowledges his brother as superior in rank, but pays him no tribute, nor admits of his right to interfere in any manner with the internal government of the new clan. Thus there was always a tendency to division and subdivision of the tribes, which was the great fault of the system. But while it operated against unity, it tended towards a rapid expansion of the people in a country where only a slight opposition could be made by the earlier inhabitants. The less powerful chief of the two would naturally desire to reside at a considerable distance from his competitor, and thus a new tract of country would be taken possession of. The practice was introduced by Gconde, six generations back, of dividing each tribe into three sections, by the elevation of a third son to power, with the title of representative of the ancients or son of the left hand. But it was not generally adopted until Ngqika, about the beginning of the present century, gave it his countenance, since which time this custom has been almost universally followed by the Amaxosa, so that the number of petty chiefs and little clans is now very great.

The Kaffir of the coast region is a model of a well-formed man. In general, he is large, without being corpulent, strong, muscular, erect in bearing, and with all his limbs in perfect symmetry. His skull is shaped like that of a European; but here the resemblance ends, for his colour is a deep brown, and his hair short and woolly. His intellectual abilities are of no mean order, and his reasoning powers are quite equal to those of a white man. He is haughty in demeanour, and possesses a large amount of vanity. Before they came into contact with Europeans the men were handsomer than the women, which was owing to the difference in their mode of living. This is still the case with those who adhere to their ancestral customs, but whenever they adopt European habits the females improve in appearance. The reason is that in the former instance they are stunted in growth and hardened in limb by excessive toil at an early age.

Their folklore, which is exceedingly rich, is not of a high moral character, but it displays a considerable amount of power of thought and imagination. Until within the last few years, it breathed the sentiments, the religious ideas, the hopes, and the fears of the people. It was a true picture of their inner life, and just because of its being so, it had a firm hold upon their affections. Now that many of them are adopting our ideas, the tales of their ancestors are dying out, for these have lost their chief attraction. There are many stories like our "Jack the Giant Killer," in which a

maneater figures; but it would be as unfair to infer from this that the Kaffirs were once a race of cannibals as that the English were. These traditionary tales probably had their origin in the remembrances of a period of devastating wars, similar to those of TSHAKA, MSILIKAZI, and DINGAN, when the remnants of conquered nations were reduced for a time by extremity of need to eat human flesh. Certain it is, that in those instances of cannibalism which have occurred in modern times, the Kaffirs expressed as much abhorrence of the practice as Europeans in similar circumstances would have done.

Their language is rich in words, and is musical in expression, owing to the great number of vowels used, and to a rule which requires the subordinate words of a sentence to agree in sound with the principal one. The noun is the governing word in this system of euphony, and the inflections which are undergone by other parts of speech are very great. The structure of the language differs so widely from that of all others spoken out of Africa that it was a long time before Europeans could ascertain the rules by which it is governed. There is no difficulty whatever in expressing the most abstract ideas in it. By the western tribes it has been somewhat degraded, through the introduction of a good many Hottentot words containing clicks. These are now represented in Kaffir literature by the letters c, q, and x. The women do not always use the same words as the men, owing to a strange custom which prohibits females from pronouncing the names of any of their husband's male relatives in the ascending line, or any words whatever in which the principal syllables of such names occur. The violation of this custom is considered as showing a want of proper respect for superiors, and owing to its observance in many instances almost a distinct dialect has come into use. Before the advent of the white man they knew nothing of letters or of any signs by which ideas could be expressed. Their history is thus traditional, and cannot be considered authentic beyond three or four generations. There are old men in every tribe who profess to be acquainted with the deeds of the past, but their accounts of these seldom correspond in details. The genealogy of the great chiefs, even, as given by them, is not the same beyond the time of SIKOMO, the eighth in order from the present one, while, with regard to minor chiefs, considerable confusion exists two or three generations later. They know of no other periods in reckoning time than the day and the lunar month, and can describe events only as happening before or after some remarkable occurrence, such as the death of a chief. The different seasons of the year are indicated by the rise in the evening of particular constellations, to which, as well as to several of the prominent stars and planets, they have given expressive names.

Their dress was composed of skins of animals formed into a square mantle the size of a large blanket, which they wrapped about their persons. The skin of the leopard was reserved for chiefs and their principal councillors alone, but any other could be used by common people. Within the

lifetime of the present generation woollen and cotton blankets have come into such general use that a fur robe is now very rarely seen. Married women wear a short leather petticoat at all times; in warm weather men and children go quite naked. No covering is ordinarily worn on the head, though a fillet, intended for show, is commonly bound round it, and a fantastic head-dress is used by the women on certain festive occasions. They are fond of decorating their persons with ornaments, such as shells and teeth of animals, used as necklaces, copper and ivory rings on their arms, &c. They protect their bodies from the effects of the sun by rubbing themselves all over with fat and red clay, which makes them look like polished bronze. Their clothing is greased and coloured in the same manner.

They live in villages, large or small according to circumstances, and their habitations consist of huts shaped like beehives. These are formed of strong wickerwork frames thatched with reeds or grass, and are proof against rain or wind. The largest are about twenty-five feet in diameter, and seven or eight feet in height at the centre. They are entered by a low, narrow aperture, which is the only opening in the structure. A hard and smooth floor is made of antheaps, moistened with water and then kneaded with a round stone. When this has set, it is painted with a mixture of cowdung and water, which is the material used ever afterwards for keeping it in good order. In the centre of the floor a fireplace is made, by raising a band of an inch or two in height and three or four feet in diameter, and slightly hollowing the enclosed space. Tasty housewives bestow a great deal of attention upon their fire-circles, often enclosing them with three bands, a large one in the centre and a smaller one on each side of it, differently coloured, and resembling a coil of large rope lying between concentric coils of less thickness. Against the wall of the hut are ranged the various utensils in common use, the space around the fire-circle being reserved for a sleeping apartment. Here in the evening mats are spread, upon which the inmates lie down to rest, the feet of each one being towards the centre. Above their heads the thatched roof is glossy with soot, and vermin swarm on every side. It is only in cold or stormy weather that huts are occupied during the day, for the people spend the greater portion of their waking hours in the open air.

To each family a piece of ground suitable for a garden is allotted by the chief, all the remaining land being used as a commonage on which to depasture cattle. The villages are usually in situations commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country, and are always built on ground with good natural drainage. The brow of a hill, with a clear flowing stream at its base and fertile garden ground beyond, is the kind of site they particularly delight in.

The Kaffirs are warlike in disposition and brave in the field, though when fighting with Europeans they seldom venture upon a pitched battle, owing to their dread of fire-arms. In olden times, their weapons of offence were

wooden clubs with heavy heads and assegais or javelins. The assegai consists of a long, thin, iron head, with both edges sharp and terminating in a point, and is attached by thongs to a slender shaft or rod. Poising this first in his uplifted hand and imparting to it a quivering motion, the Kaffir hurls it forth with great force and accuracy of aim; but, formidable as this weapon is in native encounters, it is of little effect when opposed to fire-arms. The club is used at close quarters, and can also be thrown to a considerable distance. Boys are trained to the use of both of these weapons from an early age. Of late years the Kaffirs have armed themselves with guns, in addition to these. Before they became acquainted with European weapons, the warriors used to protect their persons with shields made of oxhide, which varied in size and pattern among the tribes, but as these have become useless they are now seldom seen.

Horned cattle constitute their principal wealth, and in days of old formed a convenient medium of exchange throughout the country. Great care is taken of them, and particular skill is exhibited in their training. They are taught to obey signals, as, for instance, to run home upon a certain call or whistle being given. Every man of note has his racing oxen, and prides himself upon their good qualities as much as an English squire does upon his blood horses. Ox racing is one of the institutions of Kaffirland, and is connected with all kinds of festivities. The care of the cattle is considered the most honourable employment, and falls entirely to the men. They milk the cows, take charge of the dairy, and will not permit a woman so much as to touch a milksack. In addition to the ox, before the arrival of Europeans, they had domestic dogs and an inferior breed of goats, the last not considered of much value. Barnyard fowls were also found in their possession, but adults made no use of either their flesh or their eggs. The cocks were valued because they crowed regularly at midnight and at dawn, and thus served as timekeepers.

The Kaffirs are an agricultural as well as a pastoral people. They cultivate the ground to a large extent, and draw the greater portion of their food from it. A species of millet, called by the colonists Kaffir-corn, was the grain exclusively cultivated by them prior to the advent of Europeans. Of this they raise large quantities, which they use either boiled or bruised into a paste from which bread is made. They are acquainted with the art of fermenting it and making a kind of beer, which they are fond of drinking, and which soon causes intoxication. Of this grain they are careful always to keep a good stock on hand. They preserve it from the attacks of weevil by burying it in airtight holes excavated beneath the cattle kraals. When kept for a long time in these granaries, the grain loses the power of germinating, and acquires a rank taste and smell. It is, however, none the less agreeable to the Kaffir palate, though it is offensive to Europeans. They had also pumpkins, a species of gourd, a cane containing saccharine matter in large quantities, and a sort of ground nut. The other productions of their gardens, as we see them at present, have been introduced since

they became acquainted with the white man. Of those mentioned their food consisted, with the addition of milk and occasionally flesh. The milk is kept in skin bags, where it ferments and acquires a sharp acid taste. As it is drawn off, new milk is added, for it is only in this state that it is used. Europeans soon come to be as fond of it as are the Kaffirs themselves, and in warm weather it is perhaps the most agreeable and healthy beverage that can be used. The art of making butter and cheese was unknown to the Kaffirs. They have two meals every day: a slight breakfast in the morning, and a substantial repast at sunset. Boys before being circumcised are permitted to eat any kind of meat, even that of wild cats and other carnivora, but after that ceremony is performed the flesh of all unclean animals is rejected by them. They use no kinds of fish as an article of diet, and call them all snakes without distinction.

They have a system of religion which they carefully observe. It is based upon the supposition of the existence of spirits who can interfere with the affairs of this world, and who must therefore be propitiated with sacrifices. These spirits are those of their deceased chiefs, the greatest of whom has power over lightning. When the spirits become hungry they send a plague or disaster until sacrifices are offered and their hunger is appeased. When a person is killed by lightning no lamentation is made, as it would be considered rebellion to mourn for one whom the great chief has sent for. They have no idea of reward or punishment in a world to come for acts committed in this life, and each one denies the immortality of his own soul. In olden times, when common people died, their corpses were dragged away to a short distance from the kraal, and there left to be devoured by beasts of prey; but chiefs and great men were interred with much ceremony. A grave was dug, in which the body was placed in a sitting posture, and by it were deposited his weapons of war and ornaments. When it was closed, such expressions as these were used: "Remember us from where you are. You have gone to high places. Cause us to prosper." They believe in the existence of a Supreme God, whom they term Qamata, and to whom they sometimes pray, though they never offer sacrifices to him. In a time of great danger, a Kaffir will exclaim "O Qamata, help me," and when the danger is over, he will attribute his deliverance to the same Supreme Being. But of Qamata he knows nothing more than that he is high over all, and that though he has helped him, in general he does not interfere with the destinies of men. In fact, he can not himself explain what he does believe and what he does not. He thinks as little as he possibly can of such matters, though the influence of the unseen world is ever acting upon him. Far nearer than Qamata or the spirits of his chiefs, is a whole host of hobgoblins, water-sprites, and malevolent demons, who meet him turn which way he will. There is no beautiful fairyland for him, for all these beings who haunt the mountains, the plains, and the rivers, are ministers of evil. This superstition influences all his acts and gives a tone of seriousness to his character.

The rites of religion consist merely in sacrifices to appease the spirits. These are numerous. On great occasions they are performed by individuals variously termed witchdoctors, conjurers, and priests, on ordinary occasions by heads of families. No sacred days or seasons are observed. A corollary to the belief in malevolent spirits is the belief in witchcraft. Certain persons obtain from the demons power to bewitch others, and thus sickness and death are caused. It is part of the profession of the priests to detect those who practise witchcraft, and the punishment for this imaginary crime is death and confiscation of property. This is a formidable engine of cruelty in the hands of the priests and chiefs. To this day, among those tribes which are not subject to European rule or influence, rich Kaffirs stand in dread of a violent and horrible death, for as the property of the accused is confiscated, the crime is always fastened on wealthy persons. In this manner, indeed, the principal revenue of the chiefs is obtained, and it is a source of supply constantly resorted to. Sometimes a person pretends to have received revelations from the spirit world. If he is believed, his power at once becomes greater than that of the highest chief, and his commands are implicitly obeyed. Such an impostor has been frequently made use of by a crafty chief for the purpose of exciting the people to war, or of inducing them to approve of some measure which would otherwise have been unpopular. The priests, in addition to their other professions, pretend to have the power of making rain, and also of causing the warriors of their tribe to be invulnerable in battle. They are commonly skilful in the use of various herbs as remedies for light diseases, and are well acquainted with different kinds of poison. When following any of these occupations, they attire themselves most fantastically, being painted with various colours, and having the tails of wild animals suspended around them. It is seldom that they die natural deaths, as sooner or later their impostures are discovered, when they are generally tied hand to foot and cast into the nearest stream. Nevertheless, implicit confidence is placed in their successors, until they too meet the same fate.

It is singular to what an extent superstition deadens the power of judgment of these people. To see men, sensible enough in many matters, hanging a bit of wood or bone about their necks, and believing that it preserves them from evil, is not at all strange; for even in highly civilized lands there are people who believe in lucky days, lucky coins, and a great deal more nonsense of the kind. That form of superstition is identically the same in Europe and in Africa. But to find men believing that persons are drowned by spirits who pull them under the water, does excite surprise. A party of Kaffirs, for instance, when travelling come to the bank of a river. Each one picks up a stone and throws it upon a heap to propitiate the spirit of the stream. In crossing, one of them gets into deep water and is in danger of being drowned. The others make no effort whatever to save him, but rush away frantically in search of cattle, which they drive hastily into the river, hoping that the spirit will be satisfied with an ox

and release their comrade. Cases, precisely similar to this, still occur frequently, even among Kaffirs who have been in contact with civilisation for many years.

When about fifteen or sixteen years of age, the Kaffir youths are circumcised. This rite partakes more of a civil than of a religious character. By it a youth is enabled to emerge from the society of women and boys, and is admitted to the privileges of manhood. Its performance is attended with many ceremonies, some of a harmless, others of a revolting nature. At a certain period in every year, unless the chief has a son somewhat too young to undergo the rite, all the youths of a village who are old enough are circumcised. Thereafter for a couple of months or longer they live by themselves, and are distinguished by wearing a whimsical head-dress and a girdle of long grass about the loins, besides having their bodies covered with white clay. During this period they have license to steal pretty freely from their relatives, provided they can do so without being caught in the act. After returning to their homes they are brought before the old men of their tribe, who lecture them upon the duties and responsibilities which they have taken upon themselves, and afterwards presents of cattle and weapons are made to them by their friends to give them a start in life. A free rein is then given to all kinds of immorality, without let or hindrance from their elders. In case a scion of the ruling house is growing up, the performance of the rite of circumcision is generally allowed to stand over for a year or two, so that he may have a large number of companions. These are all supposed to be bound to him by a very strong tie, in after years they are to be his councillors and attendants, and in case of danger are to form his body guard. Females who arrive at the age of puberty are introduced into the state of womanhood by peculiar ceremonies, which extinguish all virtuous feelings within them. Men and women alike are wholly given up to the lusts of the flesh. Chastity is unknown among them, and licentiousness is considered no disgrace to either sex.

The Kaffirs are polygamists, and women hold a very degraded position in their society. A woman is a drudge, upon whom the cultivation of the ground and other severe labour falls; her affections are not consulted in the choice of a husband, but she is sold by her nearest male relatives to the highest bidder; she can inherit nothing; and she is liable to severe castigation from her husband, without protection from the law. Only when she is permanently maimed can she obtain redress. Wealth is estimated by the number of wives and cattle a man possesses, and the one is always made use of to increase the other. The husband is head or lord of the establishment, for which his wives are expected to provide food in abundance. Each has a hut of her own, which she and her children occupy, and the husband uses his caprice as to which he shall honour with his society at any time. The descent of property is regulated in the same manner as the succession to the chieftainship, so that there are always a great number of poor among them.

Their manufactures display considerable skill and ingenuity. Foremost among these must be reckoned metallic wares, which include implements of war and husbandry and ornaments for the person. In many parts of the country iron ore is abundant, and this they smelt in a simple manner. Forming a furnace of a boulder with a hollow surface, out of which a groove is made to allow the liquid metal to escape, and into which a hole is pierced for the purpose of introducing a current of air, they pile up a heap of charcoal and virgin ore, which they afterwards cover in such a way as to prevent the escape of heat. The bellows by which air is introduced are made of skins, the mouthpiece being the horn of a large antelope. The molten iron, escaping from the crude yet effective furnace, runs into clay moulds prepared to receive it, which are as nearly as possible of the same magnitude as the implements they wish to make. These are never of great size, the largest being the picks or heavy hoes used in gardening. The Kaffir smith, using a boulder for an anvil and a hammer of iron or stone, next proceeds to shape the lump of metal into an assegai head, an axe, a pick, or whatever is required. In this laborious operation a vast amount of patience and perseverance is exercised, and the article when completed is very creditable indeed. The beautifully grooved assegai heads of our own day are made of iron obtained in trade from the colonists, but their manufacture is still the same as it was a century ago. Now that all kinds of goods of European manufacture are to be had in every corner of Kaffirland, native smelting furnaces are seldom seen, but there are still some rigid conservatives who scorn to depart from the customs of their ancestors, and who therefore still obtain their iron in the ancient manner. Before the advent of Europeans they were acquainted also with another metal, namely copper, which they wrought into a variety of ornaments for their persons.

Hardly less remarkable is their skill in pottery. Vessels containing from half a pint to fifty gallons are constructed by them of earthenware, some of which are highly ornamented and are almost as perfect in form as if they had been turned on a wheel. Though they are frequently not more than an eighth of an inch in thickness, so finely tempered are they that the most intense heat does not damage them. These vessels are used as beer pots, grain jars, and cooking utensils. The manufacture of earthenware vessels, however, bids fair to be lost at no distant date. Already wooden casks are rapidly taking the place of the large grain jars, as the Kaffirs find by experience that far less labour is required to furnish the means of purchasing a cask than is necessary in the manufacture of a jar, and the one answers all the purposes of the other. Iron pots, too, are everywhere superseding the native cooking utensils.

In the manufacture of wooden articles, such as spoons, bowls, fighting sticks, pipes, (since the introduction of tobacco), rests for the head when sleeping, &c., they display great skill and no little taste. Each article is made of a single block of wood, requiring much time and patience to

complete it, and upon it is frequently carved some neat but simple pattern. In their department the women are equally skilful. Baskets for holding grain, rush mats, and bags made of grass are among the products of their labour. The last are so carefully and strongly made that they are used to hold water or any other liquid. Skins for clothing are prepared by rubbing them for a length of time with grease, by which means they are made nearly as soft and pliable as cloth.

Ingenious as they are, the men are far from being industrious. A great portion of their time is spent in visiting and gossip, of which they are exceedingly fond. They spend days together engaged in small talk, and are perfect masters of that kind of argument which consists in parrying a question by means of putting another. They pay very little regard to truth, and are inveterate thieves. According to their ideas, stealing is not a crime: it is a civil offence, and a thief when detected is compelled to make ample restitution; but no disgrace is attached to it, and they have no religious scruples concerning it.

At the time of the extension of the colonial boundary to the Great Fish River the Kaffirs were rapidly spreading themselves out to the westward. Hitherto they had found only Hottentots and Bushmen in their way, and these they had easily conquered. They had driven a portion of the earlier inhabitants before them, so that between them and the colonists the belt of country was constantly becoming narrower and more densely populated with refugees from either side. In some instances they destroyed the men of the tribes with which they came in contact, and took the women to themselves. The mixed offspring of such unions retained, however, no characteristics of the Hottentot, except a somewhat lighter colour and the clicks in speaking which have already been referred to, and they conformed in all respects to Kaffir customs.

The traditional history of the Amaxosa, as related by their antiquaries, is somewhat conflicting, but much of it appears to be founded upon truth. They give the line of descent of their great chiefs as follows: (1) Xosa, (2) Malangana, (3) Nkoziyamtu, (4) Tshawe, (5) Ncwangu, (6) Sikomo, (7) Togu, (8) Gconde, (9) Tshiwo, (10) Palo. Before the time of Nkoziyamtu a law was in force that a chief could have as many wives as he chose, but only one son must be allowed to live,—all the rest must be destroyed in their infancy. Nkoziyamtu introduced the custom of the right hand wife, and thus preserved two sons alive. These were Cira, great son, and Jwara, right hand son. A third, who was destined to surpass both his brothers in barbarian fame, was preserved by the flight of his mother, (a concubine of the great house), to her father's people, the Abambo. Among them the boy,—Tshawe by name,—grew up, and proved himself so valiant that a large number of young men were given him as followers by the chief, for he was known to be the son of Nkoziyamtu. At length he became desirous of visiting his father and showing him his greatness, so at the head of his followers and with immense herds of cattle he journeyed southward from Embo. On the

way he was joined by very many people, whose only weapons were clubs and stones, and who were glad of the opportunity of ranging themselves under such a famous leader. Upon arriving in the country of his father, he found that NKOZIYAMTU was dead. His two brothers assembled their followers to oppose him, and a great battle took place, in which they were completely defeated, owing to TSHAWE's original retainers being armed with assegais, weapons unknown before to the Amaxosa. This battle established TSHAWE's supremacy in the land, and he was joined thereafter by the bulk of his father's people, though he still acknowledged the superiority in rank of CIRA. As for JWARA, after the battle he wandered away with a few followers to the north, and died there. TSHAWE is the hero of many legends, and stands prominently out among the great ones of the misty past. The two chiefs before him are often omitted in the line of descent, and he is then termed the great one of XOSA's sons. He deserves, indeed, to be considered the real founder of the nation, for in him the direct line of the great chiefs was lost, though his tribe being the largest in number retained the national title.

To TSHAWE succeeded his son NCWANGU, and to him again SIKOMO, of neither of whom is much known. The great son of SIKOMO was TOGU, during whose government the tribe moved westward as far as the Kei. The great son of TOGU was GCONDE, who originated the house of the left hand, and left TSHIWO, great son, MDANGE, right hand son, and TINDE, left hand son, whose mother was of Hottentot blood.

During the government of TSHIWO, an event took place by which an individual who did not belong to the family of hereditary chiefs was raised to the rank of head of a clan. TSHIWO, like most other Kaffir potentates, was in the habit of condemning many of his subjects to death and confiscation of property when they were suspected of dealing in witchcraft. One of his executioners was named KWANE. Instead of carrying out the orders of his chief, this man usually permitted the victims to escape with their lives, and contented himself with seizing their stock. On one occasion the chief was sore pressed for men, when KWANE boldly presented himself before his master at the head of all those whom he had thus spared, and tendered his service and theirs. TSHIWO was so delighted in receiving aid thus opportunely that he formed the former fugitives into an independent clan, appointing KWANE to be its chief. The new tribe rapidly increased in numbers and importance, and in the time of CUNGWA, third in descent from KWANE, it was a formidable foe of the colony. This clan entitled itself the Amagqunukwebe, from what circumstance is not now known.

TSHIWO's great son PALO was not born until after his father's death. His right hand son GWALI was then in the prime of life, and being ambitious, he attempted to put his brother to death. A portion of the tribe, however, rallied round the guardians of the infant chief, and GWALI was compelled to flee. With his own adherents and the Amantinde clan he crossed the Kei

and took refuge with a Hottentot chief named HINTSATI, who resided near where the village of Somerset East now stands. Tradition points these out as the first Kaffirs to cross the Kei, and if this be correct, the date may be fixed about the beginning of last century, or, possibly, a few years earlier. GWALI was received in a friendly manner by HINTSATI, to whom he gave one of his sisters in marriage. After a long time an army was organized to follow him up. HINTSATI's kraal was surrounded in the night, the chief was killed with many of his people, and his cattle were taken. The army at once commenced its return march, but was followed closely by the Hottentots. At the Koonap River it was overtaken, and an indecisive battle was fought. Further on, at the Banzi ford of the Keiskama, another engagement took place, and yet another on the Debe flats, where the Hottentots recovered many of their cattle. About this time the Imidange and the Amangqosini crossed the Kei, and they have remained on this side ever since. SPARRMAN, who wrote in 1775 and 1776, mentions that MAHUTA, chief of the Imidange, was then considered the most powerful chief in the neighbourhood of the colony. This traveller found clans of mixed Kaffir and Hottentot descent a long way westward of the Great Fish River.

The left hand son of TSHIWO was TISO, who died without issue, upon which PALO gave that house a representative in the person of his own son LANGA. As far as regards the petty chiefs mentioned above, a good deal of discrepancy exists in the accounts furnished by different antiquaries. By some, names are transposed, and by others several of them are placed a generation further back. Authentic Kaffir history cannot be said to commence until after this period.

At the time when the colonists and the Kaffirs first came into contact with each other, PALO was great chief of the Amaxosa. He was an old man, and his two sons, GCALEKA and RARABE, practically ruled the nation. The first of these, being the son of the great wife, was the highest in rank; but in ability he stood greatly inferior to his brother. In such a case war was inevitable, and in this instance it was waged with great bitterness. At the commencement of the contest the nation was to the eastward of the Kei, for as yet the Hottentots occupied the country up to that river, and several kraals were even beyond it. The three small Kaffir clans who were living on the west of the Kei were on terms of perfect friendship with the Hottentots and were very much mixed with them by marriage.

The result of the war between GCALEKA and RARABE was that the latter determined to cross the Kei and take possession of a new district for himself. The Hottentots prepared to make a stand, for the strip of country they could yet call their own was narrow indeed. Driven eastward by the Dutch, westward by the Kaffirs, they were resolved to fight that one of their enemies against whom they had some chance of success. When RARABE with his followers reached the Kei, at the place now known as the lower drift, he found the Hottentots ready to receive him. There was fought their last battle for independence, and if half of what Kaffir antiquaries

relate of that day's action be true, they fought it bravely and well. Each side pressed its foremost men against the enemy and compelled them thus to battle to the death. They met in the stream, which was soon so choked with corpses that its water was red with blood. At last, by sheer force of pressure, the Hottentots were driven back, and RARABE won a footing on the western bank. But this success was so dearly bought that he preferred to negotiate rather than risk another such encounter, and so for a great number of cattle he purchased a tract of country between the head waters of the Keiskama and Buffalo rivers from the wife and followers of the chief who had fallen in the struggle. The name of this Hottentot chieftainess was HOHO, and after her the Perie forest is still called by the Kaffirs "the Forest of HOHO." From that time the Kaffirs and Hottentots were friends, and though the former soon acquired undivided power as far as the Great Fish River, many Hottentots held honourable positions among them, while matrimonial connections tended to obliterate all distinctions between the two races. Thus if the Dutch had appeared on the scene twenty or at most thirty years sooner, they might have fixed the Kei as their eastern boundary, without meeting with any resistance from the Kaffirs, so recent was then the occupation by these people of the territory westward of that river.

RARABE, for a barbarian, was a man of very considerable ability. He governed his people wisely, and was so greatly esteemed by them that his name was adopted and is still retained by all the clans on this side of the Kei as their distinctive appellation. He was the favourite son of his father PALO, who crossed the river with him and continued to reside near him as long as he lived. SPARRMAN says that PALO died only a few years before he wrote, but LE VAILLANT speaks of him as still living in 1781. SPARRMAN is most likely correct. By most of the colonists the old chief was called PHARAOH, for they had got the idea into their heads that they were in contact with the Egyptians, and the similarity between the two names added to the delusion.

With the colonists RARABE had very little intercourse, though collisions occasionally took place between some of them and his most advanced outposts. It was not until after his death, towards the close of the century, that the two races came into close and hostile contact with each other. RARABE died in battle. He had sent one of his daughters to be the wife of a Tembu chief, who returned only a hundred head of cattle. RARABE was indignant that his daughter should be valued at so low a rate, and collecting his bravest warriors he marched against his son-in-law and attacked him. His forces were victorious, but he fell pierced with an assegai in the thickest of the fight. His son NDLAMBE and his grandson NGQIKA were destined to occupy prominent positions in the coming struggle between the two conquering races now face to face with each other.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE EXTENSION OF THE FRONTIER TO THE GREAT FISH RIVER TO THE SEIZURE OF THE COLONY BY THE BRITISH. 1780 TO 1795.

Principal Subjects:—Attempt and Failure of the English to seize the Colony.—Issue of Paper Money.—Formation of the District and Village of Graaff Reinet.—Effort of the Colonists to obtain greater liberty.—Establishment of a Mission by the Moravians.—First Hostilities with Kaffirs.—Arrival of Commissioners from the Netherlands to enquire into the Condition of the Colony.—Rebellion of the Burghers of Swellendam and Graaff Reinet.—Seizure of the Colony by the British.—Review.

Governors:—JOACHIM VAN PLETTENBERG.

CORNELIS JACOBUS VAN DE GRAAFF,	Febry. 14, 1785.
JOHANNES ISAAC RHENIUS,	June 29, 1791.
ABRAHAM JOHANNES SLUYSKEN,	Sept. 2, 1793.

UP to the date which has now been reached, the colony had never been attacked by a European power, though its possession was coveted by every maritime State. It was commonly believed to be little better than a vast desert waste, peopled by a few savages and a handful of nomad boers; but the Cape Promontory was acknowledged to be one of the commanding positions of the world, the ownership of which would ensure possession of the Indian seas. It was thus too tempting a prize to be longer neglected by those great combatants, France and England, to each of whom predominance in India was a matter of paramount importance. Holland had greatly declined in strength during the century now drawing towards its close, and the great East India Company was in a position of hopeless insolvency. Its most valuable possessions in India were left almost undefended, and the garrison of Cape Town was so weak that little or no resistance could be made to an invading force. While affairs were in this state, war was declared by England against the Dutch, who naturally entered into alliance with France.

With the intention of seizing the colony by surprise, an English squadron was fitted out ostensibly for an attack upon some part of the West Indies, and was placed under command of Commodore JOHNSTONE, whose real orders were to make himself master of Cape Town. The squadron consisted of three line of battle ships, several frigates and sloops of war, transports carrying three thousand soldiers under General MEADOWS, and some merchantmen under convoy, making in all a fleet of forty sail. But its destination was ascertained by some means, and was made known to the enemy by a spy named DE LA MOTTE, who was afterwards convicted and executed for the offence. The Dutch, being thus warned, entreated aid from

France, and that Power at once despatched Admiral SUFFREIN in pursuit, with a fleet of five ships of the line and several frigates. Some land forces were embarked also, to strengthen the garrison of Cape Town. The English Commodore, quite unsuspicious of an enemy being close behind him, was victualling his fleet at Port Praya in the island of St. Jago, when SUFFREIN sailed in and attacked him, 16th of April, 1781. The engagement lasted for an hour and a half, when the French were beaten off, but JOHNSTONE was not in a position to follow up his success. SUFFREIN therefore continued his voyage to the Cape, where he arrived on the 21st of June. Having landed his troops, he set about constructing new fortifications and placing the town in a condition for defence. As soon as his fleet was refitted, JOHNSTONE put to sea from Port Praya, but before reaching the Cape he made a prize of the Dutch East Indiaman *Held Woltemaade*, just out of Saldanha Bay, bound to Ceylon, with a valuable cargo and £40,000 in specie on board. From her crew he learnt that it would be useless to attack Cape Town, as it was now strongly garrisoned and fortified; but he was informed by some of his prisoners that five of the Company's largest ships were lying at anchor in Saldanha Bay, out of the way of danger, as the Dutch authorities thought. The English Commodore immediately steered towards Saldanha Bay, with the object of securing these rich prizes. Upon his approach the Dutch captains attempted to run their ships ashore, and abandoned them without any attempt at resistance. The captain of the *Middelburg* set fire to his ship before leaving her, and she was blown into fragments, but all the others were taken by the English.

It was a custom with the Batavian government to send criminals from the eastern settlements, to be sold as slaves in South Africa, and they also made use of the colony occasionally as a place of exile for political offenders. At this time, two such prisoners, the native rulers of the islands Tidor and Ternate, were at Saldanha Bay. They managed to get aboard one of the English ships, where they were kindly received, and were rescued from captivity. Commodore JOHNSTONE then sent part of his fleet to India with the convoy,—General MEADOWS and the troops proceeding there also,—and with the remaining ships of war and his prizes he returned to Europe. So failed the first English expedition sent to take possession of the Cape Colony.

To defray the expenses connected with SUFFREIN'S visit and the cost of erecting and repairing fortifications, Governor VAN PLETTENBERG was compelled to issue paper notes to the amount of 925,219 rixdollars. No security was offered for the redemption of this paper, except the good faith of the government and a solemn promise that it would be called in as soon as funds could be sent from Holland. This was the first issue of government notes in South Africa, and was the introduction of a system that for forty-three years caused great confusion in monetary matters. Between 1787 and 1789, notes to the amount of 825,904 rixdollars were redeemed, either in specie or by bills on Holland, and this redemption made it easy for future governors to issue paper rixdollars and force them into

circulation on any emergency. Before 1795, notes to the amount of 611,276 rixdollars, then equivalent to rather more than £122,000, were thus issued, without any security whatever.

The existence of these notes was a great temptation to unprincipled persons to defraud the uneducated farmers of the interior. They were easily forged, and in this manner many persons became the victims of swindlers. A few years after this, one of the complaints made by the farmers of Swellendam was that they had thus been exposed to the dealings of sharpers. But in the restricted condition of trade, as it was under the East India Company, the quantity of forged paper in circulation could not have been very great. It was sufficient, however, when added to the fact that the government notes could not be converted into coin, to cause a great depreciation in the purchasing power of paper money compared with that of gold and silver.

In 1786 the government determined to form a seat of magistracy somewhere nearer than Swellendam to the eastern frontier. At that time there was only one landdrost for all the country between the Breede River and the Great Fish, the consequence of which was that the inhabitants of remote parts were living in a state of anarchy, and were almost independent of the government at Cape Town. It was impossible for them to leave their families and farms exposed to the attacks of Bushmen, whenever cases arose that should have been submitted to the decision of the landdrost, and hence it was usual for them to settle such cases by the law of the strongest. The landdrost at Swellendam could not even ascertain what was transpiring in all parts of the immense tract of country nominally under his jurisdiction. Only recently, an English ship had put into Algoa Bay and landed a number of men ill with scurvy, and he knew nothing of it until sixty-nine days afterwards. This opened the eyes of the government to the danger of some foreign Power taking possession of Algoa Bay, on the ground of no jurisdiction being exercised there, and thus disturbing the Company in its occupation of the half-way station to India. It excites surprise that no steps were taken to form a new district at an earlier date. The establishment of a landdrost's court cost the Company nothing, as all local expenses were provided for out of a fund raised in each district, and the utility of an officer whose duties were to preserve order and collect revenue could not be disputed. But to the very last day of the East India Company's rule in South Africa, the main object of the government was to make the country a victualling station with unfailing supplies, and the enforcement of order and law was a question of secondary importance. The frontier graziers would have cattle for sale, no matter how they lived; where then was the necessity of troubling the Company to provide them with courts of law and churches, even if they paid for such establishments themselves? Such was the principle acted upon in former years, and most likely it would have been acted upon still if it had not been for the visit of the English ship to Algoa Bay.

Mr. WOEKE, who was appointed landdrost of the new district, after a tour of inspection, selected a site for the seat of magistracy on the head waters of the Sunday River, at a place then occupied as a farm by a burgher named DIRK COETZE. The government made a liberal compensation to the lessee of the farm, but provided no funds for the erection of buildings, so that for years afterwards the landdrost's residence and the courthouse were very little better than mud hovels. The new district was called Graaff Reinet after the Governor and his lady, and the same name was given to the village. The establishment of a district court at this place did not bring with it the establishment of the supremacy of the law, for the farmers had been so long accustomed to follow their own inclinations only, that it was found impossible now to bring them under restraint. The taxes could not be collected, and as the supreme government contributed nothing towards the expenses of the new district, the officials there had poverty as well as disorder to contend against.

In 1786 the colonists again endeavoured to procure an amendment of the system of government, and for this purpose appointed four delegates to lay their complaints before the Chamber of Seventeen, with instructions, if redress were not granted by that body, to appeal to the States General of the United Provinces. But dissensions between the delegates ensued, and nothing was accomplished.

After the French troops were removed, a strong garrison, consisting principally of mercenary troops hired in Germany, was kept at the Cape; but in 1790 it was considerably reduced, by two thousand four hundred men being forwarded to Batavia. Previous to this, a regiment of Hottentots had been raised, and as many burghers as could be mustered were trained to act as dragoons.

Since the departure of GEORGE SCHMIDT from South Africa, the directors of the Moravian Mission Society had not ceased to entreat the Chamber of Seventeen to permit them to resume their labours among the Hottentots; but hitherto their prayer had been of no avail. From time to time accounts reached Europe of the constancy with which some of the converts preserved their faith, and these reports served to inflame the zeal of the Society. SCHMIDT himself, at a good old age, had gone to his rest, praying that the door might again be opened to mission work in this dark corner of the earth. In 1792 his prayer was answered. In that year, through the influence of friends in the Dutch government, the Chamber of Seventeen gave leave to the Society to send out three missionaries. The men selected were HEINRICH MARSVELD, DANIEL SCHWINN, and JOHAN CHRISTIAN KUEHNEL, who immediately embarked for South Africa. On their arrival, they proceeded to Baviaans Kloof, where they found an aged woman, by name HELENA, who had been baptized by SCHMIDT, and who still preserved a New Testament he had given her. Under the shade of an old pear tree, planted by SCHMIDT, they held religious services, and soon succeeded in drawing a large congregation together. They obtained a grant of ground for mission purposes, a portion

of which they laid out in gardens. They taught the Hottentots to construct better dwelling houses than those in which they had been in the habit of living, and they gave to each family a garden plot to be retained during good behaviour. In this manner a village soon sprang up about them. Next they built a mill for grinding corn. Then, finding it necessary, in order to civilize the Hottentots, to teach them some mechanical arts, and at the same time to provide remunerative employment for a few of them, they established a knife factory. Their knives soon commanded a ready sale all over the colony, and brought in funds by which the place was kept constantly improving. Schools, with class and prayer meetings, were at once established; but it was not until 1796, after the English had made themselves masters of the colony, that they were allowed to erect a church.

The opposition to mission work on the part of some of the colonists was very great, and was exhibited in every possible way. The causes assigned for this hostility may be seen in an extract from a petition which they presented to the Governor, desiring among other things "that the Moravians should not be allowed to live in the country, and instruct the Hottentots; for, as there were many Christians in the colony who received no education, it was not proper that the Hottentots should be made wiser than they, but that they should remain in the same state as before."

Slavery under the Dutch government had some redeeming characteristics, and, in early days, manumission was encouraged, when the freedman at once enjoyed all the privileges of a European. But in the Cape Colony these humanities of the law had fallen into desuetude. It has before been shown how the conversion of slaves to Christianity was prevented by a law intended to act quite differently, and, as this had now become apparent, in 1792 it was made legal for them to be baptized and received into the communion of the church, without thereby acquiring a right to freedom.

For several years after the Great Fish River had been fixed upon as the eastern boundary, no very serious disturbances took place in that quarter. Quarrels indeed arose between the frontier colonists and the small clans in their neighbourhood, in which first one party, then the other, had the upper hand. Thus in 1781 the farmers were compelled to retire from the district known as Achter Bruintjes Hoogte, and again a few months later the Kaffirs were driven beyond the boundary and their villages were burnt. But these petty disturbances must be regarded rather as the lawless acts of individuals than as a state of declared war between the two races. The government at Cape Town did not trouble itself in the matter, and no chief of any importance took part in it. But it was impossible for peace to be long maintained between the two advancing races of South Africa, and now they were about to test each other's strength in earnest. RARABE was dead. His great son MLAU died before him, leaving a lad of tender years as claimant to the paramount chieftainship of all the Kaffir tribes westward of the Kei. NDLAMBE, younger brother of MLAU, was appointed regent during his nephew's minority, but several of the clans disputed his

supremacy, and according to the traditional custom in such cases, moved further westward to get beyond his reach. Over the Fish River they found the three clans who had gone there nearly a century before, and besides these they met with numerous parties of mixed Kaffir and Hottentot blood, who were called Gonaquas by the colonists. These kindred tribes readily combined, and almost immediately began to rob the farmers of cattle.

An appeal to the government at Cape Town for assistance being disregarded, in 1789 the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet called out a commando and took the field. But it was soon ascertained that the new enemy was not to be dealt with so easily as the Hottentots had been, and the commando effected nothing. The farmers threw all the blame upon their landdrost, Mr. WOEKE, some of them even asserting that he had been bribed by a present of cattle to permit the Kaffirs to remain where they were. A state of anarchy succeeded, and continued until 1793, when a new landdrost, Mr. MEINIER, was appointed, and a commando of Swellendam burghers, under Landdrost FAURE of that district, was sent to aid in expelling the intruders. But this object was not attained. After a short series of operations, which were conducted without any proper understanding between the two commanders, an agreement of peace was made with NDLAMBE, according to the terms of which the Great Fish River was to be considered a permanent boundary and neither party was to trespass upon the territory of the other. But that chief was not then living in the colony nor at enmity with the colonists, and as most of the clans who were fighting were in rebellion against him, they declined to abide by the conditions of the treaty, and the state of warfare continued as before. Soon afterwards the Swellendam commando returned home, dissatisfied that all their toil and exertion had been fruitless, and in a state of mutiny against the government, which had promised a reward for every Kaffir captured, but had failed to make its promise good. Mr. MEINIER soon became even more unpopular than his predecessor had been. He took the Hottentots of the district under his protection and would permit no injustice to be done to them, a course of action which caused him to be regarded as a public enemy. Dissensions took place in the heemraad, and he was unable to restore friendly relations between numerous parties who were quarrelling bitterly with each other. His subordinates resigned their appointments, declaring that they could not serve under him on account of his hasty and inconsiderate orders. At length his commands were set at nought by every one, and he was openly accused of favouring the enemy. From this time forward a guerilla contest was carried on, in which small parties of farmers acted entirely upon their own responsibility. The capture and recapture of stock was the great aim of both the combatants, and the amount of blood that was shed was not very great. In this ruinous condition the frontier district remained until another and more formidable inroad was made a few years later.

The days of the East India Company were almost numbered. Its affairs were in such a desperate condition that the government was obliged to interfere, in order to preserve to Holland those valuable colonial possessions which it had acquired but could no longer defend. In 1791 Commissioners were appointed by the Stadtholder to examine into the state of the Company's affairs. Their instructions were to search into all abuses and evil practices on the part of the administrators of the colonial governments, to effect such reforms as they might deem proper in all branches of the Company's trade and administration, and to endeavour to restore the affairs of the several eastern possessions from their existing confusion to good order and proper subordination. Great hopes were entertained by the colonists that their troubles were at last drawing to an end, and that they would soon be freemen in reality as well as in name.

In 1793 these Commissioners, NEDERBURG and FRYKENIUS by name, arrived in the colony and took the government into their own hands. They were received with great joy, but performed nothing answerable to the expectations that had been formed. They found the resources of the government nearly exhausted, and the colony in a deplorable condition. Yet the only measure of any importance that originated with them was the establishment of the Lombard Bank, through which a quantity of paper money was issued on loan to such inhabitants as could give security for its repayment. In the town an advance was made to the amount of one half the value of the property mortgaged, and in the country to the amount of two thirds; but they required as additional security the signatures of two persons of means. This issue amounted to £136,000, upon which interest at the rate of five per cent was paid yearly. Thus a large amount of paper was thrown into circulation, of quite a different nature from that which was already in use, and which tended to increase the confusion in monetary matters. In the following year the Commissioners proceeded to Java, having invested Mr. SLUYSKEN, an invalid returning to Holland, with the government of the Cape.

The colonists were indignant and furious at the treatment they had received. The Commission, from which they had expected so much, had gone, and they were left in the same position as before its arrival. They lost all hope of obtaining freedom under the rule of the Company, and many of them broke out into open rebellion. In February, 1795, the inhabitants of Graaff-Reinet expelled their landdrost, Mr. MEINIER, and though they still nominally professed allegiance to the government, they acted in fact as if they were independent. A Commission which was sent to pacify them succeeded in installing another landdrost, but he had hardly taken office when the burghers required him to acknowledge that he held his authority from them. He and the secretary then considered it prudent to return to Cape Town, upon which the heemraad, to which were added five representatives of the people, appointed Mr. GEROTZ to be landdrost, and assumed the entire administration of affairs. In Swellendam the

burghers proclaimed a free republic, and elected what they termed a National Assembly. They expelled the officers of the Cape government and appointed others. Of this new republic HERMANUS STEYN was chosen chief magistrate. They declared commerce free, decided that every Hottentot that could be caught should remain for life the property of the captor, and issued a proclamation to the effect that no Moravian should be permitted to instruct the natives. SLUYSKEN was so powerless that he could not even attempt to suppress these insurrections. He dared not march his troops out of Cape Town, for fear lest the inhabitants might revolt there also. The people in the vicinity of the Cape were kept in awe by the troops, but they were ready to take advantage of the first opportunity to plant the tree of liberty and declare the country an independent republic.

Meanwhile events were transpiring in Europe which were destined to change altogether the position of affairs at the Cape. At the breaking out of the French revolution there were two parties in Holland, one of which was opposed to the government of the Stadtholder. This party naturally sympathized with the French revolutionists. The alliance of the Stadtholder with England drew the French armies upon Holland. In February, 1793, DUMOURIEZ invaded that country, but it was reserved for PICHEGRU to overrun it, which he did during the severe winter of 1794–5, when the rivers were frozen so solidly that he could move his armies readily in any direction. The democratic party gave the French an enthusiastic welcome. The government was immediately remodelled, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, between the French and Batavian republics was signed at the Hague on the 16th of May, 1795. Nearly half of the Dutch navy had already been seized by England, under pretence of keeping the ships from falling into the hands of the French, and the Stadtholder had fled to England and requested that Power to take possession of the Dutch colonies and hold them in trust for himself.

The English government was quite prepared to do this, and a force of about four thousand men was at once embarked in a fleet under command of Admiral ELPHINSTONE, with orders to take possession of the Cape Colony. On the 11th of June, 1795, nine ships of war, forming part of this fleet, entered Simon's Bay. The Admiral at once sent an officer to Governor SLUYSKEN, bearing despatches from himself and General CRAIG, in which was enclosed a mandate from the ex-Stadtholder commanding the Governor to admit the troops of the British king into the castle and elsewhere in the colony, and also to admit British ships of war into the ports, and to consider such troops and ships of war as the forces of a friendly power come to protect the colony against an invasion of the French.

To this communication a reply was sent, which was signed by the Governor and all the members of the Council of Policy. They expressed their gratitude to His Britannic Majesty for the assistance offered to them, and stated that they would avail themselves of it if any attempt at invasion by a foreign power should be made. They informed the English

commanders, however, that they were in such a position as to be able to offer resistance to any foreign attack. They promised to give the necessary orders for supplying the English fleet with fresh provisions, and requested that none but unarmed men should be permitted to land.

The troops in garrison at Cape Town were not more than eleven or twelve hundred strong. They consisted of some men of a German regiment in the Dutch pay, some artillerymen, and a Hottentot corps. But to protect the country the Governor claimed the right of compelling the burghers to take up arms.

Several attempts were made by the English commanders to induce the authorities of Cape Town to place the colony under British protection, but they all failed. The Governor and the Council of Policy were unanimous in declining these proposals, and finally sent word to Admiral ELPHINSTONE that they were prepared to defend the colony against any force that might be sent against it by the French, and equally against the British fleet and army. In the meantime the Governor had sent messengers to the insurgents of Swellendam, entreating their assistance, and promising them an amnesty for the past, with immediate examination and redress of their grievances. They replied that they were surprised the Governor did not respect the resolution of the National Assembly, but still addressed official communications to the landdrost whom they had deposed, and demanded that in future all such communications should be addressed to Mr. STEYN. They rejected the proposed grant of an amnesty, on the ground that its acceptance would imply that they had been guilty of sedition; and stated that they were resolved to shed the last drop of their blood, if necessary, in defence of freedom and the republic; but they were willing to treat with him and to render assistance if he would guarantee to them for the future exemption from taxation of every kind, free trade, and the absolute and unconditional slavery of all Hottentots and Bushmen. To these conditions SLUYSKEN could not assent, and thus the only aid received from the Swellendam district was a company of seventy men who disapproved of the conduct of the rebels. From Graaff Reinet no succour whatever was sent. About one thousand six hundred burghers of the Cape and Stellenbosch districts rallied to the support of the government, and most of these, with a company of armed slaves and a small detachment of regular troops, were sent forward under command of Colonel DE LILLE to occupy the pass of Muizenberg, which is a very strong position on the road between Simon's Town and Cape Town.

Admiral ELPHINSTONE now issued a proclamation, in which he stated that the English could not allow the Cape to fall into the hands of the French, and thus permit their Indian trade to be destroyed. Four hundred and fifty men of the 78th regiment and three hundred and fifty marines, being the whole military force under command of General CRAIG, were then disembarked, and possession was taken of Simon's Town on the 14th of July. As this force was very small for active operations, the General determined

to await the arrival of Sir A. CLARKE with reinforcements which were daily expected. But after waiting in vain for more than three weeks, the English officers resolved to make an attempt to carry the strong position held by the Dutch at Muizenberg. For this purpose eight hundred seamen were landed from the fleet, and were formed into two battalions, commanded by Captains STRANGER and HARDY, of the *Rattlesnake* and *Echo* sloops of war. The road from Simon's Town to Cape Town runs on the sandy beach along the western shore of False Bay until beyond the pass of Muizenberg, which is merely a narrow passage between a steep mountain and the sea. A little beyond this pass the road turns, and then crosses the isthmus, passing through Wynberg.

The English General advanced to the attack at the head of about sixteen hundred men, while a heavy fire was opened from the ships of war ranged along the beach opposite the Dutch encampment. DE LILLE threw out small parties of mounted burghers, Hottentots, and slaves, to annoy the English by skirmishing; but as these parties were easily driven back, he was prevented from using his cannon against the advancing foe. Some companies of soldiers, with the naval brigades, following close behind the fugitives, safely reached the hill-side above the pass, and easily put the whole Dutch force to rout. They retired so hastily, and in such confusion, that the sailors, in their eagerness to overtake them, threw away their muskets, and rushed forward with cheers. The loss on the English side was trifling, amounting only to nineteen killed and wounded. Having lost Muizenberg, which should have been defended to the last extremity, DE LILLE rallied his forces at a place a little to the northward, where there was a battery which enfiladed the head of the pass. But from this position he retreated in disorder upon the first appearance of the English troops issuing from the pass to attack him. The loss of the Dutch during the day must have been considerable. General CRAIG encamped at Muizenberg, where within a few days he was reinforced by three or four hundred soldiers sent to his assistance from St. Helena.

Cape Town was now in a state of great excitement. The inhabitants still retained sufficient national pride to make them feel deeply ashamed of the result of the action at Muizenberg. They clamoured for the arrest of DE LILLE on the charges of cowardice and treason. In the Dutch camp all was confusion. The regulars laid the blame of their defeat upon the burghers, and the burghers hurled back the charge upon the regulars. The Hottentots were discontented and loud in their complaints of ill treatment by the burghers. The Governor found it necessary to place DE LILLE under arrest, in hopes of appeasing the citizens, and to pacify the Hottentots by promises of increased pay and better treatment. To Major BUISSINE was intrusted the command of the Dutch forces, whose principal camp was formed at Wynberg. To increase the perplexity of the unfortunate Governor, on the 11th of August he received a letter from one LOUIS PRIAU, who styled himself Commandant of the Nationals, demanding a reply to

previous communications, and threatening offensive measures if he would not yield.

On the 4th of September the remainder of the British fleet, having on board three thousand soldiers, anchored in Simon's Bay. Upon intelligence of this reaching Wynberg, the burghers commenced to desert their colours in such numbers that soon all chance of further resistance was gone. On the 14th, the English force, now five thousand strong, marched to Wynberg and took possession of the camp, after a slight brush with the Dutch, hardly deserving the name even of a skirmish. The Dutch retreated towards Cape Town. In this extremity SLUYSKEN sent a flag of truce to the English commander, requesting a cessation of hostilities for forty-eight hours, in order to arrange conditions of surrender. Twenty-four hours were granted. The Council of Policy then empowered two of its members, Messrs. VAN RYNEVELD and LE SEUR, to arrange terms of capitulation, and on the morning of the 15th of September the colony was surrendered. It was agreed that the inhabitants should retain their laws, customs, and privileges inviolate, and that no new taxes should be laid upon them. The privileges of the Dutch Reformed Church were also to be preserved. Property of every description, except such as belonged to the East India Company, was to be respected. The lands and houses belonging to the East India Company were to remain as security for that portion of the paper money which was not secured by mortgages on private property.

Sir JAMES CRAIG was then installed Governor. All who continued to hold office were required to take an oath of allegiance to the king of Great Britain, on the ground that the Dutch National government had ceased to exist. So ended the rule of the Netherlands East India Company in South Africa, after an existence of one hundred and forty-three years.

During all this time our country had been considered merely as a place of refreshment for the Company's ships. It had never been open to free immigrants, nor had those whom the Company permitted to settle in it been encouraged to develop its resources. When it was found that supplies of provisions were not to be obtained from the natives, a few soldiers and sailors were located on plots of ground near the fort, to try their hand as farmers. This plan failed, and so three or four hundred Dutch and French agriculturists were introduced, and as these furnished ample supplies of grain and vegetables for the Company's use, not another one was ever added to the number. Then, to secure a supply of meat, discharged soldiers and sailors were turned into cattle breeders, and the country was laid open before them until they spread so far as to be almost beyond control. No attention was ever paid to the advancement of the colony on its own account. Its internal improvement had been almost entirely neglected. At the close of the period there were neither roads nor bridges worthy of the name. The colony extended to the Great Fish River on the east, and to Bushmanland on the north, and in all that area the only public offices were at the Cape, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Graaff Reinet.

With the exceptions of Table Bay and Simon's Bay, its ports were closed to commerce, and even these were left just as nature had formed them. In each a wooden jetty had been constructed, but no other improvements had been effected. There was indeed a magazine for grain at Mossel Bay, and a depot for timber at Plettenberg's Bay, but neither of these ports was open to any but ships belonging to the Company. The revenue of the colony was nearly always below the expenditure. The civil service was corrupt, and the people were oppressed without the finances of the government deriving any benefit. There was no such thing known as free trade. There were no merchants in the colony, its commerce being exclusively in the hands of the Company. The laws were complicated and unintelligible to the people; many were unjust and impolitic. The legislative, administrative, and judicial powers were combined in one body, a union incompatible with justice. Personal liberty, where the government had power, did not exist. A citizen who fell under the displeasure of the rulers was liable at any moment to be seized and expatriated without trial. His slaves, oxen, horses, waggons, and saddles, could be impressed for the service of government at any time, without any remuneration whatever. Officials travelling through the colony were thus forwarded from place to place entirely at the expense of the farmers. The natives had well-nigh disappeared, and the whites in the interior were retrograding towards barbarism. A few slaves and a score of Hottentots were the only accessions to Christianity. Industry was discouraged, and education neglected. Evil habits, which were hardly eradicated in the next generation, had been formed. The number of slaves had been constantly increasing, not only by importation, but by the retention in bondage of those whom the law of Holland declared free. Such were the effects of the rule of the East India Company. In a word, it was a curse instead of a blessing to the country. It misdirected energy, crushed freedom, eradicated humanity.

If the English had not arrived, the rule of the Company would still have ceased; but anarchy would have resulted. The colonists were totally unfit for self-government; there would have been a reign of terror in Cape Town, and liberty would have gone mad elsewhere. For freedom was understood to mean the right of every white man to do as he pleased, and to deprive the black man of all rights. Independently of the insurrection of the burghers, and the seizure of the colony by the British, the rule of the East India Company must soon have terminated. For as soon as Holland (then the Batavian Republic) and France were allied, the Dutch ships were swept from the ocean by the English navy, and a bankrupt commercial company, with its trade destroyed, could no longer have borne the expense of maintaining a garrison and government here. Thus nothing could have been more beneficial to South Africa at the time than its falling under the power of the English.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ENGLISH OCCUPATION FROM 1795 TO 1803.

Principal Subjects:—Capture of the Batavian Fleet under Admiral Lucas.—Disturbances on the Frontier.—Kaffir Invasion.—Commencement of the London Society's Missions.—First Expedition to Bechuanaland.—Restoration of the Colony to the Batavian Republic.

Governors:—General J. H. CRAIG,	Sept.	16, 1795.
Earl of MACARTNEY,	May	23, 1797.
Sir FRANCIS DUNDAS (acting),	Nov.	22, 1798.
Sir GEORGE YOUNG,	Dec.	18, 1799.
Sir FRANCIS DUNDAS (acting),	April	20, 1801.

SIR JAMES CRAIG's first acts showed the colonists that they were now under a better government. The racks, wheels, and other instruments of torture, which stood exposed to view in Cape Town, were at once destroyed, and the torture of suspected criminals was forbidden. Since that time no criminal has been broken on a wheel, nor made to undergo such sufferings as were previously inflicted for the purpose of extorting a confession of crime, the details of which are too horrible for description. The expenses of the government were reduced, and order was introduced into the finances. Cape Town was placed under martial law; but no unnecessary severities were practised. The Dutch officers were sent to Holland, or remained as prisoners at large upon their parol of honour, at their own option, and those who chose to remain in the colony received the same pay as they had when in service. The Hottentot troops were taken into the British service, and the corps was gradually increased to seven hundred men. Commerce with Europe was declared open to all. Taxation was readjusted, and some burdensome imposts were removed. The old fortifications were repaired, and new outworks were constructed. Especially, the pass of Muizenberg was so fortified as to make it impregnable in case of an invasion.

In Swellendam the National party made no opposition to the new government; but the burghers of Graaff Reinet set the authorities at defiance. In February, 1796, Mr. BRESLER was appointed landdrost, but upon his arrival at the village the farmers declined to submit to his authority, and he was compelled to return to Cape Town. Sir JAMES CRAIG immediately ordered a body of troops to proceed to the disturbed quarter, and quell the insurrection. Intimidated by this measure, the insurgents sent a deputation to Cape Town with a letter, signed by some of the

principal inhabitants, praying that the troops might be recalled, and promising to observe order and obedience to the laws. The Governor was disposed to accept this offer of submission, for just at that time a much more important matter was occupying his attention. He therefore informed them that past offences would be forgiven, and permitted Mr. GEROTZ,—who had been acting under their authority for the last twelve months,—to remain in office until it would be convenient to send Mr. BRESLER back.

In the meantime the Batavian government had resolved to attempt the recovery of the colony. For this purpose a fleet was fitted out, consisting of the *Dordrecht*, 68, *Van Tromp*, 64, *Revolutionaire*, 64, *Castor*, 40, *Braave* 40, *Syren*, 24, *Havoc*, 24, *Bellona*, 24, and the *Maria* transport, armed en flute, laden with military stores, and carrying 40 guns. On board this fleet two thousand soldiers, principally German mercenaries, were embarked, this number being considered sufficient for the purpose as it was anticipated that before their arrival the British fleet with a large portion of the land forces would have left for the East Indies, and that they would be joined off the Cape by a French squadron with troops from the Mauritius and Java. It was expected also that the colonists would join the Dutch army as soon as a landing was effected. The expedition was placed under command of Admiral LUCAS, who accepted the charge with reluctance, as he believed the force to be too small and too poorly fitted out to accomplish the end in view. So ill supplied was he, that his provisions were nearly exhausted before he reached the colony, and he therefore put into Saldanha Bay, with the double purpose of procuring supplies and arming the colonists. On an island lying in the entrance to the bay, he landed his sick, and began to construct fortifications. Here he learnt that success was hopeless, unless the French fleet joined him quickly, for none of the colonists went to his assistance, nor could he obtain those stores of food of which he was so greatly in need.

On the 5th of August, 1796, information reached Cape Town that a Dutch fleet had left Europe and might be expected at any moment. On receipt of this intelligence, Admiral ELPHINSTONE, who was then in Simon's Bay, put to sea with a fleet consisting of the *Monarch*, 74, *Tremendous*, 74, *America*, 64, *Ruby*, 64, *Stately*, 64, *Trident*, 64, *Jupiter*, 50, *Crescent*, 36, *Moselle*, 20, *Sphinx*, 20, *Rattlesnake*, 16, and *Echo*, 16 guns. After cruising about for some days without meeting the enemy, the British Admiral put back to Simon's Bay, and was informed where the Dutch fleet was. On the 14th he again set sail, and on the 17th arrived off Saldanha Bay.

The garrison of Cape Town at this time consisted of the 28th Light Dragoons, a corps of artillery, and the battalion companies of the 78th, 84th, 95th, and 98th regiments of foot; the grenadiers of these regiments garrisoned Muizenberg, and the light companies, with the Hottentot regiment, were cantoned as a reserved corps at Wynberg. But just at this critical moment a fleet of English East Indiamen, having on board the 25th and 27th Light Dragoons, the 33rd and 80th regiments of foot, and five

companies of the 19th regiment, put into Simon's Bay for refreshment. All of these troops were at once landed, and a redistribution of the different garrisons took place. General CRAIG had now a strong army at his disposal, and leaving Major-General DOYLE in command at Cape Town, he marched to Saldanha Bay, throwing out before him detachments of dragoons and light troops, which picked up several parties the Dutch Admiral had sent out to reconnoitre. So well timed was General CRAIG's march that he arrived at Saldanha Bay just two hours before the English fleet hove in sight.

On descrying the fleet the Dutch were in great joy, imagining the ships to be those of their friends the French; but they were soon undeceived, when to their great surprise the English drew up in line of battle across the entrance of the bay. They now perceived that they were completely shut in, and that no chance was left for escape. The Dutch officers had some idea of running their vessels ashore, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the English in a perfect state, and to attempt to make their own escape into the country. General CRAIG, however, suspecting they might have such intentions, sent an officer with a flag of truce to inform the Dutch Admiral that if the ships were injured he would allow no quarter. The next morning (August 18th, 1796) Admiral ELPHINSTONE sent a flag of truce to Admiral LUCAS, requiring him to surrender without delay. Resistance or escape was equally impracticable, and therefore, after an ineffectual request for one of the frigates to convey him and his officers to Europe, he surrendered at discretion. On boarding the prizes, the Dutch forces were found to be completely demoralized. The English Commander was obliged to place a strong guard over the Dutch officers, to prevent them from being maltreated by their own men, so indignant were these at being taken in such a trap. In some instances the men were trampling on their own colours and casting the vilest terms of reproach upon those by whom they believed they had been betrayed. They were almost destitute of provisions, and had been on short allowance so long that many of them appeared half starved. A large number of the mercenaries and conscripts at once volunteered to enter the English service. Admiral ELPHINSTONE accepted their offer, and, as soon as he reached Table Bay with his prizes, put them on board some Indiamen, taking an equal number of able seamen in return. And so, the entire force of ships and men, composing an expedition from which the Batavian government expected nothing less than the recovery of the colony, fell into the hands of the English, without a shot being fired or a drop of blood spilt.

In the year 1796, JAGER AFRIKANER, the descendant of a line of Hottentot chieftains, who had been for some time a shepherd in the service of a farmer named PIENAAR, driven to fury by ill-treatment and abuse, rose against his master, murdered him, and took possession of several guns which were in the house. He then raised a band of followers, with whom he

fled to the lower banks of the Orange River, where he fixed his residence. Some time afterwards he removed to Great Namaqualand, and there became a terror to all the neighbouring tribes as well as to the farmers on the colonial frontier. Commandos were sent against him, but to no purpose. For several years he carried on such a career of devastation and bloodshed as had never before been witnessed in those regions; but he was at length conquered,—by a missionary,—and, under the new name of CHRISTIAN AFRIKANER, became a staunch friend and supporter of mission work in Namaqualand.

On the eastern border for years past peace had been unknown, though the condition of affairs there was not exactly that of war. The Kaffir clans in the colony were about evenly balanced in strength with the farmers, and thefts and recaptures of cattle were constantly taking place. But no government force was in the field, nor even a regular commando, and the colonists were acting in small parties without any proper organization. They were so imprudent also as to involve themselves in a quarrel with the regent NDLAMBE. The Kaffirs with whom they had to deal were his enemies as well as theirs, and though it would have been unsafe to seek assistance from him, his neutrality could easily have been secured. But they did not hesitate to exasperate him by entering his country in hunting parties whenever they chose, and destroying the game there. Some of them, who had cast longing eyes on the fertile and beautiful valleys of the Kat River, sent a petition to the Governor, requesting to be allowed to take possession of that part of the Kaffir country, and divide it among themselves; but they met with a stern and decided refusal, as they were informed that the British Government would neither sanction nor permit any action of the kind. They were ordered to keep on their own side of the river, and were reminded of the treaty of 1793, according to which neither party was to trespass on the lands of the other. But orders like this were given in vain. From the government the borderers received no protection, and as they had to fight their own battles they were resolved to act on their own counsel.

This state of anarchy and confusion was followed by a fresh irruption of Kaffirs, which threw the balance altogether on that side. NGQIKA, son of MLAU, had arrived at the age of manhood, and asserted his right to the supreme chieftainship of the Rarabe tribes. Handsome in person, eloquent in tongue, and possessing hereditary claims that could not be disputed, he was supported by a majority of the people. But the old regent loved power too well to relinquish it without a struggle, and as he too had partizans, the tribe was plunged again in civil war. NDLAMBE was defeated and made prisoner. He was kept at the kraal of NGQIKA for a time, but he soon made his escape and fled with all his adherents over the Fish River. As he advanced the colonists fell back, until the whole country along the coast as far westward as Algoa Bay was in the exclusive possession of the Kaffirs. All of the small clans there previously, with one exception,

immediately made their peace with the powerful refugee, and joined their forces to his. CUNGWA, chief of the Amagqunukwebe, alone held back. Between him and NDLAMBE there was a bitter personal hostility, and as there was more Hottentot blood in his clan than in any of the others, the claims of kindred were less strong. He did not venture upon opposition, however, but merely kept as far away from the other as he could. The colonists were disheartened by this accession of strength to their enemy. NDLAMBE proclaimed that he would not molest them if they would return to their farms, but they dared not trust themselves among his people. Their lives, they knew, might be spared, but their stock, on which they depended entirely for subsistence, would be swept off to a certainty. The government, viewing the intruders in the light of political refugees, declined to send troops to aid in their expulsion, and thus the farmers had no alternative but to remove to other parts of the colony.

In May, 1797, the Earl of MACARTNEY arrived in the colony and took over the reins of government. Martial law in Cape Town was now superseded by the action of the civil courts. The Governor resolved to send Mr. BRESLER back as landdrost to Graaff Reinet, and with him he sent Mr. BARROW, his private secretary, with instructions to endeavour to conciliate the people, but to convince them that the British government, though lenient in its proceedings, was not less firm in carrying them into execution. On their arrival they found the farmers disposed to submit and return to their duty. The district was, in consequence, reduced to order without bloodshed, and a small garrison was placed in the village to ensure obedience to the laws.

After settling matters in Graaff Reinet, Mr. BARROW visited the chiefs NDLAMBE, CUNGWA, and some others of less note, with the object of inducing them to return to their own country. They gave him to understand that they were willing to do so, but were afraid of NGQIKA. Mr. BARROW therefore proceeded to that chief, whom he found residing near the present mission station of Burnshill, on the Keiskama River. He was received in a friendly manner, and found no difficulty in obtaining the chief's assent to a treaty of peace with the colony. The commissioner, on the part of Lord MACARTNEY, recognized NGQIKA as paramount ruler of all the frontier tribes, but mistook altogether the power attached to that position. Nothing was then known of Kaffir customs, and as every native alleged without hesitation that NGQIKA had no superior in rank this side of the Kei, it was naturally assumed that he was by right a king, and that his enemies were rebels. It was therefore as the sovereign ruler of a nation, not as chief of a clan,—superior indeed in rank to other chiefs, but still no more entitled to rule than they were,—that NGQIKA was treated with by the colonial government. This mistake led from the very first to misunderstandings, and paved the way to future wars. With reference to the clans in the colony, NGQIKA made no objection to their return, as nothing could have pleased him more than to have them in his power.

But they never once thought of going back again, and all the conferences held were a waste of time. No arguments or inducements could have effected a reconciliation between the young chief and his uncle, for between them there was a more deadly hatred than that produced by strife for power. NDLAMBE had treated his brother's son with the utmost kindness while he was a youth under guardianship, and had him trained in all the accomplishments known or valued by his people. NGQIKA had requited his care by entering into a criminal intrigue with TUTULA, a young and favourite wife of his uncle, thus proving himself to be without honour as well as without gratitude. This being a very grave crime in Kaffir estimation, on account of the near relationship of the parties concerned, as soon as it became known, many of the people attached themselves to NDLAMBE, whose power was thus greatly increased. The state of anarchy in which the frontier farmers had so long been living was well known to the old chief, who saw no force that could drive him from the land on which he was then located, and therefore resolved to occupy it permanently.

In November, 1798, Lord MACARTNEY resigned the government, leaving General DUNDAS at the head of affairs. No sooner was it known that the late governor had left the colony than the farmers of Graaff Reinet again raised the standard of revolt. One of the most turbulent of their number, VAN JAARSVELD by name, was charged by the Orphan Chamber with the crime of having forged a receipt in the administration of an estate of which he was trustee, and was arrested by order of Mr. BRESLER, as landdrost of the district in which he resided. His friends immediately assembled in arms and rescued him from the officers of the court, after which they sent a message to the landdrost desiring a conference. At this meeting they professed to believe that VAN JAARSVELD was arrested on account of his participation in former disturbances, and they alleged further that they had no longer any confidence that the terms of the amnesty would be observed. The landdrost endeavoured to convince them of their mistake, but they could not be brought to see it. The garrison in the village was too weak to offer any resistance, and so the farmers remained masters of the position.

As soon as news of the revolt reached Cape Town, the Governor despatched General VANDELEUR with a squadron of dragoons, a few companies of infantry, and the greater portion of the Hottentot corps, to reduce the district to subjection. Upon the approach of this force the insurgents lost heart, and sent a messenger entreating grace. The General replied that he would listen to no communications until they surrendered their persons and their arms, and this step most of them were compelled to take before the end of March, 1799. Nine of the ringleaders were sent to the Cape for trial, and a fine was levied upon the rest, for the purpose of defraying a portion of the expense of the expedition. It was resolved that the rebels should be tried, not by martial law, but in a civil court composed of their own countrymen. This was the first trial in the colony in a court with

open doors. The prisoners were found guilty, and three were sentenced to death, but were never executed. They were detained in prison until the change of government which soon afterwards took place, when, by a general amnesty, they were restored to liberty.

The insurrection of the farmers at Graaff Reinet was hardly suppressed when another disturbance took place on the border. The Hottentots there, who were held in compulsory service, were extremely dissatisfied with their condition, and some of them considered this a fitting time to attempt the recovery of independence. They could not comprehend that it was impossible for them to levy war upon their masters without coming into collision also with the English authorities, since they had just seen the British troops and the farmers opposed to each other. About five hundred of them collected in a body, and having chosen one KLASS STUURMAN to be their chief, attacked several isolated farmhouses, which they robbed of everything portable that they took a fancy to. A good many muskets and a considerable quantity of ammunition fell into their hands, so that in a short time nothing but military force could have reduced them again to subjection. Marching through the district, they plundered it at will, but as yet spared the lives of the farmers. Probably they thought that General VANDELEUR would approve of what they were doing, for they applied to him for aid and protection. The British commander was at a loss to devise a remedy for the lawlessness that prevailed everywhere around him. With regard to these Hottentots, he could not compel them to return to service, nor could he permit them to remain as an armed body of marauders, while he knew of no place where they could be located in safety, nor was it easy to introduce a scheme by which they could maintain themselves honestly. To gain time, he induced them to give up their arms and accompany him to his head quarters at Bruintjes Hoogte, whence, after a short delay, they were sent under charge of Mr. BARROW to Algoa Bay, there to remain until something could be done for them. Upon his arrival at the Bay, Mr. BARROW found a party of about a hundred and fifty of the plundered farmers, who had gone there in the hope of obtaining military assistance against their revolted servants. These were excited to the utmost fury on seeing the Hottentots dressed in their clothing, and if a guard of seamen from a man-of-war had not been promptly sent on shore to preserve peace, an action between the two hostile parties would have taken place. But in the mean time yet another enemy was coming to the front and upsetting all General VANDELEUR's plans for the settlement of affairs on the frontier.

There was then living in Kaffirland a man named CONRAAD BUYS, who had fled from the colony some years before. He was not the only European in that country who had thrown off all the restraints of religion and civilisation, for there was quite a party of them at the kraal of the great chief. There were two brothers LOCHENBERG, a German named CORNELIUS FABER, and an Irish deserter from the army, besides several young men connected with old and respectable colonial families. These miscreants

exercised an evil influence over the Kaffirs, and were the prime movers in many acts of bloodshed and outrage. All of them died violent deaths within a few years, some being hanged and others murdered or shot in battle. BUYS occupied the most prominent position among them, on account of the relationship he had formed with NGQIKA. He had taken that chief's mother into his harem, and treated her with such attention as to gain the good will and confidence of her son, so that he was now a man of high position in Kaffir society. By this outlaw's pernicious counsel a new element of confusion was added to those already existing in the distracted and suffering border district. At this time he chose to call himself a Dutch patriot, and professed to be actuated by an intense hatred of the English power. But if this were the case, he did far more damage to his friends than to his foes. Very possibly, he may have been at heart attached to NGQIKA, for it does not appear that he ever encouraged him to run the risk of war. With NDLAMBE he had no influence whatever, but CUNGWA, who had recently visited Kaffirland, was easily induced to enter into a plot for the destruction of the troops on the frontier. This chief had received frequent messages from the colonial authorities, urging him to move over the Fish River, and probably he thought he would be attacked by the soldiers if he did not act on the offensive.

General VANDELEUR, having left a small garrison in the village of Graaff Reinet, was on his march towards Algoa Bay with a view of embarking his troops for Cape Town, and was unsuspicious of an enemy being close at hand, when in a thicket a charge was made upon his line by CUNGWA's followers aided by several of the renegade whites. In this, the first engagement between Kaffirs and English troops, the assailants were repulsed with heavy loss, though the nature of the ground was in their favour. Unfortunately, a small detachment of the 81st, under command of Lieutenant CHUMNEY, was surprised when out of reach of assistance, and after a desperate defence against overwhelming numbers, seventeen men, including the commanding officer, were slain. The General then continued his march to Algoa Bay, where he erected and garrisoned a small fort for the purpose of securing that important position against a foreign enemy, after which he took ship for Cape Town with the remainder of his forces.

While these events were transpiring, the Hottentots broke up their camp at Algoa Bay, and entered into alliance with CUNGWA. One of the renegade whites had been tampering with them, and impressed them with the belief that the English had only brought them there to send them away as slaves. Eager for plunder and naturally restless, they needed little persuasion to break away from the restraints imposed upon them. Thus by the machinations of a few miscreants a host of savages was in the field. But when the English General, who considered that neither glory nor profit was to be obtained in such a contest, unexpectedly left the scene, neither Kaffirs nor Hottentots could be induced to lay down their arms again. The whole country with its flocks and herds was open before them, and

they could not forget that the farmers were their enemies of old. The prospect of rich plunder was too great a temptation also for NDLAMBE and his followers to resist, so that they too joined in the war against the colony. The united bands first ravaged the district of Graaff-Reinet, burning the houses and seizing the cattle, and then advanced beyond the Gamtoos River, where they met and defeated a commando under TJAARDT VAN DER WALT, who fell in the engagement. With the death of this leader, who was a man of bravery and military genius, the farmers lost all hope, and thought of nothing but flight. The work of plunder and destruction was continued as far as Cayman's River, near the present village of George; but there the raiders were met and defeated by the burghers of Swellendam, aided by a small body of English troops. They then retired beyond the Sunday River, and as there was no force to oppose them in that quarter, they distributed what booty they had acquired, and settled down to their ordinary pursuits. They had destroyed a vast amount of property, in addition to that which they carried off, but they had not acted altogether as savages, for no woman or child was molested during the whole period of the disturbances.

Before the close of 1799, hostilities had ended, by the Kaffirs and Hottentots being left virtually masters of the eastern district. It was already uncertain whether the English would retain the colony much longer, so that the government did not choose to be at the expense of compelling the invaders to retire from it. General DUNDAS, indeed, entered into an agreement of peace with them, according to the terms of which they were to retain everything they had acquired. The Kaffirs and Hottentots had by that time begun to quarrel over the spoil, and the Governor, thinking to attach the Hottentots to the colony, was desirous of locating them by themselves somewhere to the westward, but found them indisposed to enter into any reasonable arrangement. Thus for a season, the current of European progress was not only checked in that direction, but it was turned and made to flow back again.

The last year in the last century is memorable as that in which the London Missionary Society commenced its labours in this country. Its first agents in South Africa were Dr. VANDERKEMP and Mr. KICHERER, who arrived at the same time. Of these, the first is the most celebrated, on account of his extensive learning, his great zeal, and the extraordinary sacrifices he made in devoting himself to mission work. He had been an officer in the Dutch army, in his early days, and was afterwards a physician of eminence. At the time he offered his services to the London Society he was advanced in years, and was living in retirement, in the possession of a good property. Upon his arrival in South Africa he took up his residence at the kraal of the great chief NGQIKA, near the Keiskama River, where he remained for about a year. But he found the Kaffirs indisposed to listen to his exhortations, and met with even greater opposition from those of his own colour who were then

residing with the great chief. These renegades not only sneered at him publicly, but even proceeded to rob him of the articles of comfort which he had taken with him, until he was left almost destitute. They had no scruples in prejudicing the chief against him, and in misrepresenting the object of his mission. Among people such as these he was helpless, and therefore he removed to Graaff Reinet, where he thought there was a better opening. Here he was more successful, as he gathered a company of Hottentot converts about him, with whom in 1802, at the request of General DUNDAS, he retired to a farm near Algoa Bay. This station became a nucleus, round which those Hottentots gathered, who were peaceably disposed, and here also collected a crowd of children and infirm people, to maintain whom rations of rice were supplied by the government. In the mean time Mr. KICHERER had attempted to establish a mission among the Bushmen north of the colony, and though he failed in this object, his effort led to the subsequent formation of flourishing stations among the Griquas. The pioneer missionaries of this Society were soon joined by others from Europe, when stations were formed at various places within the colony, and also at several points beyond the frontiers.

In November, 1799, during a terrific gale, eight ships were driven ashore in Table Bay, one being a Danish man-of-war, and another the British war ship *Sceptre*, whose crew of three hundred souls all perished.

In 1801, owing to the scarcity of cattle which was occasioned by the large consumption of the military and naval establishments, two commissioners,—Messrs. TRUTER and SOMERVILLE,—with a party consisting of twelve white men, twenty-four Hottentots, and four slaves, were sent by the government to the Bechuana country to endeavour to procure supplies; but did not succeed to the extent desired. This was the first regular expedition to that country ever undertaken, and from it was obtained the first authentic information concerning the Bechuana tribes.

On the 27th of March, 1802, the treaty of Amiens was signed. Europe was exhausted, and required breathing time in order to prepare for still greater struggles than those she had just gone through. One of the conditions of peace, insisted upon by France and agreed to by England, was that the Cape Colony should be handed over to the Batavian Republic. In accordance with this agreement, a force was despatched from Holland to relieve the British garrison and occupy the forts of the colony. The 1st of January, 1803, was fixed for the evacuation, and the English troops had actually commenced to embark, when, on the 31st of December a vessel arrived which had left Plymouth on the 31st of October, with orders to delay the cession, as it was probable that war would break out again immediately. The Dutch troops were therefore cantoned at Wynberg, where they remained until February, 1803, when fresh orders from England were received and the colony was given up.

CHAPTER XIV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COLONY AND ITS INHABITANTS SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO.

THE conquest of the colony by the English effected a great change in its condition, though the old laws were not subverted, nor were any innovations made by violence. The Dutch language continued in use in the courts and churches as well as in the farmhouses, and Dutch colonists were still employed in offices of trust. The outward form of government remained nearly the same,—almost the only apparent difference being that the Council of Policy was abolished,—but its spirit was widely different. Many harsh laws were permitted to become obsolete, many more were interpreted in another sense. A few were modified, and a few were added to the code. The changes thus brought about were all to the advantage of the colonists.

At the commencement of the present century the colony contained about one hundred and twenty thousand square miles of ground. Its boundaries were, the Great Fish River to the east, and on the north a curved line extending from near the present village of Colesberg to the mouth of the Buffalo River in Little Namaqualand. It was divided into the four districts of the Cape, Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, Swellendam, and Graaff Reinet.

Of these the Cape was the smallest. The population of this district consisted of about six thousand whites, and nearly twelve thousand slaves, with a few free people of colour.

Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, though a district under the jurisdiction of one landdrost, had distinct heemraden or councils. It extended to the Buffalo River on the north and to the Breede on the east. Its population consisted of about seven thousand whites, eleven thousand slaves, and five thousand Hottentots.

The district of Swellendam extended from the Breede River to the Gamtoos, and from the sea to the Zwartbergen. Its population consisted of about four thousand whites, two thousand slaves, and five hundred Hottentots.

The district of Graaff Reinet embraced the remainder of the colony. Its population consisted of about four thousand whites, one thousand slaves, and nine thousand Hottentots.

Thus the whole population of the colony, exclusive of the Kaffirs temporarily occupying the Zuurveld, consisted of twenty-one thousand whites, twenty-six thousand slaves, and fourteen thousand five hundred Hottentots: sixty-one thousand five hundred in all, or a very little more than one soul for every two square miles of ground.

Cape Town contained between eleven and twelve hundred houses, inhabited by about five thousand five hundred whites and free people of colour, and ten thousand slaves. Besides the castle, forts, and barracks, its principal buildings were, the Government House, the Dutch Reformed Church, the Lutheran Church, the Town Hall, the Hall of the Court of Justice, a Theatre, and a large building used as a government slave pen. Many of the residents in the town were persons who had estates in the country, and who, through their slaves, retailed farm produce; others were in the government service; some were petty traders; and some gained a living by hiring out their slaves as artificers and labourers. The free people of colour were mostly fishermen. Food was extremely cheap and plentiful; but firewood was very dear, as nearly all the large forest trees in the vicinity of the town had long since disappeared. The births were to the deaths as twenty-five to eleven, the rate of mortality being less than three in a hundred annually.

The town was under the government of a body called the Burgher Senate, which consisted of a president and four members. The president received a handsome salary, and remained in office for two years. He then retired, and was succeeded by the senior member. To fill the vacancy thus caused, the Senate itself nominated three persons, from whom the Governor selected one. In addition to the ordinary powers of municipal bodies, the Burgher Senate had complete control over the food supply of the town, and could even prevent the exportation of corn. Its decrees, however, required to be confirmed by the Governor.

The Cape district produced large quantities of fruit, grain, vegetables, and wine. The farms were freehold, of one hundred and twenty acres each.

The district of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein produced also large quantities of grain and wine, though a great portion of it was occupied by graziers. The village of Stellenbosch contained about seventy houses, and was very beautiful in the midst of its gardens, and with its streets lined with spreading oak trees. It was the residence of the landdrost of the district, and contained a church with a resident clergyman. The village of the Paarl contained about thirty houses, with a church and a neat parsonage. There was also a church and a clergyman at Tulbagh, which was, however, as yet a mere hamlet. The parts of this district near the Cape were held in freehold farms of one hundred and twenty acres each, to the northward the farms were held on rental, and contained at least nine square miles.

The produce of the district of Swellendam consisted of cattle, with some grain and a little wine and timber. The farms were nearly all held on rental. The village of Swellendam contained about thirty houses, with a large church in the centre. The only clergyman in the district resided here.

The district of Graaff Reinet was entirely composed of farms held on rental. A clergyman was appointed in 1792, and was resident in the village for some years, but at this time there was no minister in the district

except the missionaries of the London Society. The white inhabitants consisted principally of graziers, who led a nomadic life, and lived almost entirely on animal food. They were in a state of constant hostility with the natives. The village of Graaff Reinet contained only about a dozen houses, built of mud.

Land was held on the following tenures :—

(a) Freehold farms. These were originally granted to the early settlers, and contained one hundred and twenty acres each. They were not so well cultivated as they might have been, and seldom remained long in one family. This was owing partly to the operation of the law of inheritance, and partly to a universal tendency to buy, sell, and exchange lands.

(b) Farms on rental. These farms were all supposed to be of the same size, and paid the same rental, viz., £4 16s. per annum, without any regard being had to the quality of the ground. There were in the colony, in 1798, one thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine such farms. The lease was made out for one year only, but the payment of the rent was considered as a renewal; so that the tenure amounted, in fact, to a lease held in perpetuity. The buildings erected on such a farm, together with fruit trees and vineyards planted, were called the "opstal," and were saleable like any other property. The lease of the farm continued to the purchaser of the opstal. When application was made for a farm, the person applying fixed a stake where the house was meant to be erected. The overseer of the district was then called to examine that it did not encroach on the neighbouring farms, that is to say, that no part of any of the surrounding farms was within half an hour's walk of the stake. In such case the overseer certified that the farm applied for was tenable, otherwise not. The disputes about these stakes, or baakens, as they were termed, were endless; and partly by accident, but frequently from design, they were so placed that, on an average throughout the whole colony, the farms contained four times the quantity of land allowed by government.

(*c*) Quitrent lands, which were plots of ground contiguous to freehold estates, and upon which an annual quitrent of one shilling per acre was payable. The leases were granted for fifteen years, but were renewable.

The public revenue was derived principally from the following sources, which are here arranged in order of magnitude :—

(*a*) Licenses to retail wines and spirituous liquors, which were put up to sale yearly. The highest bidder became the purchaser, and had a monopoly during the ensuing year. This source of revenue brought in about £12,000 per annum during the period of the English occupation.

(*b*) Auction dues, at the rate of three and a half per cent on the sales of movable, and one and three quarters per cent on the sales of immovable property. As nearly everything was bought and sold at public auction, this was a very important branch of the revenue.

(*c*) Transfer dues on freehold estates sold, at the rate of four per cent on the amount of purchase.

(*d*) Land rents.

(*e*) Import and export duties, which varied in amount. During the English occupation, all goods shipped in Great Britain, in British vessels, were admitted free of duty. Other goods paid five per cent, if brought in British vessels, ten per cent, if brought under any other flag. The English East India Company had an exclusive monopoly of goods brought from the East, and paid no duties. The export duties were about five per cent on an average on everything sent out of the colony.

(*f*) Duty levied on farm produce brought to town for sale. This must be regarded as a commutation of the tithes formerly paid, and it left untaxed all produce required by the grower for home consumption. It was, on an average, less than five per cent of the value of the different kinds of produce.

(*g*) Interest on paper money lent through the Lombard Bank, which amounted to about £5,000 per annum.

(*h*) Stamps and Stamped Paper.

(*i*) Duty on sales of opstals, at the rate of three and a half per cent on the purchase amount.

(*j*) Port fees, at the rate of six pence per ton upon all ships dropping anchor.

The revenue derived from these, and some minor sources, increased so greatly during the period of the English occupation, that it was found more than adequate to meet the expenditure. In 1798 it was £64,000, in 1799 £72,000, in 1800 £74,000, and in 1801 it rose to £90,000. Yet no new tax was laid upon the people during the whole of this period, and many of the old ones were considerably modified, so that this great increase, which made the revenue more than three times as much as it had been during the last years of the rule of the Netherlands East India Company, was entirely owing to the general prosperity which had been occasioned by the change from an arbitrary and decrepit government to a benevolent and strong one.

In each of the country districts there was a court of landdrost and heemraden, which decided police cases and civil cases when the amount sued for did not exceed £30. In Cape Town there was a Petty Court with rather greater power, as civil cases were therein adjudicated when the sum sued for did not exceed £40. The Supreme Court, or High Court of Justice as it was termed, was remodelled by Lord MACARTNEY, and consisted now of seven burghers chosen from the most respectable inhabitants of the town. In the days of the East India Company the members received no salaries as judges, apart from their income as officers of government, but they were then permitted to take presents from one or both of the parties who had suits before the court. Lord MACARTNEY attached salaries to the office, and prohibited the receipt of presents as tending to pervert the course of justice. The proceedings of this court were always carried on with closed doors; no oral pleading was admitted, no confronting the

accused with witnesses, the deposition of each being taken down before two commissioners on oath, and afterwards read to the court; and all persons excepting the parties concerned were excluded from the chamber. Two irreproachable and concurring witnesses were required to substantiate a fact against a delinquent; one witness of good character produced on the part of a person accused of felony was considered of equal weight with two produced against him; and even after sentence had been passed, until the moment of execution, the condemned was allowed to bring forward evidence in his favour. The extreme penalty of the law was never carried out, when judgment rested on circumstantial evidence, however strong, until confession of guilt had been made. Such confession, under the old government, was sometimes obtained by torture; but this was no longer in practice. Of one hundred and ten capital convictions during the English occupation, only thirty-three executions took place, principally owing to the want of confession. The Fiscal, who acted as Attorney-General, and the Secretary of this court, were supposed to possess legal knowledge. The latter pointed out the law, upon which the court passed judgment by a majority. From this court there was an appeal, during the Company's rule, in the first instance to the supreme court of Batavia, and then to the supreme court of Holland, and during the English occupation, in the first instance to a court composed of the governor and lieutenant-governor, and then to the king in council.

A monstrous abuse was the power possessed by the Fiscal, in his capacity of Police Magistrate, of compounding crimes for pecuniary penalties, of which he was himself entitled to one third. Under the English rule the sum that he could thus demand was limited to £40.

All persons in the colony who wished to marry were obliged under the old government to appear before the petty court in Cape Town, to show that no legal impediments to the marriage existed. When the burghers of Graaff Reinet revolted, one of their first acts was to establish a matrimonial court of their own, but the marriages which took place under its licenses were subsequently pronounced illegal. In 1799, however, matrimonial commissions were appointed for all the districts, so that the necessity of making a journey to Cape Town from the remote frontier, for the express purpose of getting married, was henceforth done away with. The written consent of parents or guardians had to be produced by all who were under twenty-five years of age. In case of the remarriage of a widower or widow it was necessary also to produce a deed of kinder-bewijs, that is a certificate from the Orphan Chamber that the estate of the deceased husband or wife had been secured to his or her children, according to the Roman-Dutch law regulating the descent of property.

There was not one good school in the colony, though the advantages of education were fully appreciated in the capital. As far back as 1790 some liberal minded individuals had subscribed sums of money for the purpose of qualifying teachers, and particularly for the establishment of a school in

which the Latin and French languages should be taught. This fund was continually being added to by donations, until in 1837, under the name of the Old Latin School Fund, it was vested by Ordinance in the South African College. In the country districts the children of the better class of farmers received a slight knowledge of reading and writing from itinerant teachers, who did not always bear irreproachable characters, and in the town private tutors were usually employed. At Genadendal, Graaff Reinet, and Dr. VANDERKEMP'S institution, there were elementary schools for the natives; but a white man would have scorned to send his children to be taught at any of them. There was not a single bookstore in the colony, nor a newspaper previous to the year 1800, when the *Government Gazette* was established. Before the English took the colony, the only printing press in it was a small one used for printing the government notes or paper money. At Dr. VANDERKEMP'S institution there was now a printing press, with which the first book was printed in South Africa, in the year 1800. It was a spelling book, intended for the use of the mission schools. The nucleus of a public library existed, Mr. VON DESSIN having, in 1761, bequeathed nearly five thousand valuable works in trust to the Reformed Dutch Church in Cape Town for this purpose; but it was seldom made use of.

The exports did not amount, on an average, to more than £15,000 a year, during the English occupation; but it must be borne in mind that nine or ten thousand men of the army and navy received their supplies of food from the colony during this period.

The cultivation of the ground was carried on in a slovenly manner, the implements used being of the most primitive description. A great unwieldy wooden plough, with only one handle, was forced through the ground by the united strength of eight or ten oxen, and in place of a harrow a large bush was drawn over the soil. There was indeed an Agricultural Society; but it accomplished nothing worth mentioning. Lord MACARTNEY, who took a warm interest in the colony during his brief administration of the government, brought out from England an experienced agriculturist, Mr. DUCKETT, and caused a set of the very best English farm utensils to be imported. A tract of land in the Stellenbosch district was selected for a model farm, and there Mr. DUCKETT was placed, in hopes that through his instructions and example a better system of cultivating the land would be generally introduced. But the experiment failed. Some bad seasons followed, and the crops did not turn out so well as had been anticipated. The boers thought the laugh was now on their side, and could not be prevailed upon to abandon their old style of farming. Lord MACARTNEY also caused experiments to be made, in the botanic gardens of Cape Town, in the culture of various plants, with the hope of introducing new sources of agricultural wealth into the colony; but though many of these grew admirably, through the antipathy of the farmers to innovations, his benevolent wishes were frustrated. The curse of slavery had settled

on the land. The farmer, too proud and too indolent to labour himself, entrusted the whole work of his farm to his slaves and Hottentots, and they, having no interest in that which could not benefit them, performed everything in a careless, makeshift manner. As might have been expected under the circumstances, a much greater interest was manifested in the improvement of stock than in the improvement of agriculture. One of the most enterprising of the colonists,—VAN REENEN by name,—is found long before this time importing bulls of a superior breed from Holland, and a better kind of goats from India. The same man, or another of the same family, introduced Arab horses into the colony, and had Cochin-China fowls brought from Batavia. Nor was he alone in this respect, for many wealthy farmers in the old districts tried to get the best breeding stock obtainable, even at enormous prices. To be the owner of a span of fourteen half-bred Fatherland oxen, of the same colour and size, was before the eye of every youth who wished to commence farming respectably on his own account. His marriage was not fashionable unless he proceeded to church in a waggon drawn by such a team, nor was it considered becoming in him to pay his addresses to a country maiden unless he made his appearance mounted on a fine dashing horse of the best blood. Fashion became thus in this instance the handmaid of improvement. It was customary for parents on the birth of every child to select a few head of cattle, which were marked with the initials of the child's name, the increase of which was considered his or her property, thus enabling young people to make a good start in life.

In Cape Town and its neighbourhood the ordinary comforts and conveniences of life were obtainable, and were enjoyed by most of the whites; but on the loan farms in the interior, comfort, as it is understood now-a-days, was an unknown word. The hovels in which the graziers lived seldom contained more than two rooms, and frequently only one. They were destitute of the most ordinary furniture. The great waggon-chest, which served for a table as well as a receptacle for clothing, a couple of campstools, and a kartel or two (wooden frames with a network of strips of raw hide stretched across them) were the only household goods possessed by many. Crockery ware, so liable to be broken in long land journeys, they could not reasonably be expected to have had; but it is difficult to account for their being without such common and useful articles as knives and forks. A great portion of their clothing was made of the skins of animals dressed carefully for the purpose. Tanned leather trousers and jackets, untanned calf skin vests, and homemade shoes of ox hide, were commonly worn by the men. Their blankets, like those of the natives, were karosses of skin. They lived in this manner, not from necessity, but through choice and custom. Many of them were very wealthy in flocks and herds; but, having become accustomed to a nomad life, they considered as a superfluity everything that could not easily be removed in a waggon from place to place, without damage. A gun,

ammunition, and a waggon, were the only products of mechanical skill that were absolutely indispensable to a grazier; with these he could provide himself with every other necessary. Some cotton goods for shirts and clothing for females, hats, coffee, and sugar, were almost the only other articles he ever thought of purchasing. Those however who were stationary and cultivated the land, lived more comfortably, and had some of the conveniences of civilised life about them; they were called corn farmers.

Poverty, in that sense of the word which implies a lack of the means of sustaining life, was unknown throughout the colony. Every white person had food in abundance, and might have had all the comforts of life, if their use had been known or their want felt. The people of the interior were ignorant, and though kind and hospitable to those of their own race, were harsh in their treatment of their dependents. This was the effect partly of their holding human beings in slavery, and partly from their having had for a long period the native races of the country at their mercy, without any check from the government. Their ignorance must be attributed entirely to the action of the government in scattering them at such a distance from each other, over an immense extent of country.

The amusements of the people were few, owing also to their isolation. Those who possessed numerous slaves usually had three or four of them trained to the use of the violin,—the blacks being peculiarly gifted with an ear for music, and easily learning to play by sound. They had thus the means at hand of amusing themselves with dancing, and of entertaining visitors with music. The branches of widely extended families were constantly exchanging visits with each other. A farmer would make his waggon ready regularly every year, when half the household or more would leave home and spend a week or two with each relative, often being absent a couple of months. Birthday anniversaries of aged people were celebrated by the assembling of their descendants, frequently to the number of eighty or a hundred, at the residence of the patriarch, where a feast was prepared for their entertainment. These different reunions were naturally productive of great pleasure, and tended to cement the friendship and love of those who otherwise might seldom see each other. The life led by the people when at home was exceedingly tame. The mistress of the house, who moved about but little, issued orders to slaves or Hottentot females concerning the work of the household. If the weather was chilly or damp she rested her feet an a little box filled with live coals, while beside her stood a coffee kettle never empty. The head of the family usually inspected his flocks morning and evening, and passed the remainder of the day, like his helpmate, in the enjoyment of ease. When repose itself became wearisome, he mounted his horse, and with an attendant to carry his gun, set off in pursuit of some of the wild animals with which the country then abounded. The children had few games, and though strong and healthy, were far from sprightly. At an early age there was a tendency to become

corpulent, and most people past thirty were uncomfortably fat. A grazier was generally on terms of perfect peace and friendship with every other white man in the colony except his nearest neighbours. With these he had never ending disputes about the position of the boundary beacons between them, and the trespassing of their cattle on his grass. His ground might be twenty thousand acres in extent, yet he thought the beacons should have been a little further off. These quarrels lasted until the survey of farms and issue of title deeds years later put an end to them.

From the French Refugees the colonists acquired a deep religious feeling which, often misdirected, yet preserved even those furthest removed from places of worship from falling into barbarism. The cruelties inflicted upon the natives were always justified by quotations from the Old Testament. The boer compared himself to the Israelite of old, and the native to a Canaanite whom it was doing God a service to destroy. In every household religious exercises were regularly observed every day, and it was no unusual circumstance for a farmer to make a journey occupying three or four weeks, for the purpose of attending Divine service. At the administration of the Communion, which took place every three months, there was always a large gathering of people from distant parts. Like the Jewish festivals of old, these seasons were made the occasions for holding fairs, when sales by auction of land and cattle took place, and traders from Cape Town supplied the farmers with such goods as they needed. The clergy often set their faces against this combination of business and religion, but the circumstances of the people left them no choice in the matter. During the hours of Divine service on Saturday, or Preparation Day as it was termed, business ceased, however, and was not resumed until Monday morning.

The slaves, who formed a very large proportion of the population, were regarded in law simply as cattle. Their treatment varied with the disposition of their owners. They were subject to terrible penalties for crimes, but no severity could keep them entirely in subjection. The murder of a tyrannical master was a matter of no unusual occurrence. Bands of runaway slaves maintained their independence in several parts of the colony, and levied contributions to their support from the neighbouring farmers.

The Hottentots were nearly all in service, either voluntary or compulsory. They were in a most abject state, possessing nothing they could call their own. They had lost to a great extent the use of their own language, and spoke the colonial Dutch patois. The intercourse between them and the whites and slaves had produced many mixed races, all of which were in a state of subjection to the Europeans of pure blood. The residents at Genadendal were somewhat better off than the remainder of their countrymen. There the natives were acquiring habits of industry, and were being taught the doctrines of Christianity. The men belonging to the station were in the habit of hiring themselves as servants to the neighbouring farmers, leaving their wives and children to cultivate their gardens, and returning home themselves as often as circumstances would permit.

CHAPTER XV.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC FROM 21ST FEBRUARY, 1803, TO 19TH JANUARY, 1806

Principal Subjects:—Regulations with regard to Natives.—Foundation of the Missionary Village of Bethelsdorp.—Tour of the High Commissioner De Mist.—Formation of the Districts of Uitenhage and Tulbagh.—Preparations for the defence of the Colony.—Battle of Blaauwberg.—Capitulation of Cape Town and of the Colony to the English.—Review.

Governor :—JAN WILLEM JANSSENS.

THE colony of the Cape of Good Hope was considered by the Batavian Republic a national possession, to be protected as the most important position in the great highway of eastern commerce. Very liberal views were entertained as to its government, which was to be such as to admit of the greatest amount of freedom compatible with a dependency, and every facility was to be afforded for the development of its internal resources and for the advancement of its inhabitants in prosperity. To collect information upon the administration of the old East India Company, and to suggest improvements and necessary alterations, a committee was appointed, who entrusted the task of drawing up a report to a very able man, by name J. A. DE MIST. This report coincided so perfectly with the views of the Batavian government that Mr. DE MIST was himself sent out as High Commissioner, to receive the colony from the English, instal the Governor —General J. W. JANSSENS—into his office, and make such regulations as he should deem necessary for the welfare of the country. On the 21st of February, 1803, the government was transferred to the Dutch, and the Batavian flag was hoisted on the forts. The 1st of March was appointed as a day of thanksgiving for the restoration of the colony, and on that day, a general amnesty to political offenders was granted by the High Commissioner, and a charter was promised for the colony.

A few necessary arrangements were made for carrying on the government, after which General JANSSENS proceeded to the eastern frontier, in order to attempt to restore order there. He found the Kaffirs in possession of the coast lands between the Sunday and Great Fish rivers, and the former white inhabitants, who had survived the war, in great distress. Most of them had taken shelter with friends and relatives in other parts of the colony. For three years hostilities had ceased, with the exception of an occasional raid on either side; but, notwithstanding the peace that had been concluded by the late government, the colonists continued to regard

the Kaffirs as enemies and intruders. In May the Governor had an interview with the chiefs NDLAMBE, CUNGWA, and some others of less note, and endeavoured to prevail upon them to remove beyond the Fish River; but without success. He afterwards proceeded to the Kat River, where he met NGQIKA, and entered into a treaty of peace with him, but could not prevail upon that chief to become reconciled to the Kaffirs in the colony. With these, however, a treaty was made, by which they promised not to molest the colonists in future. As some of them complained of having received ill treatment from certain farmers, the Governor issued a proclamation that any person who molested a Kaffir should be severely punished, that all Kaffirs held as prisoners or servants by colonists should be released immediately, and that after the 1st of June no colonist should be permitted to engage a Kaffir as a servant, being in hopes by these means to prevent a recurrence of such acts as those upon which the complaints were founded.

With regard to the Hottentots, regulations were made by which they were to be protected in person and property, and were only to be employed as servants under written contracts. Some farmers who had been guilty of acts of oppression and cruelty towards these people were punished. The Hottentots and Kaffirs, who had so recently combined to ravage the eastern parts of the colony, had fallen out over the spoil, so that the Governor experienced no difficulty in inducing KLASS STUURMAN and his followers to remove to a distance from their late allies. A tract of land on the Little Gamtoos River was allotted to them, where they had liberty to live without molestation. By these means order was restored, and friendly feelings were established between the Hottentots and the whites.

The British garrison had been withdrawn from Fort Frederic in September, 1802, and as fears were entertained that as soon as the troops left, the disaffected boers would fall upon the Hottentots belonging to the mission, General DUNDAS had given Dr. VANDERKEMP permission to retire with his converts into the fort and remain there until such time as the Dutch government should reoccupy it. On the arrival of General JANSSENS at Algoa Bay, he was visited by a number of the late insurgents, who proposed that the Hottentots should be seized and distributed among them as slaves, but this proposal the Governor rejected with indignation. They then urged the necessity of expelling the missionaries of the London Society from the colony, on the ground that most of them were Englishmen and would therefore instil into the minds of their converts a hatred of the Dutch government. But Dr. VANDERKEMP proved so plainly that the missionaries were not political agents in any sense of the word, that the Governor was satisfied on this point, and merely proposed that they should correspond with the London Society through the medium of the Dutch Missionary Society, and to this they at once assented. Permission was then granted to Dr. VANDERKEMP to select a site for a permanent mission station, which he did at the place since known as Bethelsdorp. Why he

chose this dreary barren spot, where the soil cannot be cultivated for want of water, has never been satisfactorily explained. He could hardly have made a worse selection, for it has never been found possible to improve or beautify the place, while at no great distance there was then abundance of land available. But as he desired it, a grant of the ground was made to the Society, with a promise of all the aid and protection the government could afford. Many of the Hottentots who were then scattered over the district joined their countrymen who were already under Dr. VANDERKEMP'S care, and formed a village that for many years remained a central or head institution, from which branches were located in different parts of the country.

With a view of making himself acquainted with the people and their wants, the High Commissioner had in the meantime made a tour through the north-western district, and issued some important regulations. He found the farmers there suffering from the depredations of Bushmen and bands of vagrants, and endeavoured to remedy the evil. Ascertaining that the Bushmen were greatly incensed with the colonists on account of the destruction of game by the latter in the country north of the boundary, he strictly prohibited hunting parties from entering Bushmanland, and urged upon the farmers the necessity of treating the savages with justice and kindness. At the same time a vagrant act was promulgated, by which no Hottentot was permitted to roam at large within the colony, unless he could give satisfactory proof of possessing sufficient means to enable him to live independently. This act was aimed directly at the robber bands that infested the northern districts.

The High Commissioner then made a tour to the eastward. Upon his arrival at Genadendal he expressed great satisfaction with the work which was being carried on there. As the funds of the establishment were then very low, the missionaries were encouraged and assisted with money from the government chest, and had rights of property in the station lands guaranteed to them. Everywhere he found disputes concerning land boundaries, and the farmers carrying on lawsuits with each other. As all suits of an important nature had to be settled before the Court of Justice in Cape Town, which entailed great expense, he issued instructions for a Commission of Justice to make an annual tour through the colony; but before the necessary arrangements could be made, the government again changed hands. Upon his arrival at Algoa Bay he had an interview with the missionaries VANDERKEMP and REID, and assisted them to the utmost of his power. At that time there was a garrison of eighty men in the fort at Algoa Bay, but only one family of white civilians resided there. At Graaff Reinet he found affairs in the utmost confusion. The turbulent spirit which its inhabitants had always manifested, their general ignorance, and perverted ideas of liberty, made it next to impossible to place matters on a satisfactory footing. The High Commissioner did all that was possible under the circumstances. Had he even been so disposed, he

could not have reduced the farmers to order by means of troops, as the English had done; and as the inhabitants professed attachment to the Batavian government, he tried to conciliate them by means of attention to their wants. There was at that time in the colony a very able man, by name STOCKENSTROM. He was by birth a Swede, but, having been in the service of the colonial government, as secretary to the landdrost of Swellendam, he had had an opportunity of displaying his abilities in this country. The High Commissioner appointed him landdrost of Graaff Reinet. He arranged the finances of the district, and provided funds for the erection of a residence for the landdrost, a court house, and a church. Further, on the 12th of February, 1804, a decree was issued that since the district was too extensive for one jurisdiction, it was to be divided into two. The southern portion, to which a tract belonging to the district of Swellendam was added, was called Uitenhage, after the family name of the High Commissioner, DE MIST being his title. The first landdrost was Captain ALBERTI, Commandant of the garrison of Algoa Bay.

In 1803 a monthly post, with Hottentot runners to carry the mailbags, was established between Cape Town and Algoa Bay. In the same year a very disastrous fire occurred, by which the greater part of the beautiful village of Stellenbosch was destroyed.

In 1804 the district of Tulbagh was formed out of the northern part of the district of Stellenbosch. The residence of the landdrost was fixed at the village of Roodezand, henceforth called Tulbagh. The first landdrost was HENRY VAN DE GRAAFF, nephew of the former governor CORNELIS VAN DE GRAAFF. While the north-western parts of the colony were under the jurisdiction of the landdrost of Stellenbosch, it was impossible for the requisite care and attention to be bestowed upon them. Instances of disobedience to the government were continually occurring among the inhabitants; their harshness towards their dependents and their quarrels with each other were constantly increasing. The object in the formation of the new district was to restrain and correct these evils, and also to regulate the relations between the colonists and Bushmen of that quarter. It was the earnest wish of the government to put an end to the disturbances existing there, by repressing the robberies of the Bushmen on the one hand, and by compelling the colonists to treat them justly on the other.

The High Commissioner DE MIST, having completed the duties entrusted to him, left South Africa in February, 1805. This excellent man had been unremitting in his endeavours to improve the colony, and had made many important regulations for that purpose. Among others, he drew up a plan for the establishment of public schools, promulgated a Church Ordinance, and reformed the courts of landdrost and heemraden. He appointed a commission to collect information and report upon the best methods of encouraging and improving agriculture and the breeding of stock, and made arrangements with a wealthy personage, the Baron VAN HOGENDORP, by which experiments in various branches of agriculture were to have been

made. The public school "Tot nut van 't algemeen" was established in Cape Town. The heraldic arms of Governor VAN RIEBEECK, three circles forming a triangle about an anchor, were adopted as the arms of the colony.

The Cape had hardly been transferred to the Dutch when war broke out again between France and England. France and Holland were then so united that war with one meant war with the other, and accordingly one of the first acts of hostility was the seizure by the English of all the Dutch vessels in British ports. It was certain that Great Britain would attempt to recover possession of South Africa; but highly as this colony was valued by the Batavian government, there was one other dependency of that Power considered of greater importance, and to its defence all the energies of the Republic were directed. That was the Island of Java, and thither General JANSSENS was directed to send a great portion of the army under his command, retaining only two thousand men in garrison at the Cape. The Governor complied with these instructions, and immediately took steps to increase his own power of resistance by arming and drilling the colonists, and by organizing a battalion of Hottentots and a corps of Malay artillery. He also caused magazines to be erected beyond Hottentots' Holland, and military stores to be collected there, so that in the event of Cape Town falling into the hands of the enemy, he would have something to fall back upon, and by endeavouring to prevent supplies from reaching the city, might possibly compel the invaders to retire. His plans were the best that could be formed under the circumstances; but the forces with which he was to contend were so powerful as to make all attempts at resistance vain.

A few months before the death of England's great statesman—PITT—an armament was prepared for the seizure of this colony. It consisted of an army of between five and six thousand men under command of Sir DAVID BAIRD, and a powerful fleet under Commodore Sir HOME POPHAM. It left England almost without notice, as events of much greater magnitude were then engrossing the attention of all Europe. For this was the year of NAPOLEON'S greatest successes. The Austrians had just capitulated at Ulm, and the French were on their march to Vienna when the fleet sailed. While it was on its way to the Cape, the battles of Austerlitz and Trafalgar were fought, in comparison with which the fortune or fate of Sir DAVID BAIRD'S expedition dwindled into insignificance. On the 25th of December, 1805, an American vessel brought news to Cape Town that she had passed at sea a great fleet under English colours steering straight for the colony. The certainty of being attacked immediately being thus known, General JANSSENS collected all his forces in the town, and made ready to offer the utmost resistance in his power.

In the evening of the 4th of January, 1806, the fleet came to anchor between Robben Island and the coast. It consisted of sixty-three ships, the greater number of which were transports carrying stores and India-

men under convoy. It was General BAIRD's intention to land his troops next morning at the nearest possible point to the town, but this was found impracticable on account of the heavy surf rolling in on the beach. There was no time to be lost, as any hour might bring to the Dutch reinforcements from Europe, so that it became necessary to select another place for disembarkation. Various fleets were in motion when they left Europe, and the English officers were not aware that the navies of their enemies had since been destroyed at Trafalgar. At Saldanha Bay a landing could be effected at any time, but from that port the soldiers would be compelled to make a long and weary march before meeting the enemy, and it would be necessary in that case to keep open the communication with the fleet by means of strong detachments posted at several stations along the route. Another difficulty presented itself in the want of transport cattle to drag the heavy guns, for there was but one regiment of cavalry, which was considered so necessary for the efficiency of the army that the horses could not be used for that purpose. But there appeared to be no immediate prospect of the west wind abating, and it was evident that while it lasted the sea would continue to break with terrific violence on the unprotected shores of Table Bay. The General and the Commodore concurred therefore in considering it necessary to disembark the troops where it could be done, and to trust to the gallantry of English soldiers to meet the difficulties that would follow. During the night of the 5th, the *Diomede*, with some transports conveying the 38th regiment of foot, the 20th Light Dragoons, and some artillery under command of Brigadier-General BERESFORD, set sail for Saldanha Bay. The squadron was preceded by the *Espoir*, which was sent in advance to take possession of the bay and secure as many cattle as possible. The remainder of the fleet would have followed next morning, but at daybreak the surf was found to be subsiding, as the fury of the west wind was spent. A careful examination of the beach near Blaauwberg was then made, and it was found that with some precautions a landing might be effected there. By noon all was ready. The *Diadem*, *Leda*, *Encounter*, and *Protector*, were moored so as to cover the heights above the beach with their heavy guns, and a small transport was run ashore in such a manner as to form a breakwater outside of the landing place. The 71st, 72nd, and 93rd regiments, which formed the Highland Brigade, under command of Brigadier-General FERGUSON, were then conveyed on shore, though the passage was attended with great difficulty. The sea was still breaking with considerable violence, but only one boat was swamped. It contained thirty-six men of the 93rd regiment, all of whom were drowned. On the 7th, the 24th, 59th, and 83rd regiments were landed, together with sufficient water and provisions for the immediate use of the army. The ships of war had covered the landing place so effectually during the disembarkation, that only four soldiers were wounded and one killed by the fire of the enemy, though a detachment of Dutch sharpshooters was posted on a commanding height.

On the morning of the 8th, the army, which was formed into two brigades, commenced its march towards Cape Town. The Dutch sharpshooters were easily driven from their position, and then the ascent of the Blaauwberg was made. On reaching the summit, the Dutch forces were seen advancing in readiness for battle, for as soon as General JANSSENS received authentic information as to where the English were landing, he hastened to meet them. His army was about five thousand strong, but only a small portion of it consisted of regular troops, the remainder being composed of mounted burghers and a battalion of French seamen and marines from the stranded ships *Atalanta* and *Napoleon*. He had twenty-three pieces of cannon, while the English had only eight, but the troops commanded by General BAIRD were veteran soldiers, which more than compensated for his deficiency in artillery. To prevent his flanks from being turned, which was the object of the enemy, the English commander extended his lines, and then ordered his left wing to advance. The Highland Brigade, of which this part of his army was composed, pressed steadily forward under a deadly fire, answering shot for shot, while the artillery was playing upon their opponents from another direction. The Dutch stood their ground bravely until the Highlanders charged with the bayonet, when they broke and fled, leaving seven hundred men dead and wounded on the battle field. General JANSSENS attempted to rally the fugitives, but as this was soon seen to be hopeless, he fell back upon Hottentots' Holland, after sending some of his troops into Cape Town to assist Colonel VON PROPHALOW in the defence of the city. General BAIRD marched some distance further, and then formed a camp for the night. His army was almost destitute of provisions and no water could be found, but through the exertions of the seamen belonging to the fleet, some supplies reached him in a few hours. When the roll was called, it was ascertained that the loss of the English in the battle of Blaauwberg was two hundred and twelve, killed, wounded, and missing.

On the 9th the march towards Cape Town was resumed, no obstacle presenting itself on the route except the roughness of the country to be traversed. When at Salt River, free communication with the fleet was obtained, and preparations were made for landing a battering train and an ample supply of provisions. But the battering train was not needed, for VON PROPHALOW had resolved to surrender the city without a struggle. His flag of truce, requesting a suspension of hostilities for forty-eight hours, in order to arrange the terms of capitulation, met the English at Papendorp. General BAIRD would grant only thirty-six hours, and required immediate possession of the outworks, with the alternative of taking them by storm. His demand could not be refused, and that night the 59th regiment was admitted into the outermost fort. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, 10th of January 1806, the articles of capitulation were signed, by which the city was placed in possession of the English. It was agreed that the garrison should march out with the honours of war, before surrender-

ing; that officers who were natives of the colony, or married into colonial families, or possessed of landed property here, might remain in South Africa if they chose, and all others were to be sent to Europe on parole not to serve until regularly exchanged. The citizens were to retain all their rights and privileges, public worship was to remain unchanged, and the paper money was to continue in use. Troops were not to be quartered on the inhabitants.

General JANSSENS had in the mean time retreated to Hottentots' Holland, with about twelve hundred men of all arms and twenty-eight pieces of artillery. But if he had the slightest hope of being able to hold out for any length of time, that hope must soon have been abandoned. The burghers could not be held together, and when they deserted, his army consisted only of a few hundred men. There was no seaport open to him, and consequently no means of escape from the colony. Three days after the capitulation of Cape Town, the village of Stellenbosch was occupied by the 59th and 72nd regiments, and the following morning saw the 83rd on its way by sea to Mossel Bay, so that the thinly inhabited interior alone was left open to the gallant but unfortunate Dutch General. Nothing could be gained by falling back further, and resistance to forces of such magnitude as those of the invaders was out of the question. The English commander proposed honourable terms of surrender, which, after a short delay, were accepted. On the 18th a capitulation was arranged between Generals JANSSENS and BERESFORD, and on the following day it was confirmed by Sir DAVID BAIRD and Sir HOME POPHAM. The Batavian troops were to march with all the honours of war to Simon's Town, and there deliver up their arms. But they were not to be considered prisoners of war, and were to be sent straight to Holland at the expense of the British government. The Hottentot soldiers were to march with the others to Simon's Town, and there be disbanded, or enter the English service, as they should choose. The inhabitants of the colony were to enjoy all the rights and privileges secured to those of Cape Town, except that the right was reserved of quartering troops upon them in case of necessity.

Early in March the Batavian troops were sent to Holland, and a fine transport, the *Bellona*, was placed at the disposal of General JANSSENS, on board which he embarked his family and a train of friends and attendants.

After the first fall of NAPOLEON, the government of the United Provinces was remodelled by the Allied Powers, when the Prince of Orange became King of the Netherlands. On the 13th of August, 1814, a convention was signed by the ministers plenipotentiary of the sovereigns of Great Britain and the Netherlands, according to which all the foreign possessions of Holland, which had been seized during the war by England, were restored, except the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice. These colonies were then ceded to Great Britain in return for six millions sterling, with the stipulation that Dutch ships were to be permitted to obtain refreshments and repairs at Cape Town on the same conditions as English

vessels, and that the colonists should not be debarred from carrying on trade with Holland. The possession of the colony was formally ratified to Great Britain by the congress of Vienna in 1815, and no attempt has since been made to wrest it from her.

The government of the Batavian Republic was extremely liberal in its dealings with this colony, and all its measures tended towards progress and prosperity. The officers selected to rule the dependency were men of superior understanding and with a reputation for great abilities. Justice was impartially administered during this period, and everything that was possible done to elevate all classes of the people. Still, it was unquestionably to the advantage of the country that it fell again into the possession of Great Britain. Its position is such that its ownership is an object of primary importance to a great maritime power. Since the construction of steam vessels capable of making the passage from Europe to India without touching at an intermediate port, and, more especially, since the completion of the Suez canal has re-opened the ancient route of eastern commerce, the colony has lost much of its importance as a victualling station; but it must always remain the key of the Indian Seas, in a military point of view. While in the possession of a weak naval power it must therefore have remained unsafe and unsettled, and in this state could not have enjoyed permanent prosperity. Not only was Holland too weak to furnish the number of men necessary for its protection, she was too poor to bear for any length of time any portion of its expenses. Had it remained a dependency of that power, the colony would soon have had to pay not only all the cost of its internal government, but the troops requisite for its external defence. Under such a burden it must have sunk. Paper money to a considerable amount had been created by the late government, and a new issue, which would soon have become imperative, would have made it nearly valueless. Had the colony then been in its present position the case might have been different. Its inhabitants would have required no foreign subsidies for the support of internal government, and by being thrown to a large extent upon their own resources, would have acquired a spirit of self reliance and faith in themselves which could not have failed to engender prosperity. But in those days they were too few in number and too poor in pocket for either self government or self defence. Great Britain, that had spent no less a sum than £16,000,000 in taking the colony and guarding it during her first occupation of it, was prepared to furnish garrisons and naval defences free of cost. Under her rule absolute security was obtained, and, at the same time, none of the advantages enjoyed under the Batavian government were lost.

CHAPTER XVI.

FROM THE CONQUEST OF THE COLONY BY THE BRITISH IN 1806 TO THE KAFFIR WAR OF 1819.

Principal Subjects:—Unfriendly Relations between the Colonists and the Kaffirs.—Effects of the Suppression of the Foreign Slave Trade.—Dr. Cowan's Expedition.—Earthquakes.—Fate of Stuurman and his People.—Establishment of Circuit Courts.—Ejection of the Kaffirs from the Zuurveld.—Foundation of Grahamstown.—Insurrection of Frontier Farmers.—Great Failures in Cape Town.—Establishment of the South African Public Library.—Foundation of Beaufort West.—Formation of the District and Village of George.—Extension of Missions in the Colony.

Governors:—Sir DAVID BAIRD,		Jan. 19, 1806.
	Hon. H. G. GREY, (acting)	Jan. 17, 1807.
	DU PRE, Earl of Caledon,	May 22, 1807.
	Hon. H. G. GREY, (acting)	July 5, 1811.
	Sir JOHN FRANCIS CRADOCK,	Sept. 6, 1811.
	Hon. ROBERT MEADE, (acting)	Dec. 3, 1813.
	Lord CHARLES HENRY SOMERSET,	April 6, 1814.

THE establishment of British rule in South Africa for the second time was not attended with any immediate change in the system of government. The same laws as of old continued to be administered, and in the same manner as before. The principal difference observable was in the very large military force which Great Britain maintained here until after the peace of 1815. The administration of Sir DAVID BAIRD gave satisfaction to the colonists, and tranquillity was generally maintained. After his departure from the colony, which took place early in 1807, the Lieutenant Governor, General GREY, held supreme command for a few months, until the arrival of the Earl of Caledon.

One of the most important matters that claimed the attention of the government was whether the Kaffirs should be permitted to retain undisturbed possession of the Zuurveld,—as the country they were occupying, and which is now comprised in the Divisions of Albany and Alexandria, was then termed,—or whether they should be expelled, since it was evident that the clans of NDLAMBE and CUNGWA had no intention of removing of their own accord. Their relations with the colonists had of late become very unfriendly, and numerous instances of cattle theft were recorded against them. In hope of suppressing these, a proclamation was issued, making it legal to shoot any one caught in the act of theft; but even the fear of death was found insufficient to deter the Kaffirs from lifting stock. Soon after this, Colonel COLLINS was instructed to examine into and report

upon eastern frontier affairs. In his report, dated 6th of August, 1809, he recommended that the Kaffirs should be expelled by force from the colony, and that the Zuurveld should be parcelled out among white settlers, to each of whom a farm of one hundred and twenty acres should be given. But more than two years elapsed before any decided action was taken in the matter, though all this time the Kaffirs were plundering the colonists just as if war existed.

In 1808 the foreign slave trade was abolished by the British Parliament. The effects of this measure upon the Cape Colony were soon perceptible. Slaves rose in price almost immediately, and the labour of the natives acquired a value it never had before. These effects would have been even greater, had it not been that the Cape was selected as one of the stations to which slavers, captured at sea by British cruisers, were brought for condemnation. The negroes rescued from these vessels were apprenticed for a term of fourteen years to those persons who needed them, and thus a partial supply of labourers was obtained.

1808 an expedition was fitted out by command of Lord Caledon, with the object of exploring the country between the border of the Colony and the Portuguese Province of Mozambique. It consisted of twenty men of the Cape Regiment, under command of Dr. COWAN and Lieut. DONOVAN, with a Griqua and a farmer named KRUGER as guides. The last authentic intelligence received from the party was contained in a letter from Dr. COWAN, dated on the 21st of December, 1808, at a native village on the Molopo River. Nothing certain is known concerning the fate of the explorers. According to native reports received during the next few years, they had all been murdered, but these accounts differed so greatly as to particulars, that no reliance could be placed in them. It is now generally supposed that they perished of fever, when not very far from Mozambique.

On the 4th of December, 1809, several distinct shocks of an earthquake were felt in Cape Town, and caused considerable damage to many houses. In 1811, on the 2nd and on the 19th of June, shocks were felt at the same place. On these last occasions the walls of some houses were cracked from top to bottom, but no very material injury resulted. No life was lost, though the people were in a state of extreme terror.

Not long after this, the small pox was brought into the colony again, and swept off a great number of people. So dire was the visitation that in Cape Town even the churches and shops were closed for a time. A white flag was suspended over every house in which the disease prevailed, and all persons leaving such houses were required to wear a piece of white ribbon round their arms, so that others might avoid coming in contact with them. This disease, following close after the earthquakes, was regarded by the people as a punishment inflicted upon them by the Almighty for their sins, and many considered it useless to take any precautions against it. It was partly owing to this belief that the small pox in the olden times made such dreadful ravages in South Africa.

The settlement which had been made by Governor JANSSENS of those Hottentots who had taken part in the invasion of the colony in 1799 was viewed by the colonists as a constant source of danger. At this time there was a general belief that DAVID STUURMAN, who had succeeded his brother KLASS as head of these people, was in league with the Kaffir chief CUNGWA, and that another raid into the colony was meditated. Contrary to the express commands of the government, STUURMAN permitted a considerable number of CUNGWA's followers to take up their residence on his ground, thus defeating the prime object for which the land had been granted to the Hottentots, which was to keep them isolated from the Kaffirs. But the immediate event that led to the breaking up of the location, and the mode in which that step was carried out, were of such a nature as to create a large amount of sympathy, in England as well as in this colony, for STUURMAN and his people. In 1810 the chief was called upon by a neighbouring farmer to give up two men who were alleged to be runaway servants, and as he declined to do so, the farmer obtained the assistance of a fieldcornet and a party of armed burghers, with whom he proceeded to the kraal. STUURMAN, knowing that the claim was unjust, prepared to meet force by force, upon which the fieldcornet withdrew and reported the matter to the landdrost of Uitenhage. A summons was then issued for the appearance of the chief before the landdrost's court, and as he did not obey, it was resolved to arrest him. This was accordingly done, and he was sent to Cape Town, where he was tried before the High Court of Justice on a charge of resisting the authorities of his district, and was sentenced to penal servitude in chains for life. Some years afterwards he managed to escape into Kaffirland, where he remained for a time in safety; but a desire to see his children again overcoming his apprehensions of danger, in 1819 he returned to the colony, was recaptured, and sent as a convict to New South Wales. Many years later the circumstances connected with his trial were brought to the notice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who ordered his immediate release; but these instructions came too late, as STUURMAN had died in 1830. Upon the arrest of the chief, the clan was dispersed, the different families being distributed as servants among the farmers, and the tract of land they had occupied was turned into a farm.

In 1811 Lord CALEDON carried out the plan of Commissioner DE MIST with regard to a Circuit Court. He issued instructions that two members of the High Court of Justice should make a tour annually through the colony, and try all the important cases in each district; but in civil cases an appeal from their decisions was left to the Court of Justice in Cape Town. This measure tended greatly to the promotion of order in all parts of the country, but its immediate effect was the creation of a large party on the frontier hostile to the government. For several years previously charges against various farmers of violence and even murder of Hottentots had been made by some of the missionaries, all of which were now referred

to the Commission of Circuit. Between seventy and eighty of these accusations came before the first circuit for investigation, some of which remained undecided for three years. In no case was wilful murder proved; but several persons were convicted of aggravated assaults, and were punished by fines and imprisonment, besides being compelled to pay the costs of the prosecution. These trials created general indignation among the farmers of the frontier: there was hardly one who had not a connection or a friend implicated, and though only a few convictions took place, it was felt by them as a grievance that the accusations made by the missionaries should have been even noticed.

At no former period had the colony enjoyed greater prosperity than now. The rule of the Earl of Caledon was mild and benevolent towards the colonists, there was no jealousy or national hatred manifested between the Dutch and English,—in the country districts there were as yet no English settlers,—while a military force of four to five thousand men created a demand for supplies which promoted the pecuniary welfare of the farmers. The salaries paid to government officials were in those days very large. The Governor received £12,000 per annum, the Lieutenant Governor £3,000, the Secretary £3,000, the Deputy Secretary (salary and perquisites) £3,000, the Collector of Customs £1,200, the Treasurer General £1,200, and the Auditor General £1,000. These salaries were fixed in sterling money, but were paid in the paper currency of the colony reckoned according to the current rate of exchange.

The continual thefts and acts of violence practised by the Kaffirs in the Zuurveld had by this time become so unbearable, that in 1811 it was determined to drive them all out of the colony, and a large force was placed under command of Colonel GRAHAM for that purpose. At the same time, Landdrost STOCKENSTROM, of Graaff Reinet, was sent to apprise the chief NGQIKA that no enmity was intended towards him, but that hostile operations would be conducted solely against NDLAMBE, CUNGWA, and the other Kaffirs who insisted upon remaining within the colonial border, but yet would not desist from plundering the colonists. With this assurance NGQIKA was satisfied, and that chief took no part in the transactions that followed. The British force entered the Zuurveld in three divisions, the right under Landdrost CUYLER, the left under Landdrost STOCKENSTROM, and the centre under Captain FRAZER, the Commander-in-chief being with the last-named division. On the 28th of December, Landdrost STOCKENSTROM, with about forty men, left his camp for the purpose of seeking an interview with Colonel GRAHAM. On their way to head quarters they fell in with a body of Kaffirs of the Imindange clan, and the chivalrous landdrost, who was well known to these people and had always been their friend, hoping to be able to persuade them to retire without bloodshed, rode in amongst them and dismounted. He was followed not without apprehension of danger, by some of his party; but this frank conduct seemed to have the effect of securing the good will of the Kaffirs, and a friendly intercourse

followed. Suddenly, intelligence was brought that the right and central divisions of the British forces had commenced operations, and that blood had already been shed. This report infuriated the Kaffirs, and with wild yells they fell upon the little party, fourteen of whom, with the landdrost, they cruelly put to death. The remainder owed their escape to the fleetness of their horses. This inhuman act provoked a terrible retaliation. From that day all who resisted were shot, their crops were destroyed, their kraals burnt down, and their cattle seized. No prisoners were made, and the wounded and infirm were left to perish. The chief CUNGWA, who was ill and unable to get away, was slain near the present village of Alexandria, where he had long been residing. The murder of the landdrost and his companions was fully avenged. About twenty thousand Kaffirs, with the chief NDLAMBE, succeeded in making good their escape across the Fish River. The forces employed in the expedition consisted of some English troops, a Hottentot regiment of foot that had been raised by Sir DAVID BAIRD and which afterwards became the Cape Mounted Rifle Corps, a body of burghers, and some Hottentot levies from the missionary institution of Bethelsdorp.

To prevent the return of the Kaffirs, several military posts were then established on the frontier. The head quarters of the troops engaged in this service were stationed in a central position, to which in August, 1812, the name of Grahamstown was given, after the commanding officer. No better place could have been selected for the site of a town. It is at the source of the Kowie River on a spur of the Zuurberg, about twenty-five miles from the sea in a straight line. Being on the second terrace, it is nearly two thousand feet above the sea level, but has an abundant rainfall, owing to the peculiar conformation of the mountains above it. The river is here too small to yield a supply of water sufficient for a town, but the construction of reservoirs remedied this defect. Its advantage as a military position was owing to its being the centre of an irregular semicircle described by the Fish River from north-west round to south-east, nearly every curve being within a day's march. For several years the post remained a mere military cantonment, but as soon as the Zuurveld was occupied by European settlers, its advantageous site caused it to become the principal town in the eastern part of the colony.

On the 30th of May, 1815, one of the most disastrous shipwrecks ever known on our coast occurred. The East India Company's ship *Arniston* was lost on Cape L'Agulhas, and three hundred and forty-four persons, among whom were Lord and Lady MOLESWORTH, perished.

Lord CHARLES SOMERSET, on his arrival, found the farmers in the interior murmuring and discontented. They grumbled at some new taxes, and made a grievance of a law enacted in August, 1813, by which their farms were to be surveyed and quitrent charged upon them according to their value, the beginning of the system under which most of the land in the colony is held at the present day. This regulation was really to their

advantage, as it gave them permanent possession of farms of which before that time they were only lessees, and was designed to encourage the improvement of property; but they could not be persuaded that the government had no sinister object in view in changing the old custom of land tenure. They reflected more upon the increased amount of money which they were called upon to pay, and the diminished size of their farms, now reduced on an average to rather less than five thousand acres each, than upon the advantages held out of being able to subdivide, let, or sell their possessions, or to improve them for the benefit of their successors. Another cause of discontent was that complaints made against them by Hottentots were investigated by the different courts, and that they were occasionally mulcted in fines for acts which they believed their colour gave them every right to commit. This disaffection culminated in the year 1815 in an attempt at rebellion on the part of some of the most daring among them. One FREDERICK BEZUIDENHOUT, a resident in that part of the valley of the Baviaan's River now known as Glen Lynden, was summoned to appear before the circuit court upon a charge of ill treatment of a Hottentot, and as he failed to attend, a warrant for his apprehension was issued, and a small party of soldiers was sent to assist the officer of the court in the execution of his duty. Upon the arrival of this force at BEZUIDENHOUT'S house, he refused to surrender, and threatened to shoot the first man who would dare to lay hands upon him. The officer endeavoured to arrest him, but with one of his servants he managed to escape into a jungle close at hand. After an hour's search, the fugitives were discovered in a cave, where a quantity of ammunition and some rifles had previously been stored, obviously with a view to make resistance in case of an event like the present. The gleam of the sun upon a projecting rifle barrel first drew attention to the cave, the entrance to which was entirely concealed. The officer again called upon BEZUIDENHOUT to surrender, but once more he declined to do so. A volley of bullets was then poured into the cave, and BEZUIDENHOUT fell, mortally wounded. The servant escaped unhurt, and was afterwards tried for participation in resistance to the execution of the law, but was acquitted on the ground that he was acting under compulsion. The soldiers had hardly left the scene of the tragedy, when the relatives and friends of the dead man gathered together and resolved to attack the nearest military posts and endeavour to drive the British forces from the frontier. CORNELIUS FABER, a brother-in-law of BEZUIDENHOUT, who had formerly lived in Kaffirland and was well acquainted with NGQIKA, at once proceeded to that chief's kraal and requested aid, offering in return possession of the Zuurveld and a share of whatever booty they might obtain. NGQIKA, however, wisely declined the offer. With his natural shrewdness, he observed that he was sitting between two fires, and wished to see in what direction the wind would blow before he moved.

The insurgents chose HENDRIK PRINSLO and JOHN BEZUIDENHOUT to be their leaders, and then sent messages to the farmers of other parts of the

colony asking their assistance in expelling the English from the country. The authorities were soon informed of what was taking place, whereupon preparations for suppressing the insurrection were immediately made. Before the insurgents were aware that their treasonable proceedings were known by the government, one of their leaders, HENDRIK PRINSLO, was arrested and conveyed to a military post on the bank of the Great Fish River. He was taken at his farm, when in the act of preparing to leave for the rebel camp. Two days afterwards between three and four hundred armed men appeared before the post, and demanded that their leader should be given up and the position surrendered. But the arrival of a body of troops on the same day relieved it of danger, and two days afterwards, Colonel CUYLER, landdrost of Uitenhage and military commandant of the frontier, arrived there also with a strong force.

Communications with the insurgents were then opened up with a view of preventing bloodshed. A loyal burgher, Field-Commandant WILLIAM NEL, visited their camp and endeavoured to open their eyes to the perilous position in which they had placed themselves, and tried to induce them to throw themselves upon the mercy of the government. To counteract any impression this worthy burgher might make, the rebel leader, calling all his followers together at Slagter's Nek, caused them to form a circle and then exacted from them an oath that they would remain faithful to each other and never lay down their arms till the British were expelled from the frontier districts. As soon as this became known, further attempts at pacification were considered useless, and a movement was made by a combined body of troops and loyal burghers, which resulted in the surrender of about thirty of the rebels and the retreat of the remainder into the fastnesses of the Baviaan's River. From these strongholds, however, they were soon dislodged, when most of them dispersed; but a few of the more desperate contrived to keep together, and fled towards Kaffirland. These were surrounded in a deep kloof of the Winterberg by a detachment of the Cape Corps, when, as they refused to surrender, it became necessary to fire upon them. Their leader, JOHN BEZUIDENHOUT, was shot dead, and several of the party were severely wounded, but they were not seized until one soldier was killed and another disabled. Eight prisoners were then made, one of them a woman and another a boy fourteen years of age, both of whom were arrested with guns in their hands. With their capture ended one of the most insane attempts at rebellion ever recorded.

The prisoners taken on this occasion, with some fifty or sixty others who in the meantime had been apprehended, were sent to Uitenhage to be tried by a special commission from the High Court of Justice. After a preliminary examination, thirty-nine were selected as the most culpable, and were put upon their trial for high treason. Of these, HENDRIK PRINSLO, STEPHANUS BOTHMA, CORNELIUS FABER, THEUNIS DE KLERK, ABRAHAM BOTHMA, and J. KRUGER, were sentenced to death. The others were sentenced to witness the execution of their comrades, and, according to the degree of their

criminality, to be banished from the frontier districts with forfeiture of their lands, to be imprisoned, or fined. Many of the prisoners were connected with respectable families in the colony, who had taken no part in the insurrection, and for whom therefore universal sympathy was naturally expressed. The six sentenced to death had for years been noted for their antagonism to government, some of them had even been living among the Kaffirs purposely to be free from all restraint.

On the 6th of March, 1816, the extreme sentence of the law was carried out upon five of the criminals, KRUGER's sentence having been commuted by the Governor into transportation for life. The place selected for the execution was the spot where the insurgents had taken their treasonable oath. Hopes were entertained to the last by the friends of the condemned that their lives would be spared, and on the day of execution a great number of people from all parts of the frontier assembled there to beg for mercy. But the government felt that it was necessary to show these people, so long accustomed to anarchy, that they *must* be obedient to the laws, and that mercy in such cases as this could not be granted. The execution itself was an unusually dreadful one. When the platform was removed, four of the unfortunate men fell to the ground, and the spectators, imagining this to be an intervention of Providence in favour of the condemned, were with difficulty kept back by the military lines, and drowned all other noise by a continued shout for mercy. The officer in command, who had of course no voice in the matter, was compelled in the exercise of his duty to see the sentence carried out. From that day order was maintained on the frontier, and to all outward appearance the farmers were loyal; but in their hearts they preserved the memory of this event, which to them appeared an act of cruelty and oppression, and which was one of the causes of that feeling of animosity towards the English government which resulted in after years in their voluntary expatriation.

After the general peace of 1815 a great reduction was made in the garrison of the colony. Up to this time trade had been overdone, and when so many customers were withdrawn great depression resulted. The same thing occurred in Cape Town then that has often since happened in different frontier towns: great mushroom houses, that had sprung up solely on account of the presence of a large military force, fell as soon as the troops left, and for a time all hope of better days seemed gone. It required many repetitions of the same lesson before the colonists could be brought to understand that a trade depending upon a garrison is subject to dangerous fluctuations, and that the true commerce of the colony depends solely upon the exchange of its productions for those of other countries.

The boundary of the colony to the northward remained as it had been fixed by Governor VAN PLETTENBERG; but as far as the great river boers were now to be found, occupying the choicest situations in the desert. These men were refugees from the colony, who hoped to live in their own way beyond the reach of the law. They could not go there without coming

into collision with the Bushmen, who were previously the sole occupants of those regions, and who respected the right of the new comers in cattle no more than the boers did theirs in land. Commandos were then organized, and though the natives held their ground for a while, they were eventually exterminated in some parts, and driven out of others. The London Society had sent missionaries to reside in the country, and some hordes of Bushmen were collected together at a couple of stations, when in 1816 the teachers received a peremptory order from the government to return within the boundaries of the colony. The only reason for this command was the hostile attitude assumed by some of the boers towards the missionaries, who had endeavoured in some degree to act as protectors of the people at their stations. It was believed that if they were permitted to remain beyond the border, they would become involved in disturbances, which would make it imperative on the Government to interfere in their behalf,—a course of action the authorities had the strongest desire to avoid. Thus the policy of non-intercourse, which at this time was attempted to be enforced, was in reality a policy that devoted the Bushmen to destruction.

In 1818 the Public Library in Cape Town was established. For some years its management was confided to a body of trustees appointed by the Governor, and it was maintained by a tax levied on the whole community; but in 1830 an ordinance was issued abolishing the tax and giving to subscribers the right of electing a committee of management. The valuable books bequeathed by Mr. VON DESSIN in 1761 in trust to the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church, to serve as the nucleus of a public library, are kept in the same building, but remain under the charge of the Consistory, who provide for their preservation out of a fund bequeathed by the donor of the books. In 1860, Sir GEORGE GREY made another valuable donation, consisting of five thousand volumes, comprising among other works a unique collection of the native literature of New Zealand and South Africa. This endowment is also kept separate from the general library, but is open to visitors as well as subscribers. Additions of costly works of reference, as well as of the current literature of the time, have been made yearly since its establishment, and the Library now contains nearly fifty thousand books, forming the most valuable collection to be found in any British colony. While nearly all of our towns of any importance are now furnished with public libraries of their own, the one here referred to is in a special manner the property of the colony, and is therefore called the South African Public Library.

The village of Beaufort West, in the Great Karroo, which is soon to be connected with Cape Town by rail, was founded in 1819. The site was formerly a farm belonging to a grazier named ABRAHAM DE KLERK, from whom it was purchased by the government, as being the best situation in the district for the establishment of public offices. A deputy landdrost was stationed there, and the village soon grew to be an important centre of trade.

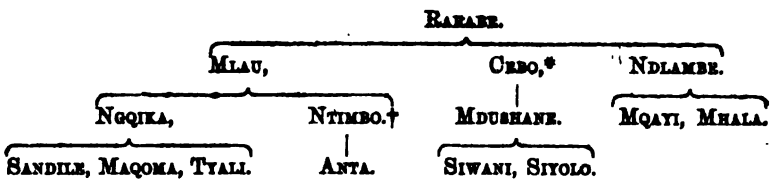
At this place fairs were established for the purpose of dealing with the Griquas, Bechuanas, and Korannas, who brought ivory, skins, and cattle, from their country beyond the Orange River, to exchange for articles of British manufacture.

The period from 1806 to 1819 was marked on the whole by progress. For the purpose of affording legal protection to the colonists, in as great a degree as possible, a new division, that of George, was formed out of the eastern part of Swellendam and the western part of Uitenhage. A site for the landdrost's residence was selected on a plain at the foot of a mountain range, facing the sea, from which it is distant six or seven miles. Hard by are the largest forests in South Africa, which stretch along the coast to the eastward. This part of the colony, being fertile and well watered, had attracted a considerable population, and the appointment of a landdrost had become necessary to preserve order among the woodcutters and to collect the revenue derived from licenses to fell timber. In addition to Beaufort West, deputy landdrosts' offices were established at Caledon, nearly midway between Stellenbosch and Swellendam, at Cradock, on the upper waters of the Fish River, and about fifty-five miles east of Graaff Reinet, at Clanwilliam, about seventy-five miles north of Tulbagh and forty miles from the Atlantic coast, and at Grahamstown. By this means, and by the establishment of circuit courts, criminals in even the most distant parts of the colony were brought to justice, and respect for the laws was maintained. The system of agriculture was being gradually improved by the introduction of better implements, and wool now figured in the exports, though to the amount of only a few thousand pounds weight annually. But the event of this period which more than any other has had a lasting influence upon the condition of the colony was the great extension of missionary enterprise. A grand attempt to christianize and civilize the natives was made, and stations for this purpose were scattered over the land. In 1808, the Moravian institution at Groenekloof, about thirty miles north of Cape Town, was founded, and in 1818 the same society established a mission at Enon, on a little feeder of the Sunday River. In 1816 the Wesleyan body commenced its missionary labours in South Africa, by founding a station at Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand. The London Society had at this time, exclusive of Bethelsdorp, stations at Zuurbrak, in the Swellendam district, Pella, in Little Namaqualand, and Pacaltsdorp, close to the village of George, besides which it had agents working among the slaves and other coloured people in different parts of the colony.

CHAPTER XVII.

KAFFIR HISTORY, INCLUDING THE WAR OF 1819.

Genealogical Table of the Principal Descendants of Rarabe.



* CEBO died without sons, and was succeeded by MDUSHANE, son of NDLAMBE.

† NTIMBO left no sons, and was succeeded by ANTA, son of NGQIKA.

Of the chiefs here mentioned, SANDILE and SIWANI were not born until after the date of the occurrences recorded in this chapter. SIYOLO and ANTA were then boys of only five or six summers. MAQOMA, TYALI, MQAYI, and MHALA were young men of twenty years of age, or thereabouts. MQAYI, though the highest in rank of the sons of NDLAMBE, never attained to much power or distinction, as he was wanting in ability. His brother MHALA therefore easily succeeded in making himself the heir apparent to the chieftainship of the tribe. None of these young chiefs except MAQOMA play any part in the events of this date, but their names are given here, as they come prominently forward in later years, that the relationship between them and the great actors of the preceding generations may be seen at a glance.

The sons of CUNGWA were PATO, KAMA, and KOBI. The first of these was a young man at this time, the last two were mere lads. Their fortunes varied with those of NDLAMBE, as their clans were under his protection.

AFTER the expulsion of the Kaffirs from the Zuurveld in 1811, farms of four thousand acres in extent were offered on perpetual quitrent to any colonists who would settle there. A few individuals embraced this offer, but most of them soon became disheartened and removed again. Though instant death was the penalty denounced and inflicted upon every Kaffir found within the colonial boundary, small parties managed to elude the vigilance of the troops and burgher commandos, and kept the country in such a disturbed state that it was impossible to carry on agricultural or pastoral operations with any prospect of success.

In 1817, the Governor, Lord CHARLES SOMERSET, proceeded to the Kat River, where the Rev. Mr. WILLIAMS, of the London Missionary Society, had fixed his residence during the preceding year. At the mission house

he had an interview with the chief NGQIKA, and entered into a treaty with him to the effect that any kraal to which stolen cattle could be traced should be held responsible for restitution. This was in accordance with Kaffir custom, and cannot fairly be considered unjust when applied to people in their condition. But the mode in which it was afterwards carried out was in the highest degree objectionable. NGQIKA may possibly have believed that reference would be made in every case to the Kaffir courts of law, but he was then in such a position with regard to neighbouring tribes that he was compelled to court the friendship of the colonial government, and agree to any proposals made to him. Lord CHARLES SOMERSET, believing that he was the only rightful hereditary ruler, treated him as a king, while the other chiefs were not even noticed in the treaty, though NGQIKA himself attempted to explain that they were not his subjects nor in any way under his control. The attention paid to him excited the jealousy of the others, who, on that very account, became more prone than ever to permit depredations upon the colonists.

In reality, HINTSA was then, according to Kaffir ideas, the head of the nation, and NGQIKA, though the principal chief of the younger branch, was almost constantly at war with his neighbours. His career hitherto had been such as to bring him into general detestation. His intrigue with TUTULA and the early wars with NDLAMBE, which resulted in that chief's flight, have already been related. Afterwards he attacked the Gcalekas, worsted them, and made prisoner of HINTSA, then a mere boy, but set him free again from motives of policy. There was peace in the land for a short time, but when NDLAMBE was driven back over the Fish River in 1811, troubles commenced once more. The adherents of each plundered the others of cattle, and petty skirmishes became frequent, until at length a battle attended with frightful carnage took place.

In 1818, Major FRASER, with four or five hundred men, was sent into Kaffirland to recover some cattle traced to one of NDLAMBE's kraals, for which that chief had refused to make compensation, and as he could not obtain those he was in quest of, he seized indiscriminately all the herds within his reach, and returned to the colony. NGQIKA's enemies now denounced him everywhere as the originator of the commando-reprisal system, and called upon all true sons of RARABE to assist them in avenging their wrongs upon him. The defection of a powerful clan greatly weakened the Ngqika side, and correspondingly strengthened the enemy. CEBO, right hand son of RARABE, having died without issue during NDLAMBE's regency, had been succeeded by MDUSHANE, a son of the regent. This chief, whose abilities were greater than those of any other in Kaffirland, had hitherto been at variance with his father, but the old councillors of NDLAMBE succeeded at this time in effecting a reconciliation between them, and the Imidushane at once changed sides in the contest. Several of the smaller clans also were induced to range themselves under NDLAMBE's standard by the advice of a man whose influence was felt far and wide in Kaffirland. This was

MAKANA, one of those extraordinary characters who appear occasionally on the stage of savage as well as of civilized society. By the colonists he was called LINKSCH, and by some of the Kaffirs NXELE, both words meaning left-handed. Possessed of great powers of mind, he had framed a creed for himself, by combining what he could learn of Christianity with different native superstitions, and had announced to his countrymen that he was in communication with the spirit world. It was he who taught them to bury their dead, for before his time the corpses of common people were merely dragged away from the kraals and exposed to be devoured by carrion birds and beasts of prey. His bearing was that of a man who claimed superiority even over chiefs, and who knew that his orders would be obeyed. Unlike all others of his countrymen in their uncivilized state, he scorned to beg, but he claimed as a right whatever he required. On one occasion he demanded an ox from a rich man, and was refused. NDLAMBE instantly caused everything the man had to be seized, and the whole tribe apprehended that some calamity would befall them on account of the offender's presumption, until MAKANA assured them that he was satisfied with the punishment inflicted. Ordinary witch-doctors often possess this power, but MAKANA cannot in justice be ranked as one of these. He aimed at moulding a nation into form, by uniting its fragments under a common head, and giving it nobler aspirations than it had before. He was a hero among his countrymen, and to this day his memory is held in reverence by thousands of them.

NGQIKA'S residence at that time was by the head waters of the Chumie, in one of the most beautiful valleys of South Africa. Above his kraals rose the grand mountain range of the Amatolas, the highest dome of which is yet known by his name, while the hill sides and all the low lands along the margin of the river were one great corn-field. A dense population resided in the valley, which was as renowned for fertility then among the Kaffirs as it is now among the Europeans and Fingoes who have succeeded them in its possession. The stream, that springs in cascades from one of the thick forests which clothe the deep kloofs of the Amatolas, was termed the river of sweet waters, and it still preserves its right to that title. The Kaffir has a keen eye for beauty of situation, and here his love of grand mountain scenery was gratified to the full. In possession of such a land, the tribe of NGQIKA might have lived in comfort and tranquillity, if their chief had been a wise and prudent man, but he had brought desolation upon others, and now it was his turn to suffer.

MAKANA formed a plan to draw him away from his kraals, into an ambush where his enemies would be certain of victory. For this purpose a large party was sent out by night to seize the cattle belonging to one of his subordinate chieftains, and then to fall back to the eastward. The stratagem succeeded. NGQIKA called his councillors together to devise a scheme of retaliation. One of his great men advised him to be cautious, and not to cross the Keiskama under any circumstances, for fear of being

led into a trap. The one who gave this advice was NTSIKANA, a Christian and the composer of the hymn which bears his name. He was a man of great influence among the Ngqika clans, and must have had a powerful intellect, if we may judge from the words of his hymn, a strange wild chant which is capable of stirring the feelings of his countrymen more than any other poetry yet written. Many of his speeches have been preserved verbatim by Kaffir antiquaries, and among others his advice to the chief on this occasion: "Listen, son of MLAU, to the words of the servant of God, and do not cross the Xesi. I see the Amangqika scattered on the mountains; I see their heads spread out on the ground. The enemy is watching there, and defeat awaits your plumed ones. Are there not cattle left, even many cattle, the cattle of the great chief?" NGQIKA himself was disposed to be guided by NTSIKANA'S advice; but one MANXOYI, a warrior of note, urged them not to listen to a prater who never went to battle, and did nothing else but teach people to forsake the customs of their ancestors. This was in allusion to NTSIKANA'S habit of itinerating among the people for the purpose of preaching Christianity, a practice which he followed from the time of his conversion through the agency of MR. WILLIAMS to the day before his death. All the other councillors sided with MANXOYI in recommending a raid into NDLAMBE'S territory, and this was agreed upon. The line of march even was settled, and was at once made known to MAKANA by his spies.

The warriors set out from the Chumie before sunrise of a winter morning, and marched until they reached the Debe Neck. Then, on the plain below their feet they saw the Amandlambe arrayed for battle and spread out like a great red carpet. The plain is called by Europeans the Kommetje Flats, from a great number of saucer-like cavities in its surface. By the Kaffirs these depressions are called Amalinde, and from this circumstance the battle of that day is still spoken of by them as The Battle of Amalinde. The Kaffir warriors are always divided into two bands. Of these, one is composed of veterans, whose heads are adorned with feathers of the blue crane, as a mark of distinction. They are supposed to attack those only who have similar marks of honour, and hold every one else in disdain. The other division is composed of young recruits, who go by the name of Round Heads. At the commencement of an action, if the plumed ones come in contact with round heads, they will merely protect themselves with their shields without using their assegais, but in the heat of battle all such distinctions are forgotten. As soon as the enemy came in sight, NDLAMBE sent his round heads up the mountain side to meet them, but these were easily driven back, and the Ngqikas came rushing down after them, yelling defiance. This was all that was desired, for now the plumed ones sprang to their feet, and the fight commenced in earnest. MAQOMA, the eldest of NGQIKA'S sons, in after years to be known as the bitter foe of the white man, was the hero of his father's side in this the first battle in which he was ever engaged. He led his braves right into the centre of the field, and charged again and again at the thickest mass of the foe. At length he

was so sorely wounded that he was compelled to leave the field, narrowly escaping being made a prisoner as he did so. The bravest on each side engaged hand to hand with each other, and as soon as the plumes of one lay low on the ground, another rushed forward to take his place. It was not long past midday when the battle began, and all the afternoon it lasted, till about sunset the Ngqikas were driven from the field with dreadful slaughter. As long as they could see, the Ndlambes pursued them, and when darkness closed in, the victors returned to the scene of carnage and kindled great fires, by the light of which they sought their wounded enemies and put them to death with brutal ferocity. The night was bitterly cold, and hundreds of poor wretches, who managed to crawl out of sight, were found next morning dead and dying round the battle field. From the time that RARABE crossed the Kei, no such desperate combat had been known among the border tribes, and it is yet an event frequently referred to by the aged among them.

NGQIKA fled westward to the Koonap, but his enemies appeared to be satisfied with the punishment they had inflicted upon him, for they neither followed up their victory at once nor showed any disposition to molest him afterwards. But they took the precaution to strengthen their own position, by drawing all the minor tribes in the neighbourhood into a confederacy with them. These small clans are always eager to unite themselves with the winning party in any strife, and hence a successful battle usually brings a large accession of force to the victors.

NGQIKA now appealed to the colonial government for aid, and as he was considered a useful ally and had been treated with as the sovereign ruler of Kaffirland, the Governor resolved to compel the confederates to submit to his authority. Accordingly, in December, 1818, a force of between three and four thousand burghers and soldiers, under Lieutenant-Colonel BRERETON, was sent to his assistance, when the Ndlambe clans and their allies were attacked and driven from their villages with great loss of life. The British commander found it impossible to restrain the savage passions of the Ngqikas, who were mad with excitement and joy at being able to take revenge upon their enemies, and were unwilling to show any mercy. As soon as possible, therefore, Colonel BRERETON withdrew his forces, taking with him as spoil twenty-three thousand head of cattle. Of these, nine thousand were handed over to NGQIKA, some were distributed among the farmers from whom cattle had been stolen, and the remainder were sold to defray the expenses of the expedition.

This invasion of their country was considered by the confederate chiefs an unwarrantable aggression, as they had declared that they were anxious to remain at peace with the English, and merely claimed the right of settling the internal affairs of the country without foreign interference. As soon, therefore, as they could rally their forces, they prepared to attack the colony. MAKANA, who up to that time had exerted himself to cultivate friendly relations with the white man, now spoke of nothing but war. He

encouraged the tribes by predicting that they would be aided supernaturally, and that their enemies would be driven into the sea before them. Acting under his direction, they crossed the Fish River and swept over the country as far westward as Algoa Bay. Several small military outposts were taken, some patrols of soldiers were cut off, the Zuurveld was cleared of the few farmers it contained, Theopolis and even Grahamstown were attacked.

The garrison of Grahamstown consisted of some companies of the 38th regiment of foot, a detachment of the Royal African Corps, and part of the Cape Corps, three or four hundred men in all. This force was considered by MAKANA so small as to warrant him in attacking the town. He was made acquainted with the exact strength of the garrison, and with every circumstance of importance that transpired by a spy who professed to be an adherent of NGQIKA, and who was employed as an interpreter. This man, upon whom no suspicion rested, easily found means to obtain whatever information he required, and to communicate it to the enemy. MAKANA sent a message to Colonel WILLSHIRE, who commanded in Grahamstown, to the effect that he intended to take breakfast with him the next morning; but the Colonel took no notice of this, fancying it to be mere bravado.

The attack was made soon after sunrise on the morning of the 22nd of April, 1819, by between nine and ten thousand men. Colonel WILLSHIRE being informed that the enemy was close at hand, left sixty men to defend the barracks, and drew up the remainder of the garrison outside the town. The Kaffirs formed into three columns, and upon a signal being given by their leader, rushed forward with fierce war-cries. Two of these masses, composed of the round heads, and led by MDUSHANE, hurled themselves upon Colonel WILLSHIRE's lines, but the soldiers stood firm till they were within a few paces, and then poured a deadly volley of musketry into them. This checked the advance for a moment, and immediately the troops charged in their turn, and put the Kaffirs to flight. The heaviest of the three columns, composed of the veterans, was directed against the barracks, and was led by MAKANA in person. He had given his followers orders to break their assegai shafts short off, and to close in a hand to hand combat. Lieutenant CARTWRIGHT received the enemy with a discharge of musketry, but they seemed regardless of death when under MAKANA's eye, and pressed eagerly on. The soldiers, fighting under cover, could not be reached by their assegais; but the Kaffirs were so superior in number that they might have succeeded in breaking down all obstacles, had it not been for the assistance given to the English by a party of Hottentot hunters who happened to be in the town. These were excellent marksmen, and soon picked off several of the best Kaffir leaders. And now some field pieces were brought to bear upon the dense masses of the assailants, and played upon them with terrible effect. They broke and fled, carrying their leader along with them, and leaving at least five hundred of their bravest men

dead on the spot,* while nearly a thousand more were so badly wounded that they died before they could reach their own country. The English loss was only three killed and five wounded. The spy, who had given MAKANA information of the strength of the garrison, was in Grahamstown when the attack was made, and joined the column that attempted to storm the barracks. During the engagement he was made prisoner, and was immediately shot.

The mission station of Theopolis had been repeatedly attacked by small bands of the invaders, but the Hottentots who resided there, though unaided by troops, had managed to maintain their position. The main object of the Kaffirs was to take Grahamstown, then the head-quarters of the troops on the frontier, and hence only small parties were detached for other purposes. When driven from that place, they at once abandoned the contest, and retreated across the Fish River as rapidly as possible.

Every available burgher in the colony was now called into service, and an overwhelming force was sent into Kaffirland in two divisions, one under Colonel WILLSHIRE, the other under Landdrost STOCKENSTROM (a son of the landdrost who was killed by the Kaffirs in 1811), for the purpose of destroying the power of the confederates. The partizans of NDLAMBE were driven out of the country they had occupied, which lay along the coast between the Keiskama and Buffalo rivers, many of them were killed, and their cattle, numbering about thirty thousand head, were seized. The Gcalekas being in alliance with them, they had a secure retreat to fall back upon, otherwise it is likely these clans would have passed out of sight altogether. A prohibition was then issued against their occupying the country again, and the commandos, having chastised them to the full extent of their power, returned to the colony. The chiefs being still alive and at liberty, large rewards were offered for their apprehension, but no one was base enough to betray them. MAKANA now performed an act that should have entitled him to the respect of all brave men. Knowing that as long as he remained at large the Governor would not agree to terms of peace, on the 15th of August, 1819, he voluntarily surrendered to Landdrost STOCKENSTROM, upon assurance that his life would be spared. His bravery and magnanimity made him deserving of a better fate than was awarded to him. He was banished to Robben Island, and was drowned on the following Christmas when attempting to make his escape in a boat. But the generation to which he belonged passed away and another took its place before his countrymen could be brought to believe that he was dead. When

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*NOTE.—The above is derived principally from official sources. Captain STRETCH, who was one of the defenders of Grahamstown, in a communication to the *Cape Monthly Magazine* in 1876, says that about two thousand Kaffir warriors strewed the field of battle. According to Captain HARDING'S account as quoted by THOMPSON in his valuable work, upwards of thirteen hundred were left dead on the ground.

told that he had been drowned, they would reply that it was false, as MAKANA could not die. Long years afterwards his son had a small tract of land near King William's Town given to him, in return for faithful services performed for the English, and there he now lives as a petty chief with a little clan of followers. But for fifty years, under every change of fortune, as a homeless fugitive, a policeman in the white man's pay, or the acknowledged headman of a location, he clung to the hope of his father's reappearance as a mighty conqueror. It was not until 1870 that the mats and ornaments of MAKANA, carefully preserved during all that period, were buried, and every expectation of his coming again was lost. Such was the impression this man made upon his countrymen, and such was the wonderful faith they had in his power. With MAKANA'S surrender, hostilities ceased, and the burgher commandos were immediately disbanded.

At the close of the war, the tract of country between the Koonap and Great Fish rivers was annexed to the colony, and Forts Beaufort and Willshire were built beyond the frontier. An agreement was then made with NGQIKA that the remainder of the country between the Great Fish and the Keiskama should be cleared of inhabitants and remain unoccupied, so as to form a neutral territory between the two races. The object in this was to prevent all intercourse between the Kaffirs and the colonists, but it was soon found to be a failure, though very heavy punishments were denounced against any one who should enter the neutral territory from either side. The same restrictive system had been tried in the first days of the colony, and with a like result. The profits of illicit trade were so great that men were always found prepared to run the risk of detection. English troops now guarded the frontier, but in spite of their vigilance, communication was constantly carried on, and large numbers of cattle were obtained in exchange for beads, copper wire, and cutlery. In course of time, it became evident that there was greater danger of a collision to be apprehended from this contraband traffic than from legal intercourse, and the restrictions were withdrawn. But now, to such an extent was the policy of non-intercourse attempted to be enforced, that even missionaries were prevented from settling among the Kaffirs. Mr. WILLIAMS died in August, 1818, and the government refused to sanction the appointment of a successor to his work.

It was with great reluctance that NGQIKA consented to so large a district being depopulated, but he knew the Governor's proposal was equivalent to a command which he must obey. It was necessary to preserve at any price the friendship of the English,—the children of NONIBE, as he called them ever since the time when they went to his assistance after the battle of Amalinde. For, beaten and humiliated as NDLAMBE and his confederates were, they still refused to acknowledge him as a superior, and were ready to fall upon him again if he was left to his own resources alone. They, of course, denied that he had any right to make such an arrangement, and were more embittered than ever against him on that account.

After a year or two the government employed as its agents and representatives among the Ngqikas two or three missionaries, who were glad to enter Kaffirland in that capacity, since they were not permitted to go as the representatives of mission societies. These men were not long in discovering the blunder that had been made, and immediately communicated to the Governor an accurate knowledge of the existing state of affairs among the tribes. Some modifications of the restrictive system were then made. The country was opened to mission work, and different Societies at once sent their agents into the field. The Wesleyans founded their first station near the kraal of PATO, an ally of NDLAMBE, and were soon brought into contact with the different chiefs of the confederacy. Through the agency of the Rev. Mr. SHAW, a meeting took place between these chiefs and the Commander of the Forces on the frontier, at which arrangements mutually satisfactory were agreed to. The chiefs with their adherents were permitted to return to the country from which they had been driven, upon their engaging to live at peace with the colonists and to prevent thefts of cattle. A portion of the neutral territory was thus allotted on sufferance to the Gqunukwebe clans, who had occupied it previous to the war. Before this, NGQIKA and his sons had been allowed to resume the northern section of it, so that in course of time the valley of the Fish River and a belt across the centre of the district comprised all that was left unpeopled. The security of the colony, at that time and ever since, required that the jungles along the banks of the Fish River should not be left in possession of the Kaffirs. But no precautions were taken to ensure their retention by the government in the event of another war.

The first attempt by the government to establish commercial intercourse was made in 1821, when periodical fairs were commenced at Fort Willshire. Licensed traders repaired to that place with their waggons laden with such goods as the Kaffirs required. In the morning of the day appointed for the fair, the natives were permitted to cross the river in parties under their chiefs, the women carrying ivory and hides, the men driving horned cattle. The traders then made presents to the chiefs, and between them they fixed the relative value of everything to be bartered, before the common people were allowed to make bargains. When these preliminaries were concluded, trade commenced, the chiefs keeping order among their followers and taking usually as a sort of tax about a moiety of what each one purchased. These fairs were continued at intervals until General BOURKE, when Governor of the colony, permitted free trade in everything except munitions of war and intoxicating liquors. Several trading stations were then immediately established in Kaffirland itself, as well as on the colonial side of the frontier.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INTERVAL BETWEEN THE KAFFIR WAR OF 1819 AND THE PASSING OF THE FIFTIETH ORDINANCE IN 1828.

Principal Subjects:—Arrival of the British Settlers.—Tyranny of Lord Charles Somerset.—Great Floods in Albany.—Wars in Bechuanaland.—Establishment of a Free Press.—Formation of the District and Village of Somerset East.—Creation of a Council to advise and assist in the Administration of the Government.—Ordinance for making British Silver Coin a Legal Tender at the rate of One Shilling and Six Pence for a Paper Rixdollar.—Abolition of the Courts of Landdrost and Heemraden, and Substitution of Resident Magistrates in their stead.—Extension of Missions.

Governors:—Lord CHARLES HENRY SOMERSET.

Sir RUFANE SHAWE DONKIN, (acting)	Jan. 13, 1820.
Lord C. H. SOMERSET, (returned)	Dec. 1, 1821.
Sir RICHARD BOURKE,	May 4, 1826.

INDUCEMENTS of various kinds were frequently made to the colonists to settle in the Zuurveld, but without avail, as that tract of country was too much exposed to Kaffir irruptions to admit of its being occupied in security. Even when a desert was created upon the eastern frontier and numerous military posts were scattered along the border, bands of marauders managed to penetrate into it and prevented the boers from taking possession of farms. For several years following the European peace of 1815, a large amount of distress was felt in different parts of England, and when Parliament met in 1819 the government proposed that the sum of £50,000 should be placed upon the estimates for the purpose of conveying a number of emigrants to this country. The objects in this were to relieve England of a few thousands of her surplus population, and to fill up the vacant portion of the colony with settlers whose loyalty could be depended upon, and who would serve as a barrier against which any future wave of Kaffir invasion would be broken. Parliament granted without demur the amount required, and applications for passages were at once called for.

The salubrity of the South African climate, and the beauty and fertility of the country to which emigration was invited, were by this time so well known in England that great numbers of people were eager to avail themselves of the offer made by the government, and applications from heads of families, representing in all over ninety thousand persons, were sent in. Out of these about five thousand were selected, who embarked in government transports, and landed at Algoa Bay during the year 1820. Among these people were representatives of all classes of society and of

nearly every known occupation. There were half-pay officers, farmers, tradesmen, sailors, fishermen, artisans of all kinds, cotton spinners, and day labourers. They were formed into parties of from ten to one hundred families, each party having an elected leader or representative for the purpose of transacting its business with the government, and each was located by itself. Every head of a family was required before leaving England to deposit with the emigration commissioners the sum of £10, two thirds of which was returned to him after his arrival in the colony, and to each family a free grant of one hundred acres of land was made, with the exception that a few persons brought out servants, for each of whom they deposited £10 and received an additional grant of a hundred acres. To every party of a hundred families the privilege was accorded of selecting a clergyman of any Christian denomination, whose salary was paid from the public funds. The colonial government at that time exercised the right of impressing waggons and draught cattle belonging to farmers for public services, at fixed rates of payment, so that no difficulty was experienced in providing conveyances for the immigrants from Algoa Bay to their several locations. Arrangements were also made for the distribution of rations to such as required them, until they could raise food for themselves, the only charge made therefor being one third of the money deposited before they left England. Further, farming implements and other necessaries were sent to Algoa Bay, and there offered to the settlers at cost price.

Lord CHARLES SOMERSET was in England on leave of absence, and Sir RUFANE SHAWE DONKIN was Acting Governor at the time of the location of the British settlers. In him they found a friend willing to assist them to the extent of his power. The military forces on the frontier were so arranged as to give them the greatest possible amount of protection, and the labour of the men of the Cape Corps was partly placed at their disposal until their temporary domiciles were erected. A site for a village, intended to be the centre of the new settlement, was selected on the Kowie River, where the scenery is magnificent, the land fertile, and wood and water in abundance. A landdrost was appointed to reside there, whose jurisdiction was to extend over the whole of the Zuurveld, henceforth called the district of Albany. But Bathurst, as the village was named, never rose to be a place of any great commercial importance, as circumstances transpired which soon drew all the trade of the district to Grahamstown

The immigrants, of course, had many difficulties to contend with. Many of them were unsuited for farmers, and they found the climate and seasons so different from those of their native country that even those among them who were practical agriculturists committed many blunders at first. In addition to other troubles, their wheat crops for several successive years were attacked with rust, and the want of bread was severely felt. The maize crops, however, throve well, and they had vegetables of all kinds in abundance. Soon after their arrival, they began to complain that the ground allotted to them was too small for their comfortable maintenance as

graziers, and Sir RUFANE DONKIN granted to several of them farms similar in extent to those of their Dutch neighbours.

Port Elizabeth dates its origin as a town from the arrival of the British settlers. It was named after the deceased lady of Sir R. S. DONKIN, to whose memory a monument was erected by her husband on the hill overlooking the bay.

In 1820 the Royal Observatory, near Cape Town, was founded by the English Board of Admiralty. In the same year the village of Worcester, in the valley of the Breede River, was laid out. It soon became a thriving place of business, and of late years its growth has been so rapid that it is now next to the Paarl the largest and most important station on the line of railway in course of construction between Cape Town and Beaufort West.

Lord CHARLES SOMERSET, having returned to the colony, resumed the government on the 1st of December, 1821. At that time the Governor was a despot, as there was neither Parliament nor Council intervening between him and the people. In petty matters he did as he chose; in affairs of moment he carried out the instructions of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Lord CHARLES SOMERSET was tyrannical in disposition, and vindictive towards all who dared to oppose him. Owing to a dislike which he entertained for Sir RUFANE DONKIN, he dismissed many of the public officers lately appointed, whom he replaced with his own favourites, and removed the landdrost of Albany from Bathurst to Grahamstown, against the wish of the inhabitants of the district. For another act, then quite as unpopular, he might have pleaded that he was guided by principles of justice. This was his cancelling all grants of land which Sir RUFANE DONKIN had made at a place in the ceded territory where a village called Fredericksburg was laid out. NGQIKA had agreed to permit British settlers to reside there, but the very object for which the country had been depopulated would thus have been frustrated, and no one knew better than the Governor how the chief's consent was obtained. From the date of this new agreement the district between the Great Fish and Keiskama was usually termed in the colony the Ceded Territory, though it was never formally annexed.

In 1821, MAQOMA, right hand son of NGQIKA, was allowed to take possession of the Kat River valleys, which brought the Kaffirs again into contact with the colonists. This event caused such alarm to the inhabitants of Albany that some of them even abandoned the district and removed to other parts of the colony. In vain they remonstrated with the Governor, for complaints only made matters worse, until at length he went so far as to issue a proclamation, 24th of May, 1822, prohibiting all persons from convening or attending public meetings for political or other purposes, without having first obtained the sanction of the Governor or of the landdrost of the division. This law gradually fell into disuse, but remained on the colonial statute book until its repeal in December, 1848. But one of this Governor's

measures was certainly favourable to the immigrants. They complained of being subject to the Dutch law of inheritance, which he abrogated so far as they were concerned by issuing a proclamation that all persons married in Great Britain who afterwards settled in the colony should be at liberty to devise their property according to the laws of the land of their birth. No persons married in South Africa, however, were entitled to the benefit of this regulation, so that the children of the British settlers were left in the same position as the Dutch colonists.

The arrival of the British settlers introduced the English language into South Africa, for up to this date Dutch was exclusively spoken by European farmers and their servants. All public business was conducted in that language until 1825, when ordinances were first issued in English. Two years later judicial proceedings were conducted in it, and in 1828 all documents issued from the Colonial Secretary's office were required to be published in English. But as several generations of the old colonists had used a dialect of the language of Holland, (though the majority of them were not connected with that country), it had acquired a hold upon their affections, and they were exceedingly averse to the change. In Cape Town it soon became necessary, in ordinary as well as commercial intercourse, for the residents to have their children taught to speak English, but in the country districts to the present day many farmers object to a change of tongue. It is still found necessary to publish official notifications in the *Government Gazette* in both languages, and only recently the introduction of occasional English services in the colonial church met with decided opposition from a considerable number of congregations. In towns and villages, however, English is now almost universally spoken.

In 1823 two Commissioners of Enquiry arrived, having been sent out by the British government with full power and authority to enquire into all the laws, regulations, and usages prevailing in the colony, and into every other matter in any way connected with the administration of the civil government, the state of the judicial, civil, military, and ecclesiastical establishments, the revenue, trade, and internal resources. Owing to their investigations, many important and beneficial reforms were subsequently introduced.

In October, 1823, great damage was done in the district of Albany by terrible floods, which swept away not only the crops but many of the houses of the settlers. To such distress were some of the immigrants reduced that a committee for their relief was formed in Cape Town, by whose means the sum of £3,000 was collected in the colony, and £7,000 in England and India. This fund was distributed early in 1825, and was supplemented by a loan of two hundred thousand rixdollars from the government. About the same time many of the settlers had large tracts of land given to them.

At this time the country between the Orange River and the Limpopo was the theatre of awfully devastating wars. MSILIKAZI, one of TSHAKA'S

generals, having offended his master, fled north-westward across the Quathlamba, and took with him a multitude of Zulu warriors. The unwarlike Bechuanas, who inhabited the region into which he entered, fled at his approach, and each tribe in its flight fell upon the one next in advance, until the tide of war rolled over all the land. The Matabele, as the invaders were called by the Bechuanas, took possession of the land and the cattle, and, according to Zulu custom, incorporated in their armies many of the youth of the conquered nations, exterminating the remainder. One vast horde of Basuto origin fled from the country about the sources of the Vaal River. It comprised among other clans the Makololo who afterwards under the chief SEBITUANE became second only to the Matabele themselves as a scourge of South Central Africa, and the Bataung under MOLITSANE, now British subjects resident in Basutoland.

The approach of this horde to the mission station of Kuruman was heralded by dreadful reports of their numbers and ferocity. Messrs. MOFFAT and HAMILTON, the missionaries, with difficulty prevailed upon the Batlapi chief MOTHIBI not to abandon his village and seek refuge in the desert, and Mr. MOFFAT hastened to Griquatown to obtain assistance. By his influence and that of Mr. MELVILL, the government agent, the Griqua chiefs ADAM and CORNELIUS KOK, BEREND, and WATERBOER mustered about a hundred horsemen armed with guns, with whom they proceeded to Kuruman.

The traveller THOMPSON happened to be at Kuruman at the time, and becoming impatient at the absence of anything like correct information concerning the Mantati horde, he rode in the direction from which they were known to be approaching, with a view of making personal observations. With a single attendant he arrived at the town of Old Lithako, which was situated in the midst of extensive millet gardens. He found the town deserted. Its six or eight thousand inhabitants had fled in such haste that they had left their cooking utensils containing food upon the fires. Not a single individual was left in the place, and the only living creature in sight was a solitary vulture perched upon a lofty camelthorn. Riding onward a few miles further, Mr. THOMPSON suddenly caught sight of the Mantatis marching in one immense mass like a swarm of locusts. They were not less than fifty thousand in number, and probably much more. With this intelligence he returned to Kuruman, after seeing the Mantatis take possession of the deserted town of Lithako.

The Griqua horsemen were joined by five or six hundred Batlapis under MOTHIBI, a few Barolongs under MOROKO, and the warriors of some other little clans. Accompanied by Messrs. MELVILL and MOFFAT, they advanced towards Lithako, where on the 25th of June, 1823, they encountered a division of the Mantatis about fifteen thousand strong posted outside the town. There an engagement took place, which can with greater propriety be termed a slaughter, for the Mantatis, though they made desperate efforts, were unable to reach the Griquas, the fire of whose guns told with

dreadful effect upon the crowded mass. At length, finding their efforts to close with their assailants fruitless, and seeing the ground covered with their dead and dying, among whom were their two greatest chiefs, the Mantatis fell back upon the town of Lithako, which they set on fire. The whole horde then moved away to the north-eastward, followed for seven or eight miles by the Griquas. In their flight they abandoned many of their women and children, and their cattle fell into the hands of the pursuers.

This must be considered an event of some importance in South African history, for had the Griquas been defeated an invasion of the colony from the north would have followed. After the repulse at Lithako, the great horde was broken into fragments. SEBITUANE with the Makololo moved away to the northward, and after various adventures finally settled on the Zambezi, where Dr. LIVINGSTONE found them in 1851. The Bataung turned to the south-eastward, and hurled themselves upon the country now known as Basutoland.

The mission station of Kuruman was the only place of any importance in Bechuanaland that was not destroyed in these wars. At the very lowest computation, more than five hundred thousand persons must have perished in the ravaged countries. Many became cannibals from the absolute want of food. Over a thousand poor wretches, in a half dying state, managed to crawl into the colony, where the government made arrangements for their reception, and distributed them as apprentices for seven years to such persons as were not slaveholders.

Previous to the year 1824 there existed no newspaper in South Africa except the *Government Gazette*. On the 7th of January, of that year, the first number of the *South African Commercial Advertiser* was issued in Cape Town by Mr. GREIG, and a fortnight later Messrs. JOHN FAIRBAIRN and THOMAS PRINGLE became editors of it. It was issued weekly, and was published in both the English and Dutch languages. On the 5th of March appeared the first number of a literary magazine called the *South African Journal*, a two-monthly periodical, under the editorship of Messrs. FAIRBAIRN and PRINGLE, the *Zuid Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*, commenced at the same time, and edited by the Rev. Mr. FAURE, being published month and month alternately with the *Journal*. These periodicals were ably conducted, but as they advocated liberal principles, they became offensive to Lord CHARLES SOMERSET, who, on the 4th of May, directed the fiscal to assume the censorship of the *Advertiser*. A struggle for the liberty of the press then commenced. Messrs. FAIRBAIRN and PRINGLE refused to edit a paper under a censorship, and next morning Mr. GREIG announced that the publication would be discontinued until the decision of His Majesty's government should be ascertained. This infuriated the Governor, who issued a warrant directing that the press should be sealed up, and ordered Mr. GREIG to leave the colony within a month. A few days afterwards the *South African Journal* was visited in like manner, and discontinued.

These arbitrary measures created great excitement in Cape Town. The Governor would not permit public meetings to be held, and enforced his own law on the subject rigorously, as had been demonstrated in Grahamstown only so late as the 5th of February, when a number of people, who had assembled to testify their joy upon the arrival of His Majesty's Commissioners of Enquiry, were arrested and committed to prison. There was thus no mode of expressing public opinion, except by means of petitions, and as it was deemed expedient to refer the matter to the very highest authority, a memorial to the king in council was drawn up, and very numerously signed, praying for the privilege of a free press. The Governor then saw he had gone too far: he revoked the order for Mr. GREIG's banishment, and, sending for Mr. PRINGLE, endeavoured to persuade him to continue the *Journal*. But this Mr. PRINGLE resolutely declined to do, unless the press were placed under legal protection. Thus the interview terminated, and from that moment Messrs. FAIRBAIRN and PRINGLE were subjected to the relentless animosity of the Governor. To such lengths did this extend that he refused to grant permission for the establishment of a Literary and Scientific Society, because they and Dr. PHILIP were connected with it, and threatened to put in force the law against illegal meetings if the members should dare to assemble.

Mr. PRINGLE now gave up the contest, and soon afterwards returned to England; but Mr. FAIRBAIRN continued in the colony, and when in August, 1825, authority was received from England to resume the publication of the *Commercial Advertiser*, under license from the Governor in Council, he became its sole editor, Mr. GREIG, as before, being its publisher. For a while, matters went on smoothly, but in March, 1827, the paper was again suppressed, on this occasion for copying from the *Times* an article offensive to the Cape Government. Mr. FAIRBAIRN then went to England to plead his cause before the supreme authorities, and succeeded in obtaining for the colony the inestimable boon of a free press. In 1828 he returned to South Africa, and resumed the editorship of the twice resuscitated *Commercial Advertiser*. The colonists soon afterwards presented him with a handsome piece of silver plate, in token of the high estimation in which they held his services.

In 1824 the first lighthouse on the coast of South Africa,—that at Green Point,—was completed.

In January, 1825, the division of Somerset was formed out of the sub-district of Cradock, part of the district of Graaff Reinet, part of the district of Albany, and a slip of territory to the eastward of the Great Fish River. The site of the present village of Somerset East had for some years previously been a government farm, established partly for the purpose of raising provender for the horses of the cavalry regiment then in the colony, and partly to make experiments on a large scale in the culture of tobacco. Commissariat stores were also established there for the purpose of purchasing cattle and grain required for the consumption of

the troops on the frontier. It was from this establishment that food was forwarded to the British settlers for two years after their arrival.

By an Order in Council, dated 9th February. 1825, the arbitrary power hitherto possessed by the governors was somewhat limited, by the creation of a Council to advise and assist them in the administration of the government. The council consisted of the chief civil and military officers of the colony, who were all appointed by the Crown, and subject to removal at any time. This was, in fact, going back to the same form of government that had existed under the Netherlands East India Company, but the spirit was very different. The administration of a Governor and Council appointed by the British crown to rule a dependency of the Empire can hardly be compared with the administration of a Governor and Council appointed by a mercantile association to rule a victualling station for its fleets. The colonists were desirous of more liberal institutions, and had petitioned the home government to that effect, but it was not then considered advisable to grant their roquest. After this date the laws of the colony were no longer issued as mere proclamations of the Governor, but as ordinances of the Governor in Council. Yet in reality the people gained very little by the change. Every question of importance was still settled by the Secretary of State, and in trivial matters, the governors, being relieved to a certain extent of responsibility, had less inducement than hitherto to be cautious, while their actual power was hardly diminished. Still, as this was the first step towards a more perfect form of government, it gave no little satisfaction.

At this time the entire population of the colony was about one hundred and thirty thousand souls, of whom fifty thousand were Europeans or of European descent. Cape Town contained about twenty thousand, and Grahamstown about two thousand five hundred people. Port Elizabeth was beginning to be a thriving place, and boasted of five hundred white inhabitants. The exports of the colony amounted in value to about £200,000 per annum.

In 1825 the value of the paper rixdollar current in the colony was fixed at one shilling and six pence sterling. This was done by a law which made British silver coin a legal tender, and fixed the rate of exchange at one shilling and six pence for a paper rixdollar. British copper coin was also made a legal tender for any amount less than one shilling. Since the 1st of January 1826, the public accounts of the colony have been kept in pounds, shillings, and pence, though in the country, rixdollars, schellings, and stivers, as being more familiar names, continued to be used by the old colonists until recently in making calculations. As, however, there were no coins of these denominations, the practice of turning ideal amounts into pounds, shillings, and pence, gradually accustomed the farmers to the use of English money.

The amount of paper money in existence at this time was 3,000,000 rixdollars, which had been created on various occasions, as follows :—

Debt of the East India Company 611,276 rds., and capital of Lombard Bank in 1795 680,000 rds. The last of these amounts was secured by mortgages on private property, the first amount had no other security than the good faith of the government, until the capitulation to the English, when it was agreed that the public buildings should be pledged as security to the holders of the notes.

The capital of the Lombard Bank was increased during the English protectorate by 165,000 rds., issued in the same manner as before. 330,000 rds. were created for public purposes during the protectorate, and when the colony was restored to Holland, naval and military stores to that amount were handed over to the Dutch authorities.

Under the Batavian government the old notes were called in and new ones were put in circulation, in which no distinction was made between those which were issued by the Lombard Bank and those which represented the public debt. At the time of the English conquest in January, 1806, there were notes amounting to 2,000,000 rds. in circulation, of which 845,000 rds. only were secured by mortgage of property. Their purchasing power was then about half that of gold or silver.

From this date until the close of the European war in 1815, trade was very brisk, and at the same time great inducements were held out by the Home Government to colonial vine growers, by the reduction of the duty on Cape wines entering the English market to one third of that paid on wines from the south of Europe, by offering premiums and rewards to the largest and most successful cultivators, and in many other ways, which caused great activity in this department of agriculture. The notes in circulation were deemed by the government of the day insufficient to meet the demand, and the capital of the Lombard Bank was therefore increased by Lord Caledon to 1,345,000 rds. During the government of Sir J. F. Cradock, another half million was created for the purpose of purchasing and repairing buildings needed for public use. The total amount in circulation was therefore 3,000,000 rixdollars, of the nominal value of £600,000, each rixdollar of the first two millions put in circulation being declared on issue to be equal to forty-eight Dutch pennies, equivalent to four English shillings.

But after the peace, when the reduction of the garrison caused a stagnation in trade, and when the Home Government withdrew its protection of Cape wines, so large a capital was no longer required, and the paper rixdollar, not being convertible into coin, sunk in value until, at the beginning of 1825, it was not worth more than 1s. 5d. sterling. Its actual value could only be ascertained from the rate of premium on Treasury Bills, as its depreciation had forced gold and silver entirely out of the country.

On the 6th of June the ordinance was issued, fixing the value of the paper rixdollar at 1/6. Naturally, it gave great dissatisfaction to all who were hoarding money in anticipation of its redemption at its nominal value,

which many hoped that the Commissioners of Enquiry would recommend. At the time of the last issue, the paper rixdollar was worth 2/3 in coin, and as the new notes were declared equal in value with the old, the holders deemed that the faith of the government was thereby pledged to redeem them at that rate at least. They raised an outcry that the government was compounding with its creditors at the rate of 7/6 in the pound. But that was an extreme view of the case. To have fixed the value of the rixdollar higher than 1/6 would have been unjust to every debtor in the colony, except to the few who had borrowed money when the rate of exchange was higher. The government was not pledged to redeem any portion of the old Dutch debt, and as it was necessary in the interest of the colony, that the inconvertible paper currency should be replaced by coin of intrinsic value, its rate of exchange at the time was the fairest price to put upon it. Some cases of heavy loss and individual suffering undoubtedly did occur, but no national fraud was committed. For the redemption of the notes Treasury Bills were then issued at a premium of three per cent, until the old currency was entirely replaced by English metallic coin.

In December, 1827, an ordinance was issued, making provision for the creation of Justices of the Peace in the several districts of the colony. This ordinance, which is still in force, gives the Governor power, whenever he sees occasion, to appoint justices of the peace, whose principal duties are to preserve order, and who have power to call to their aid any subject of the crown of England for the purpose of assisting to quell any riot or disturbance, and further to commit all rioters to prison, to enquire into all crimes and offences committed within their jurisdiction, to summon and examine witnesses upon oath, and to apprehend or cause to be apprehended any criminal or offender.

At the same time the old courts of landdrost and heemraden were abolished, and in their stead Resident Magistrates were appointed. The duties which the landdrosts had performed, apart from the administration of justice, were entrusted to the magistrates in their capacity as Civil Commissioners of their respective districts. The abolition of the courts of landdrost and heemraden gave great dissatisfaction to the old colonists. The heemraad was a popular body, and served the useful purpose of giving dignity to the most deserving men in a district, as well as of furnishing a ready means of communication between the government and the people. But the suppression of such courts had become a necessity, inasmuch as their judgments were largely influenced by favour and prejudice.

The spirit of progress was visibly at work in the colony during this period. Commerce was freed from many restrictions. Custom houses were established at Algoa Bay and at the Kowie mouth, both of which ports were declared open to shipping. Attention was directed to the construction of better roads, and one mountain pass had been opened by military labour, at a cost to the colony of £7,000. For the purpose of imparting some education to European youth, a free government school

had been established in each village, in which instruction was given in the English language. New ideas had been brought into the country, and were being diffused among all classes of the inhabitants. In the east a civilized people had taken the place of barbarous hordes, and were laying the foundations of thriving villages and industries that in a few years were to produce a trade valued by millions sterling.

This period is remarkable for a great extension of missionary enterprise among the natives, both Kaffirs and Hottentots. After the death of Mr. WILLIAMS no missionaries were permitted to enter Kaffirland until June, 1820, when the Rev. JOHN BROWNLEE, of the London Society, was sent by the colonial government into the country, and founded a station in the Chumie valley, which was maintained until 1851. The Glasgow Missionary Society was formed in 1796. In 1820 it turned its attention to South Africa, and in the following year its first missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. W. R. THOMSON and JOHN BENNIE, arrived, who, in November, proceeded to the assistance of Mr. BROWNLEE at the Chumie. These were soon afterwards reinforced by others from Scotland, when stations further in advance were opened. In 1824 a station was formed at Lovedale. In 1825 Mr. BROWNLEE left Chumie entirely to the Glasgow missionaries, and founded, in connection with the London Society, a mission station on the eastern bank of the Buffalo River, which now forms part of the borough of King William's Town. In 1823 the Wesleyans commenced a mission in the country occupied by the sons of CUNGWA, from which they proceeded, in the course of a few years, to form a chain of stations through the heart of Kaffirland to the border of Natal. This Society carried on mission work vigorously wherever its members were settled, and its places of worship for whites and blacks were now seen rising side by side in several of the villages of Albany. The Anglican church was represented in the colony by many adherents among the British settlers, by the officers of government, some residents in Cape Town, and by a large portion of the army. It had its chaplains with the different regiments, and a few other clergymen; but as a rule did not at that time engage in mission work. Still, a commencement had been made, as the Rev. Mr. WRIGHT, in 1821, had founded a school at Wynberg for the instruction of coloured children, and in 1822 had established another in Cape Town for the same purpose. Among the Hottentots, the Moravians and missionaries of the London Society were working with zeal and effect. The former had founded two new stations, and the latter were now to be found in nearly every village in the colony, as well as at their own institutions. North of the Orange River they had stations among the Namaquas, Griquas, and Bechuanas, and were beginning already to exert a marked influence upon some of those tribes.

CHAPTER XIX.

FROM THE PASSING OF THE FIFTIETH ORDINANCE IN 1828 TO THE KAFFIR WAR OF 1835.

Principal Subjects:—Condition of the Hottentots in the Colony.—The Fiftieth Ordinance.—Formation of the Kat River Settlement.—Expedition against the Fecani.—Foundation of the South African College.—Occupation of Bushmanland.—Formation of the Village of Colesberg.—Establishment of a Supreme Court.—Creation of a Legislative Council.—Establishment of Missions by the Rhenish, Paris, and Berlin Societies.

Governors:—Sir RICHARD BOURKE.

Sir GALBRAITH LOWRY COLE,	Sept. 9, 1828.
Lieut.-Col. T. F. WADE, (acting)	Aug. 10, 1833.
Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN,	Jan. 16, 1834.

THE position of the Hottentots up to this time had been wretched in the extreme. They had access to the courts of law, but beyond this the English occupation of the country had as yet been of no advantage to them. Rather had it been the means of rivetting their fetters more firmly than before.

In 1809 a proclamation was issued by Lord Caledon, requiring the inhabitants of all parts of the colony to arrest every Hottentot who had no fixed place of residence and who was unprovided with a pass. As the great majority of these people did not possess an inch of land, this proclamation virtually placed the whole race in a condition of serfdom. It contained, indeed, clauses protecting the Hottentots from ill-treatment, securing their wages to them, and permitting them to change their employers upon fulfilling their terms of contract, but its object was to compel them to enter into service.

Soon after this, a regulation was made that no Hottentot could take up his residence at a mission station without the permission of the landdrost of his district, and the boundaries of new stations were purposely so circumscribed that it was impossible for any large number of people to maintain themselves upon them by agriculture. In general, the stations thus became receptacles for the old, infirm, and sick, while the young and hearty were compelled to serve the farmers at wages fixed by the employers. In some districts their condition was much worse than in others, as so great a discretionary power was conferred upon the landdrosts that whenever these happened to be humane men the position of the Hottentots was made tolerable, but if that was not the case, they were liable to be oppressed without chance of relief.

In April, 1812, a proclamation was issued by Sir JOHN CRADOCK, in which the landdrosts of the several districts were empowered to bind as apprentices to any persons selected by themselves, for a period of ten years, all Hottentot children of the age of eight years, whose parents had been in service at the period of their birth. No regulation under the government of the East India Company exceeded this in cruelty. The sufferings of the natives in those days resulted principally from the anarchy in which the whites on the frontier lived; but now, under a strong government, the laws were so modelled as to crush out their freedom and humanity. This edict completely ignored the rights of Hottentot parents to their children, and substituted government officers for the guardians appointed by nature.

In this manner the first few years of the second English occupation of the colony were marked by a disregard of the natural rights of the natives, which no effort of reasoning can justify and no national feeling excuse. In one matter only were the Hottentots looked upon in the light of citizens. In April, 1814, among other regulations made, was one by which a poll tax was levied upon the colonists, and which the residents at mission stations were required to pay, upon the same principle and at the same rate as white people. As the stations had become, under the operation of the colonial laws, the only asylums in the country for the sick and aged, this impost bore very hard upon them. Representations to this effect were made to the government by the missionaries, and in some few instances remission was obtained for such as were absolutely helpless; but these were exceptional cases, and the tax was exacted from all who could by any means pay it.

The government claimed and exercised the right of impressing as many able-bodied young Hottentots as were needed for the Cape regiment, and of compelling them to do any kind of public work for the most trifling remuneration.

Owing to the mode of carrying out the laws, they could seldom get reparation for injury. When a Hottentot who had been maltreated endeavoured to apply to a magistrate for redress, he had to run the risk of being arrested as a vagabond, as, of course, he could have no pass at the time. If he succeeded in reaching the office in safety, no sooner did he make his complaint than he was lodged in prison, and was there detained until the magistrate chose to investigate his case. If he was unable to prove his assertions, or if the magistrate considered the injury he had sustained insufficient to require redress, he was liable to be flogged severely for bringing frivolous charges against his master.

The prisons in the country districts were at that time sinks of misery. Into one small dungeon, unlit and unventilated, were crowded slaves and natives of both sexes, charged with every degree of crime or with no crime at all. The Hottentot, who preferred a charge of ill usage against his or her master, did so on peril of being incarcerated with thieves or murderers

for a week or a month, and of being flogged in addition, if the case should break down.

The missionaries were subjected to intolerable annoyance from any magistrate who was desirous of showing authority: they were required in a most arbitrary manner to furnish men for public works, to apprehend runaways, and to collect taxes. The farmers had no sympathy with the missionaries, and public opinion among the whites was mostly opposed to the existence of the institutions. The cause of this requires explanation, as, owing to the great moral progress since made in South Africa, these old feelings of antipathy have died out, and the labours of the missionary are now fully appreciated.

Fifty years ago mission work in this colony was yet in its infancy. The zeal of the teachers was unaided by experience. It was never difficult to draw a number of nominal converts together; the real work lay in inducing them to practice what they professed. To the colonists, a profession of Christianity, which was unaccompanied by honesty and industry, seemed valueless. By the missionary, it was regarded as at least a beginning, a seed which could not fail ultimately to produce good fruit. A few undoubtedly set too high a value upon mere words, and were so indiscreet as to draw pictures of the results of their teaching which to the colonists appeared at variance with the truth. Reports published in Great Britain found their way back to the colony, and were read with astonishment by those who looked upon the converts from a very different standpoint. At length the errors of a few came to be attributed by popular prejudice to all who were engaged in the work of converting the heathen. Mission reports were commonly spoken of as statements drawn up to deceive home readers, and, as a natural consequence, the writers were held in little estimation.

Further, it was plain that the mission stations tended to reduce the number of labourers and to raise the price of labour. The natives were there taught to wear European clothing, and became accustomed to the use of many articles which were afterwards necessaries of life to them. The servants required by the farmers were principally herdsmen, as agriculture was not carried on to any considerable extent except by the great slaveholders near the Cape, and a Hottentot in a sheepskin kaross, who was content with a ration of quagga's flesh, made as good a herd as one who wore jacket and trousers and required expensive food, while at the same time the latter necessarily required more wages than the former.

Another reason is to be found in the new ideas concerning manhood which the natives acquired at the mission stations. There, for the first time, they learnt that they were *men*, and found themselves treated as such. This was a lesson they could never forget, so that by those who were accustomed to the instant obedience and abject submission of slaves, the mission Hottentots soon came to be regarded as insolent and rebellious. The salaries of officials in the country districts were small, and were usually

supplemented by farming operations, so that the sympathy of these officers was almost universally with the whites against the natives, and thus it happened that year by year fewer able-bodied Hottentots were permitted to take up their residence permanently at mission stations.

Several of the leading men in South Africa were desirous of seeing an improvement in the condition of the Hottentots, and the pen of Mr. FAIRBAIRN, editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, was continually employed in their behalf. But to the Rev. Dr. PHILIP the honour is principally due of being the means of obtaining for the aborigines of the Cape Colony a restoration of their natural rights. He arrived in South Africa in 1819, having been appointed by the London Missionary Society superintendent of its institutions in and beyond the colony. Finding all his efforts for the improvement of the Hottentots paralyzed by the colonial system, under which these people, though called free men, were in reality mere serfs, he devoted himself to the task of effecting their emancipation, and though he encountered great opposition, he persevered until his object was attained. After endeavouring in vain to obtain from the local government redress for his clients, in April, 1828, he made an appeal to the people of England, by the publication of his RESEARCHES IN SOUTH AFRICA, in which the position of the Hottentots was clearly shown. A great outcry was raised by a section of the colonists against the author; but he had taken such pains to prove his statements that his position was unassailable. Some of the noblest men in England at once ranged themselves on Dr. PHILIP's side; Mr. FOWELL BUXTON gave notice of motion in the House of Commons that the rights of freemen should be restored to the Hottentot people, and BROUGHAM, MACINTOSH, and a host of others, prepared to take part in the debate.

Intelligence of what was going on there having reached the colony, the Governor and Council determined to be beforehand in the matter. On the 17th of July, 1828, the Fiftieth Ordinance was issued, which placed the Hottentots on the same footing as Europeans. The wording of this important document was entrusted to Captain STOCKENSTROM, an earnest friend of the natives, so that its clauses might not be made to bear a double interpretation. In the meantime, Sir GEORGE MURRAY, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, had made himself master of the case, and on the 19th of July, the day fixed for the discussion of Mr. BUXTON's motion, he announced in the Commons that the Imperial Government was prepared to grant all that was desired. This was accomplished by the Fiftieth Ordinance being confirmed, January 15th, 1829, by an Order in Council, and by the addition of a clause that it should not be competent for any future colonial administration to repeal any of its provisions. Had it not been for this clause, it is probable that the Cape government must have given way, so violent was the opposition to this Ordinance, and the great boon of personal liberty might have been withheld from the Hottentots for many years. In these days, when not one man in a thousand can be found

to deny the justice and expediency of this measure, it is difficult to enter into the motives which actuated so many of the colonists of that time, and caused them to consider the rights granted to one portion of the inhabitants as wrongs inflicted upon another.

The Hottentots and free people of colour, who were all included in the Fiftieth Ordinance, from this date rose rapidly in the scale of civilisation. They remained, indeed, in the position of labourers and servants, from which, without the possession of land, they could not reasonably be expected to have elevated themselves; but as free peasants they soon acquired comforts which as serfs they never enjoyed. The mixture of Hottentots with other persons of colour has since then been so great that there are now very few individuals of pure Hottentot blood in the colony, if the Koranna clans in the north be excepted. They have apparently passed that crisis, which is so dangerous to all savages brought into contact with civilisation, and which results either in their extinction or in the formation of an entirely new character. The vitality of the Hottentots would probably not have been sufficient to enable them to stand this shock, had they not been mixed with other coloured races. There is no possibility of forming an accurate estimate of their numbers at the time of the Dutch invasion; but it is a well established fact that the coast lands, if not the interior, of the present colony were then thickly peopled. At the time the Fiftieth Ordinance was promulgated there were not more than thirty-two thousand persons in the colony to benefit by it. This number includes Hotentots, Bushmen, freed persons of colour, and all the different races of mixed blood. The reduction in number must therefore have been very great. The mixed race is now increasing, the best proof that the crisis in their fate has passed. Throughout the colony they have long since adopted the clothing and food of Europeans, they have entirely lost the use of their own language and speak the colonial Dutch, a few possess a good share of property, and most of them profess Christianity. Since their acquisition of freedom, it cannot be doubted that they have more happiness and less suffering than their ancestors had before the white man first visited them.

As soon as the Fiftieth Ordinance was promulgated, the friends of the Hottentots began to urge upon the government the desirability of granting them land for settlements. But this could only be done to a limited extent, for it would have been impossible to withdraw the whole race from service without ruining the farmers. Facilities, however, were afforded for them to acquire land at mission stations, and one settlement on a large scale was planned. The valleys of the Kat River were selected for the purpose. MAQOMA, the ablest of the sons of NQIKA, had been permitted to reside there for the last eight years, but he had proved a most troublesome neighbour to the colonists. His followers were constantly plundering the farmers of cattle, and he was known to be preparing for war. Even then he was exerting himself to bring about a reconciliation between his

followers and his father's old enemies, with a view of making a combined attack upon the colony. He had just fallen upon one of the Tembu clans, which he defeated and pursued into colonial territory. The government then interfered, and in May, 1829, Colonel SOMERSET, with a mixed military and burgher commando, was sent to eject him from the Kat River. MAQOMA retired without resistance to the country along the Chumie.

Captain (afterwards Sir ANDRIES) STOCKENSTROM, who was then Commissioner General of Frontier Affairs, after whom the district was subsequently named, suggested that the vacant land should be allotted to Hottentots, who would thus form a barrier between the Kaffirs and European farmers. This suggestion was approved by the government, and was at once acted upon. Several small streams unite to form the Kat River, and in their valleys the land is easily irrigated and is of great fertility. The plan adopted was to form a number of villages, each divided into plots of from four to six acres in extent, upon which a family was to be placed. Ground not adapted to cultivation was to remain as a commonage, each family having the right to graze cattle thereon. The settlers were to remain five years on probation, at the expiration of which period those who had built cottages and brought the ground under cultivation were to receive grants in freehold, but all garden ground not improved within that time was then to revert to government.

The number of applicants was very great, and it was impossible to make a selection where all had equal claims. About four thousand persons were in the course of a few years located at the Kat River, the majority of whom, having just emerged from virtual slavery, were ill qualified, without some previous training, to occupy the position of independent landowners. Most of them were without any means, and had all the vices common to men in a state of bondage. If this be taken into consideration, the rapidity with which the settlement rose to a flourishing condition was almost marvellous. Watercourses for irrigating the land were at once made, and a large extent of ground was placed under cultivation, the richer settlers in the mean time assisting the poorer, while many derived their principal sustenance from the wild fruits of the earth. Two missionaries established themselves among the people: one, the Rev. W. R. THOMSON, supported by the government, and the other, the Rev. J. READ, sent thither by the London Society.

This, the largest settlement then in the colony, Cape Town excepted, was singularly free from crime, considering the antecedents of the residents; for many years neither a magistrate nor a policeman was required, while the judges of the circuit court had reason to congratulate themselves upon the trifling amount of labour they were called upon to perform in connection with it. At the same time, the Hottentot location was looked upon with great distrust by many individuals in the colony, more especially when the settlers there were provided with firearms by the government, for the purpose of protecting themselves in case of an attack

by the Kaffirs. It was apprehended that they were more likely to unite with the Kaffirs and use these arms against the colonists, than to employ them in their own defence. But the immediate results were satisfactory, and there is no reason to doubt that this institution would ultimately have realized the utmost expectation of its founders, had not influences, which were not then foreseen, in after years been brought to bear upon it.

The wars which originated with TSHAKA, chief of the Zulus, and which turned a large part of south-eastern Africa into a desert, disturbed even the native tribes on the colonial frontier. For ten or twelve years past, bands of fugitives had been entering Kaffirland from the countries now known as Basutoland and Natal. Some of them came as suppliants, asking for nothing but to be allowed to live. These were doomed to slavery, but under the name of Fingoes they will be found to play an important part in future South African history. Others came with weapons in their hands, pillaging the country and committing the most dreadful atrocities until they were exterminated. They were known to colonists and natives alike by the general name of Fecani, a word which means simply robber bands.

The most formidable body of these marauders was that which fell upon the Abatembu in the years 1827 and 1828. It was led by MATIWANA, a chief who had acquired a terrible reputation for cruelty. His tribe, the Amangwana, had been driven from their country about the lower course of the Tugela by a Zulu army, and had fled westward over the Quathlamba, scattering and driving before them the clans that were in their line of march. MATIWANA mixed in the whirlwind of confusion that existed at the time in Basutoland, and then with a horde, of which the remnant of his original clan was only the nucleus, he crossed the Quathlamba somewhere near the principal source of the Umzimvubu. Proceeding in a south-westerly direction, he ravaged the country through which he passed. Near the Hangklip mountain, in what is now the district of Queenstown, the Tombus tried to make a stand, but were defeated and dispersed.

The invaders next prepared to attack and destroy the Gcalekas. There can be no doubt that they would have succeeded in exterminating or driving out the original inhabitants of Kaffirland, just as the Zulus had exterminated and driven out those of Natal, if the colonial government had not interfered. But the cry for help which the perishing tribes sent forth could not be disregarded. Apart altogether from philanthropic motives, there was imminent danger that a large section of the Tembus and Gcalekas would be precipitated upon the colony as a body of destitute fugitives. To prevent this, a commando was sent against MATIWANA.

In August, 1828, the colonial forces, aided by a horde of those natives to whose assistance they had gone, fell upon the main body of the Fecani, and defeated them with tremendous loss. All Kaffirland was aroused, and the scattered fragments of MATIWANA's horde were attacked on every side and nearly annihilated. A few succeeded in making their escape into

Basutoland, a few more were permitted to live as slaves. MATIWANA himself, with a handful of followers, fled towards the land of his birth, being in hopes of obtaining the protection of DINGAN, who had succeeded TSHAKA as chief of the Zulus. But in this he was disappointed. DINGAN caused the followers of MATIWANA to be butchered, the eyes of the fallen chief were then put out, after which his neck was twisted.

In 1829 the South African College was founded, the necessary capital being subscribed by a number of colonists who were anxious to provide superior education for their sons. For this purpose they formed a Company, which was incorporated by an Ordinance in 1837. The government of the College was vested in a Council of seventeen members, fifteen of whom were elected by the shareholders and two were appointed by the Governor. The Ordinance provided that in addition to ordinary teachers there should be four Professors, namely, one of English Literature and Classics, one of Dutch Literature and Modern Languages, one of Physical Science, and one of Mathematics. A sum of money which, with some immovable property, had been bequeathed for educational purposes by various persons about the end of the last and the beginning of the present centuries, was made over to the Council, and the government advanced £2000 for building purposes, on which interest at the rate of four per cent per annum is yet paid. Several valuable donations have since been made, so that the College has now a number of scholarships at its disposal. It continues to the present day to hold the first place as an educational institution, though several other excellent colleges have more recently been established in different parts of the colony.

The village of Malmesbury, about forty-five miles north of Cape Town, received its present name in 1829, being called after the lady of Sir LOWRY COLE. Before that time it was a hamlet containing nothing more than a church for the convenience of the neighbouring farmers; but being in the heart of a splendid corn-growing district, as soon as roads were made its growth was rapid.

In 1830 the village of Colesberg was founded, in a narrow valley not far from the Orange River. It was named after Sir LOWRY COLE. The country around it not being adapted to agriculture, the village depended for its existence upon trade with the Griquas and nomad farmers, which was not very great, so that for many years the place remained a mere hamlet.

In 1830 a good road was completed through Sir Lowry's Pass, in the Hottentots' Holland mountains. Previous to this, communication by land with the districts eastward of Stellenbosch had been difficult, so that the opening of this pass on the main line of road along the coast was of great benefit to the country. In 1831 the South African Fire and Life Assurance Company was established, an institution whose success caused the formation of similar companies in different parts of the colony.

In 1834 the old High Court of Justice was superseded by the present Supreme Court, under authority of a Charter of Justice issued by the King

in Council. The old Orphan Chamber was abolished, its duties being entrusted to the Master of the Supreme Court.

In 1834 another step was made towards a more perfect form of government. By Letters Patent issued at Westminster on the 23rd of October, 1833, His Majesty directed that there should be a Legislative as well as an Executive Council for the Cape Colony. The Legislative Council thus created was to consist of not less than ten nor more than twelve members, exclusive of the Governor. Five of the members were to be holders of office under the Crown, and the remainder were to be selected by the Governor from the principal landowners and merchants who had been resident in South Africa longer than two years. The laws of the colony were made by the Governor and such a Council conjointly for the next twenty years.

In the north the system of warfare so long pursued against the Bushmen was still continued. No change of government made any change in the relationship between the colonists and these wretched creatures. It was believed to be impossible for Europeans and Bushmen to dwell together on the same soil, and therefore the sooner the savages were got rid of the better. They were hardly regarded as human beings by any except a few missionaries. Thus we find even Lord MACARTNEY, the most philanthropic of all our governors before the arrival of Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND, authorizing landdrosts to raise commandos for their destruction whenever they should think proper to do so. The country between the interior chain of mountains and the Orange River, which had always been peculiarly a hunting ground of these people, and which was then known as Bushmanland, was not yet formally annexed to the colony, but it was considered to be in some measure the property of the colonial government. Boers were constantly in the habit of entering it and selecting farms in places where water was procurable. The ordinary course of proceeding was then to apply to the nearest magistrate for permission to settle on the selected farm; the magistrate forwarded the application to government, and it was usually granted. A tract of land held in this manner was called a request place, until such time as it could be surveyed and classed as a quitrent farm. As soon as it was thus taken possession of, the Bushmen were considered intruders upon it, and if they plundered the stock of the new occupant, a commando was called into requisition. In course of time most of the springs were thus alienated, and the game being driven out or becoming extinct, the remnant of the Bushman race had no resource but to retreat into the Kalahari desert. From this time they cease to require notice as a distinct race within the British settlement, and according to the census of 1875, there are now only four hundred and twenty-one Bushmen in the whole colony.

The Rhenish Missionary Society was founded in 1828, and during the next year three missionaries were sent to this country. They established themselves first at Stellenbosch, where they laboured among the coloured

population; but soon afterwards they founded stations in other parts of the colony and even in the far interior. The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society was founded in 1822, and in 1829 three of its missionaries were sent to South Africa. One of them took up his residence at Wellington, where he laboured among the slaves, the others devoted themselves to the Bechuanas. Subsequently, being reinforced, they carried the Word of God to the Basutos, among whom their labours have been eminently successful. The Berlin Missionary Society was founded in 1824. In 1834, four of its missionaries arrived in South Africa, who were followed by others in successive years. The first station occupied was Beaufort West, but they soon spread themselves among the Korannas, Bechuanas, and Kaffirs in and beyond the colony. All of these societies still continue active operations in South Africa.

During this period the colony maintained a steady advance in prosperity. The progress of the eastern districts, especially, in agricultural and commercial wealth was very marked. Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth had become important centres of trade. The country was dotted over with comfortable farmhouses, the owners of which, having overcome their early difficulties, believed that fair prospects were before them. The English settlers were living on friendly terms with their neighbours of colonial origin, and intermarriages were becoming not uncommon. From the valleys of Albany, Alexandria, and Somerset, the Kaffir pick had disappeared, and in its stead might be seen the English plough. The difference between these implements was not less marked than the moral difference between the old order of things and the new. Substantial buildings were rising not only in the villages founded by the British settlers, but in the older ones of Graaff Reinet and Uitenhage in the east, and George, Swellendam, and others in the west. In all of these, stores and shops exhibited the appearance of commercial activity. The chief villages of the colony and the military stations were connected by regular weekly posts, the mails no longer being conveyed by Hottentot runners at irregular intervals, as in days gone by. Grahamstown, as well as Cape Town, now had its bookstore and its newspaper,—the *Journal*, established in 1829 under the able management of Mr. ROBERT GODLONTON. Churches and schools were certainly not as plentiful as they are now; but there was scarcely a hamlet without a place of worship, and education was not altogether neglected.

Such was the condition of the country immediately before the Kaffir War of 1835. For years past thefts of stock had been frequent, but as 1834 wore on, a dread of greater evil than this was felt throughout the frontier districts. The Ngqika clans were unusually restless, and a suspicious circumstance was that horses rather than horned cattle were selected by robbers. The military force had of late years been considerably reduced, and at this time the defence of the whole line of frontier from the Winterberg to the sea was entrusted to about seven hundred and fifty men of all arms; with a small reserve at Cape Town.

CHAPTER XX.

KAFFIR HISTORY, INCLUDING THE WAR OF 1835.

SINCE the events recorded in a previous chapter, a great change had taken place in the relationship of the border clans to each other. The old chief NDLAMBE had died, and with him were buried those bitter feelings of hatred and resentment which had divided the Kaffirs on the frontier into two sections arrayed against each other. MDUSHANE also was dead, and his son SITOLO, intent upon securing as much power as possible while his brother of the great house was yet a child, was courting the friendship of the Ngqikas. MAQOMA was now unquestionably the chief of greatest influence in Kaffirland. A man of only medium stature, but strong and muscular, he was renowned among his countrymen for personal bravery and great power of endurance, and was accredited also with the possession of more than ordinary mental ability. For a long time he had been regarded by his father as a formidable rival, rather than as a dutiful subject. Restless and daring adventurers from all the clans were constantly swelling the number of his followers, and his great place (as the residence of a chief of rank is called) was a refuge where lawless and dissatisfied characters were sure to meet a welcome. Their proximity to the farmers of Albany and Somerset gave them an opportunity of displaying their skill in stocklifting, which they were always ready to engage in. The system which was then in force, of making reprisals by means of commandos, served to keep up constant irritation, and united the clans in a common feeling of hostility to the white man.

Some instances of the operations of commandos will illustrate the relationship in which the Europeans and Kaffirs stood towards each other at this period. In December, 1823, Major SOMERSET received orders to form a combined military and burgher commando, with which he was to seize the cattle of the chief MAQOMA. He stated in his official report that he succeeded in surprising the kraal of MAQOMA at daybreak of the 5th, and that he secured seven thousand cattle, with which he retreated to Fort Beaufort, without a single man in his commando being hurt. This affair was termed in the *Government Gazette* a gallant and meritorious exploit, and there is not the least doubt that it was considered as such by the colonists. But there is just as little doubt that the Kaffirs believed they had been surprised and plundered. In this instance, the cattle were driven to Fort Beaufort, where those who had suffered losses by theft were compensated, after which the remaining cattle were sent back. In 1830, part of a commando that had entered Kaffirland to make reprisals for stolen cattle arrived at the kraal of SEKO, a chief of high rank, being the brother

of NDLAMBE and uncle of NGQIKA. Here, although no stolen cattle were discovered, those belonging to the kraal were seized; but, upon the chief's remonstrating, the milch cows were returned, and permission was granted to him to accompany the commando to Fort Willshire, there to state his grievance, upon condition that he and some of his followers should assist in driving the cattle. Upon the road, some of the tribe, hovering in the rear of the commando, attempted a rescue by whistling in a peculiar manner, their cattle being trained to follow such signals, upon which the chief and six of his people were shot dead on the spot. In whatever light this affair was viewed in the colony, the Kaffirs regarded it as an outrage of the gravest nature, as, according to their customs, the person of a chief of high rank is inviolable.

On the 4th of November, 1829, the old chief NGQIKA died at his great place on the Keiskama River. This had always been his favourite residence, and there, close to Burnshill, his remains were buried. His principal heir, SANDILE by name, was yet a child, and so MAQOMA was appointed regent during his brother's minority. At the head of the united clans, he was now the most powerful chief on the border. His principal kraals at this time were in the Chumie valley, whither he had retired after he was expelled from the Kat River. There also lived his brother TYALI, of the left hand house, a man of less ability, and distinguished for nothing beyond his handsome personal appearance. Meantime thefts of cattle from the colonists were constantly increasing, so that the Governor considered it necessary to drive the marauders further from the border. The territory between the Keiskama and Great Fish Rivers was still claimed under NGQIKA's cession, and MAQOMA was held to be living at the Chumie only on sufferance. In December, 1833, the clans were expelled from the valley, and were driven some distance to the eastward. As this was in the middle of the growing season, they were obliged to leave their crops of millet behind, which were afterwards destroyed. It was hoped that this severe lesson would teach them to abstain from robbery, but it was given in vain, for they were already preparing for war.

On the 2nd of December, 1834, a party of eleven soldiers and four burghers was sent into Kaffirland to recover four horses stolen from a farmer twelve days before, or to make reprisals for the theft. The spoor had been traced to one of the kraals of NQENO, chief of the petty clan Amalanga or Amambala, who had been permitted to reside in the ceded territory, but whose people had abused this privilege by making frequent forays upon the frontier farms. On this occasion NQENO had promised to make reasonable compensation for the theft, but had failed to keep his word. The patrol seized forty head of cattle, and was returning to Fort Willshire when it was attacked. The officer in charge was severely wounded, but the party reached the fort without further casualties, and even succeeded in preventing the recapture of the cattle. Colonel SOMERSET, commandant of the frontier, at once took measures to punish the Amambala. With a detachment of the

Cape Mounted Rifles he proceeded to the Keiskama, summoned the chief to his presence, and demanded the delivery of one hundred and fifty head of cattle together with all the stolen horses in possession of the tribe, and the immediate removal of the people of the offending kraal from the ceded territory. NQENO submitted, and gave up one hundred and thirty-seven head of horned cattle and thirteen horses, which were distributed among those farmers who had suffered most severely from depredations.

On the 11th of the same month, a military patrol was sent out to remove some trespassers on colonial lands and make reprisals for stolen horses. This party, having seized some cattle belonging to the chief TYALI, was attacked, and with difficulty succeeded in retreating to Fort Beaufort, with only one man wounded, after having killed two Kaffirs and wounded two, one of whom was a chief of rank, XOXO by name, a brother of MAQOMA and TYALI. The chief was merely scratched in the forehead, and two days afterwards no trace of the wound was perceptible, but this occurrence was put forward by the Kaffirs as a pretext for war. "The blood of a chief," said MAQOMA to his warriors, "must not be shed with impunity."

An attempt had previously been made by MAQOMA to draw the Hottentots of the Cape Corps into rebellion. A portion of that regiment was stationed at Fort Willshire, and some of these promised to deliver the fort into his hands, if an opportunity offered. He accordingly surrounded it with a large party of followers, who lay in ambush in the neighbourhood for thirty-six hours, but the conspirators were unable to fulfil their agreement.

Immediately after this, the Kaffirs commenced to attack isolated farms and drive off cattle, intelligence of which having reached Grahamstown, every possible preparation for defence was at once made by the inhabitants. On the 22nd, a horde of warriors, usually estimated at ten or twelve thousand in number, crossed the boundary, and in a few days spread themselves over the whole country as far westward as Uitenhage, pillaging and burning farm houses, sweeping off stock, and murdering those farmers who were unable to escape. Men were butchered with savage ferocity, but only in a few instances were women or children put to death, (and in these it would appear to have been done undesignedly), though several died subsequently of privations and suffering caused by the war. After ravaging the country, the main body of the Kaffirs retreated about the 30th and 31st, carrying with them an immense booty.

The inhabitants of the frontier districts were thus suddenly reduced to the greatest distress. As regards the British settlers, the fruit of fourteen years' perseverance and industry was at once swept away, and they were now as homeless and helpless as on the day they landed. From all sides the scattered inhabitants fled to Grahamstown for the preservation of their lives, and about two thousand people, most of whom a few weeks previously had been in comfortable circumstances, were assembled there in complete destitution, all property having been necessarily abandoned in the hurry of flight from their farms.

The position of the missionaries in Kaffirland was most perilous. At the outbreak of hostilities MAQOMA had given orders that they were not to be molested, because, said he, "we are fighting with those who go on commandos, not against men of peace who have come to our country to teach us." But in the excited state of the people, the commands of the chiefs were not always attended to. Several traders had been murdered, and the missionaries felt that the same fate might be theirs at any moment. At Mr. KAYSER'S station, on the Keiskama, a trader took refuge in the mission house. A party of men approached and asked him to come out and give them his goods, promising that if he would comply his life should be spared. Being entirely in their power, he had no alternative, and when only a few paces from the door, he was struck down with assegais. Mr. KAYSER begged them not to murder the helpless man, but they told him to go inside quickly, or they would do the same to him. "He has brought many commandos into our country," said one, "and therefore we kill him." At Mr. BROWNLEE'S station, on the Buffalo, another trader took refuge. Most of the people there were subjects of the petty Amantinde chief TSHATSHU, and professed Christianity, so that no immediate danger was apprehended. But TSHATSHU'S followers were soon driven away by a lawless band, Mr. BROWNLEE'S cattle were swept off, and then the mission house was surrounded and a demand made for the delivery of the trader. The missionary, however, succeeded in protecting him till nightfall, when they, together with Mr. BROWNLEE'S family, made their escape, and ultimately succeeded in reaching Wesleyville in safety, where they were protected by the GQUNUKWEBE clans. In the hour of greatest danger and distress, the missionaries received assistance where it was least to be expected. SUTU, widow of NGQIKA and mother of the paramount chief SANDILE, was then residing at Burnshill, one of the Glasgow Society's stations. She had naturally great influence over the Ngqika tribes, and though a heathen, she declared herself the protectress of the Christian teachers. To Burnshill then fled all the missionaries in the Ngqika country, except Messrs. CHALMERS and WEIR, who with their families escaped from the Chumie station to the Kat River. Under SUTU'S eye they were safe, and there they remained until towards the close of January, when a strong patrol from the colony reached them, and rescued four traders and thirty-five members of mission families, all of them completely destitute.

Intelligence of the invasion reached Cape Town by express on the night of the 31st of December. Orders were immediately issued to despatch every available soldier to the seat of war, and to assemble burgher commandos and Hottentot levies to follow as quickly as possible. Colonel (afterwards Sir HARRY) SMITH left Cape Town the same night, and arrived in Grahamstown six days afterwards, where he assumed command and initiated measures to prevent further inroads into the colony. Martial law was proclaimed in force in the ravaged districts, and every male inhabitant capable of bearing arms was called into service.

Meanwhile the chief TYALI had made overtures for peace, but on terms that could not be granted. He caused a letter to be written to the Governor, in which he attempted to justify himself and his people for having made war, and asked for two hundred head of cattle as payment for the wound inflicted on XOXO.

Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, having appointed a Provisional Government to act during his absence from Cape Town, arrived on the frontier on the 20th of January. One of his first acts after reaching Grahamstown was to appoint a Board for the relief of the destitute, giving them power to draw from the Commissariat such supplies as were requisite to alleviate the existing distress. Committees were afterwards formed in Cape Town and the principal villages of the colony to raise subscriptions in assistance, and even in India, the Mauritius, and St. Helena, considerable sums were collected and forwarded. During the remainder of the year applications representing over eight thousand persons were made to the Board for relief. As soon as burgher commandos could be organized and brought to the front, an attempt was made to strike a decisive blow. It was ascertained that the Kaffirs in considerable force were in one of the fastnesses of the Fish River, within a day's march of Grahamstown, and a combined movement of troops and burghers took place with a view of surprising them there. But it was unsuccessful, as the enemy with his cattle fell back upon the Amatolas.

It was by this time certain that the Gcalekas, who professed to be neutral, were connected with the war party, as one trader in their country had been murdered and two others plundered of everything, and a large portion of the stock collected in the raid on the colony had been driven thither for security. In March a messenger was sent by Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN to the chief HINTSA, but could obtain no satisfaction. The Governor, therefore, with a small but well-equipped force, invaded the Gcaleka country, leaving behind him his lieutenants to cope in the Amatolas and other fastnesses with the Rarabe tribes. On the 15th of April the troops crossed the Kei, HINTSA'S western boundary. As there were still hopes of a satisfactory arrangement being made, a general order was issued to the effect that the territory then entered was not to be treated as an enemy's, and no act of hostility was to be committed against the inhabitants. The advance guard was entering the river when a solitary Kaffir made his appearance on the eastern bank. True to the policy of his chief, he requested to be told the name of the stream. He was informed that the Governor knew it was the Kei, and intended to cross it, but without hostile intentions if HINTSA would come to an amicable arrangement. With this message he was sent to the chief, and the troops then moved on to the mission station of Butterworth. They found the mission house and chapel in ruins, and learnt that the whites who had been residing in the country had all fled to the Tembu chief VUSANI for protection. A patrol was immediately sent to their relief, and was successful in bringing

to the camp about a hundred persons who had lost everything but their lives. HINTSA having declined to make his appearance, and a straggler from an express party having been murdered, on the 24th war with the Gcalekas was formally declared. Patrols were at once sent out, and within a few days nearly twenty thousand head of cattle were seized. The rapidity with which the troops moved and the evident impossibility of successfully resisting them, struck such terror into the great chief that, under promise of personal safety, he visited the British camp and arranged terms of peace. These were, the restoration of fifty thousand head of cattle and a thousand horses which had been driven into his country, assistance in bringing the Rarabe tribes to submission, the punishment of the murderers of two British subjects, the payment of three hundred head of good cattle to each of the widows, and the delivery of two hostages to be detained until the terms should be fulfilled. This was on the 30th of April, 1835.

Upon the arrival of the British forces in HINTSA'S country, they were joined by a great number of Fingoes. These people consisted of the remnants of once powerful tribes that had been dispersed and driven southwards by the conquests of TSHAKA, with whom were afterwards united a few of the Fecani who had been routed by the colonial commando in 1828. Since the loss of their independence, they had been living in bondage among the Amaxosa, by whom they were treated with great cruelty. Their persons and property were alike always at the disposal of the tyrants whose gardens they cultivated and whose cattle they herded. A Fingo was commonly addressed by a Kaffir as "dog," and was regarded exactly as if he was one. The arrival of British troops offered to many of them an opportunity of escape from this deplorable condition, of which they availed themselves with gladness. There were, of course, many others who could not make their way to the British camp, as an attempt to do so would have subjected them to immediate massacre, and of these some were not rescued until 1851. The Governor determined to release from slavery as many of these people as possible, and to give them a tract of land on the eastern bank of the Great Fish River, where he hoped they would, under British protection, become a thriving and friendly tribe. On the 2nd of May the troops commenced their march homewards, driving before them the herds of captured cattle, and accompanied by sixteen thousand Fingoes, men, women, and children, together with some converts from the Wesleyan mission stations of Butterworth, Clarkbury, and Morley. These latter resolved to accompany their teachers, who had been appointed by the Governor to be the instructors of the Fingoes in the country he intended them to occupy. On the 15th they arrived at their destination, now the district of Peddie, where a settlement was formed which afterwards became of great importance to the colony.

The hostages detained for the due fulfilment of the terms of peace were SARILI, the chief's great son, and BURU, the chief's brother. HINTSA himself voluntoered to accompany a military party under command of Colonel

SMITH, who was deputed by the Governor to receive the cattle and horses. His object may have been to lead the patrol into an ambush where it could be destroyed, or, more probably, he may have been desirous of making it appear impossible to collect the cattle he had agreed to deliver. On this point nothing positive is known, for as the party was marching according to his directions, he attempted to escape, having previously issued secret instructions that the cattle were to be driven beyond reach. He managed to get away from the troops, and had gained a thicket on the bank of a small stream, when he was shot dead by a colonist who pursued him. He was permitted to carry a bundle of assegais, and one of these was poised in his hand ready to be thrown at his pursuer when he received his death wound. Leaving his dead body to the care of his people, several of whom were in sight at the time, the patrol made a hasty march along a great cattle spoor running eastward, and succeeded in capturing three thousand head, but not until they had crossed the Bashee. There they learnt that, according to HINTSA's orders, all the remaining stock had been driven over the Umtata, so that further pursuit was useless. The patrol accordingly returned to head quarters. The death of HINTSA raised his son SARILI to the chieftainship. He was at once liberated by the Governor, and a treaty of peace was made with him.

To the westward of the Kei the tribes were yet unsubdued. They had suffered very greatly, and had been driven out of all their strongholds except the Amatolas, but there they stood at bay. Parties of them still continued, however, to make incursions into the frontier districts, and every head of cattle that was not well guarded was instantly captured. Military reinforcements had meanwhile arrived in the colony, and in August the Kaffirs were attacked so vigorously and their losses were so great, that they were compelled to sue for peace. They offered to surrender the sovereignty of the country, and promised to conduct themselves thereafter as orderly and obedient subjects. On these terms peace was concluded at Fort Willshire on the 17th of September, and the district between the Great Fish and the Kei rivers was proclaimed a British province. A Commission was then appointed, with Colonel SMITH as its president, for the purpose of locating the different tribes, defining the boundaries of their respective possessions, and generally reducing the country to order.

On the 11th of November the missionaries, who were still in the colony and anxious to resume their work, received official intimation that they were at liberty to return to their stations, and would receive, on application to the Governor, grants of land for mission purposes.

The direct loss of the colonists in this war amounted to nearly £290,000; one hundred and twenty-eight persons in all were killed and wounded on the British side. On the Kaffir side the loss of life was very great, and, although they swept off an immense number of cattle in the great raid, they were much poorer when the war ended that when it began. It entailed misery upon thousands, both black and white, and some of its effects were

of a lasting nature. For many years after this, the disposition of the British settlers towards the Kaffir race was less friendly than it had been previously. The remembrance of their murdered relatives, of their desolated farms and pillaged homesteads, coupled with the knowledge that, so far as they were concerned, the invasion was unprovoked, caused them in after years to regard with constant suspicion the race from whose hands they had suffered so much.

In this war nearly the whole of the Amaxosa were united against the colony. After the death of NDLAMBE, (February, 1828,) the petty clans that had been in alliance with him gradually went over to MAQOMA, with the exception of the Gqunukwebes under PATO, KAMA, and KOBE. MQAYI declined the overtures of the Ngqikas, and at the commencement of hostilities went to reside with PATO. He had, however, very few followers, as his brother MHALA, who was by far the abler man of the two, had succeeded in securing the allegiance of the greater portion of the tribe. MHALA warmly espoused the Ngqika cause, and was very active in the war. The Gqunukwebe clans showed their friendship to the colony by protecting as many missionaries and traders as sought shelter among them. The Wesleyan missionaries had great influence with these people, which, together with their hereditary hostility to the house of NGQIKA, may account for their not joining their countrymen. The Tembus preserved during this war a neutrality that was more favourable to the Europeans than to the Amaxosa.

There was a general impression among the Rarabe tribes that they would be joined by the Hottentots of the Kat River settlement. A few evil-disposed individuals had made representations to that effect to the chiefs, and had been active in urging on hostilities. Such an alliance was deemed not improbable by the colonists, and they especially distrusted the fidelity of a great number of squatters of mixed Kaffir and Hottentot blood, who had gradually located themselves at the Kat River, and through whose means sedition might easily be spread. When the great raid was made upon the colony, cattle belonging to the Hottentots were not seized, and a few, which accidentally fell into the hands of the Kaffirs, were restored by order of the chiefs. But if any treasonable intentions existed, they were checked by the judicious measures adopted by the officer sent to take charge of the settlement. There were some eighty men of mixed European and Hottentot extraction, whose loyalty could be thoroughly depended upon, and it was easy to convince the Hottentot landowners that their interests were all on the side of the colony. With these to aid him, he assembled the whole of the inhabitants, and without betraying any distrust of those whom secretly he believed to be rebelliously inclined, he led them to commit themselves by taking an active part against the enemy. From that time they proved faithful, though the Kaffirs, who at first could hardly credit the fact that these people were now in arms against them, made repeated attacks upon the settlement, and succeeded in driving off a good many cattle. The Hottentots of Theopolis defended their station with

great bravery, when it was attacked, and afterwards were of material assistance to the colonists. In common with the European residents of the frontier, they lost nearly everything they had possessed. A considerable part of the force that invaded Kaffirland was composed of Hottentot levies raised in different parts of the colony.

The Governor's intentions with regard to the country lately acquired were, to cover the Fish River fastnesses by filling up the district as far as the Keiskama,—that is, the old ceded territory,—with Fingoes and European settlers, among whom those sufferers by the late war who chose to receive grants of land were to have been included; and to reserve the district between the Keiskama and the Kei for the conquered Rarabe tribes. These were to be governed through their own chiefs, and according to their own customs so far as these were not opposed to the laws of the colony and to common morality. A magisterial control was to be kept over them, missionaries were to be encouraged to settle among them, commerce, except in munitions of war and intoxicating liquors, was to be unrestricted, and order was to be enforced by the formation of a chain of forts running through the country and garrisoned by British troops. A site was selected for the seat of government, and named after the reigning prince King William's Town, the district being called after his spouse the Province of Queen Adelaide. Had these plans been carried out in their integrity, there is little doubt that future wars would have been prevented, while the natives would have been brought under civilizing influences, and would, in time, have regarded their conquerors as benefactors. Experience since then has proved that nothing could have been better devised for their improvement. A paramount power, external to themselves, appears to be absolutely necessary to prevent the clans from continually waging war upon each other.

The extension of the boundary to the Kei secured a frontier line preferable to that of the Fish River. The valley of the latter stream contains a wide belt of dense jungle, in which an enemy like the Kaffirs could readily find shelter, and which was a secure lurking place for robbers. The river has numerous fords, and, except when flooded, offers hardly any obstruction to the retreat of marauders. The valley of the Kei is open, the banks of the river are in many places sheer precipices, and the fords are few, so that this line can be more easily defended in war and more securely guarded in peace. On this account the arrangements made by Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN were to the advantage of the colony; but as the greater portion of the territory thus taken in was reserved for the natives, the area of European occupation would not have been much enlarged.

CHAPTER XXI.

FROM THE KAFFIR WAR OF 1835 TO THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES IN 1838.

Principal Subjects:—Restoration of the Province of Queen Adelaide to the Kaffirs.—Effects of that measure.—Appointment of Magistrates to Clanwilliam, Cradock, and Colesberg.—Establishment of the Cape of Good Hope Bank.—Emancipation of the Slaves.—Great Emigration of Dutch Farmers.

Governors:—Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN.
Sir GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, January 22, 1838.

UNFORTUNATELY for all parties, accounts had reached England concerning the causes of hostilities, and the manner in which the war had been conducted, which induced Lord GLENELG, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to consider the Kaffirs as the aggrieved party, and the war justifiable on their part. In a despatch, dated 28th of December, 1835, he said:—

"In the conduct which was pursued towards the Kaffir nation by the colonists and the public authorities of the colony, through a long series of years, the Kaffirs had ample justification of the late war; they had to resent, and endeavoured justly, though impotently, to avenge a series of encroachments; they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment, however hopeless, of extorting by force that redress which they could not expect otherwise to obtain; and the claim of sovereignty over the new province must be renounced. It rests upon a conquest resulting from a war in which, as far as I am at present enabled to judge, the original justice is on the side of the conquered, not of the victorious party."

This despatch,—particularly the above extract,—created great indignation in the colony. The minister who wrote it was a member of a society that had for its object the protection of the rights of aborigines, and that has more than once fallen into grave errors by ascribing the same objects and applying the same principles to barbarians as to civilized nations. He received his information from the leaders of a small party in the colony, who maintained that the Kaffirs were possessed of virtues such as no barbarous tribes have ever had, that the accounts of their depredations had been exaggerated, and that if treaties were made with them they would be respected. The Rev. Dr. PHILIP and the Editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, men whose names must ever be respected in South Africa as promoters of liberty and civilization, unfortunately held and advanced these opinions. Their representations were credited in England, and by one more fully than by Lord GLENELG.

In reality, war had been inevitable from the time when the two nations, so very different in character, but each in its own way a conquering race, came in contact with each other. By good management it might have been postponed for a time, but there could have been no lasting peace until a trial of strength had been made.

The war had been hastened by the vacillating, and frequently weak, policy of the government, which at one time would mercilessly avenge a petty theft, and at another submit quietly to wholesale robbery; by the commando-reprisal system; by the indignities to which some of the chiefs had been subjected; and by encroachments upon the Kaffir territory. To the first of these causes the colonists of that day attributed the outbreak, the last three were those which the Kaffirs put forward as justifying them in commencing hostilities. But for the general policy towards the natives, the successive Secretaries of State for the Colonies were alone responsible, as the colonists had then no voice whatever in the government, and their representations were constantly disregarded.

Undoubtedly, a vast amount of injustice was perpetrated under the commando-reprisal system. Not unfrequently reprisals were made from kraals innocent of the theft for which they were thus made answerable, and instances are on record where cattle were seized as compensation for others which had strayed, though these were afterwards restored when those supposed to have been stolen were found. And with all the evils occasioned by the system, there was no corresponding benefit, for it did not in the least check theft, much less prevent it. How that is to be effectually accomplished is to the present day one of the most difficult questions for solution in South Africa, and will probably so remain until Christianity and civilization produce a complete change in the great body of the Kaffir people. The other complaints made by the natives were not without foundation, but the acts upon which they rested were the consequences of their own thieving propensities. SEKO was killed, XOXO was wounded, and MAQOMA was repeatedly insulted, all by patrols in search of stolen cattle. It was with a vain hope of preventing stock-lifting that Lord CHARLES SOMERSET pressed upon NGQIKA the cession of the district between the Great Fish and the Keiskama, it was in punishment for stock-lifting that MAQOMA was pushed further and further back.

There were indeed incidents in the war of such a nature as to cause a man like Lord GLENELG, with a high sense of honour and no acquaintance with savage life, to disapprove of the conduct of his countrymen. Reports of the burning of villages and destruction of crops, and accounts of Kaffir losses, in which women and children figured among the killed and wounded, must have been read by him as records of wanton cruelty, while the disproportionate loss of life by the Kaffirs may have occasioned a suspicion that the ordinary rules of warfare had not been observed. His standpoint of observation being so far distant, his views and those of the colonists could hardly fail to be different. To one on the spot, the burning of a

native village was known to be nothing more than the destruction of a few days' labour of the women belonging to it, a matter of little consequence in native estimation, and frequently a necessity in a military view. Crops were destroyed for the purpose of reducing the commissariat supplies of the enemy, a practice nowise repugnant to the usages of civilized nations. Women and children were killed and wounded only when mixed with men upon whom a sudden attack was made, and the enormous loss of the Kaffirs in life arose from the circumstance that they could be reached with firearms when their opponents could not be reached with assegais. Many irregularities were to be attributed to the nature of the war, which was a series of surprises and skirmishes without one pitched battle, and to the employment of burgher forces, not subjected to high discipline, and exasperated by the destruction of their property in the great raid.

An inquiry by a Committee of the House of Commons took place, and evidence was adduced which tended to strengthen Lord GLENELG'S convictions. The Governor, the chief military officer, the colonists, all remonstrated, but to no purpose. The inevitable consequences of restoring the conquered territory were clearly pointed out, but the Secretary took the responsibility upon himself. In a subsequent despatch, he indirectly admitted that he had wronged the inhabitants of the eastern districts by charging them with aggression; but he continued, nevertheless, to abide by the policy he had originated. The British settlers, who thought they were entitled to some compensation for the enormous losses they had sustained, petitioned successively the King in Council, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the House of Commons, to take their case into consideration, and to appoint a Commission of Enquiry to investigate on the spot the charges made against them; but all to no purpose. Their prayers for compensation and for adequate protection in future were alike unheeded.

On the 1st of August, 1836, Captain STOCKENSTROM, late Commissioner General of Frontier Affairs, arrived from England, with the appointment of Lieutenant Governor, and with instructions to carry out the views held at the Colonial Office with reference to the Kaffirs. In December the arrangements were completed, when British sovereignty was withdrawn from the Province of Queen Adelaide. The boundary line was fixed from Gaika's Kop along the ridge of the Chumie mountains to a point on the Kat River a few miles south of Fort Beaufort, thence along the Kat River to its junction with the Great Fish, and along the latter river to the sea. This line left the Hottentot location within the colony, but restored the remainder of the ceded territory to the Kaffirs. The British government reserved the right to construct fortresses and make roads within this territory, should it be found necessary to do so. It was agreed that the Fingoes should retain sole and undisturbed possession of the land upon which they were located. Matters were thus placed in almost the same position as that in which they had been in 1818. Treaties were afterwards entered into with the different chiefs, in which the terms were dictated by

the strictest justice and fair dealing, and, to prevent the possibility of aggression by the colonists, the commando-reprisal system was abolished. The farmers of the frontier districts had by this time begun to rebuild their houses and restock their farms. But any attempt to carry on pastoral occupations in the vicinity of the Kaffirs proved to be hopeless. With them as with all uncivilized tribes, nothing is more respected than physical power, nothing more despised than physical weakness. The Amaxosa had enslaved and cruelly treated the wretched remnants of tribes of their own race who had sought shelter among them; they had never receded, never spared. The views which actuated the British government in restoring to them the land they had lost in war could not be understood, much less appreciated. In their eyes concession was nothing but a result of weakness. One of those sudden fluctuations of power which mark the history of barbarian hordes had been experienced, they thought, by their late enemies. Upon the conclusion of peace, the garrison of the frontier was considerably reduced, and this tended to strengthen the opinion, now gaining ground in Kaffirland, that the predictions of MAKANA were being fulfilled, as the white man's power was waning. The treaties, to which the chiefs had so recently affixed their marks, were of no more value than so much waste paper. A course of robbery commenced such as had never been equalled before. Cattle were swept off by the Kaffirs, just as if a state of war existed. Occasionally, houses were burnt and men were murdered. The frontier colonists were compelled to endure all this suffering, without any attempt at redress; for the government seemed determined to bolster the opinions of the Secretary for the Colonies, and therefore ignored what was going on. This was the normal condition of affairs for the ten years following the restoration of the Province of Queen Adelaide.

As early as the year 1823 some farmers began to move into the Bushman country on the north-east of the colony, which is now comprised in the Divisions of Albert, Aliwal North, and Wodehouse. From that time colonists continued to settle there, taking possession of the best lands, and on the 14th of October, 1835, the district was annexed by a proclamation of the Governor. But upon the restoration of the Province of Queen Adelaide to the Kaffirs, it was determined to give up this tract of country also, and on the 5th of December, 1836, British sovereignty was withdrawn from it. A few of the settlers joined the stream of emigration then setting to the northward, but most of them remained where they were, and retained possession of the territory until its re-annexation in 1847.

Fort Peddie was founded at this time. The fort and some other buildings were erected for the accommodation of a small garrison, placed there to protect the Fingoes who had been located in the neighbourhood. Most of the frontier villages had a similar origin. Round a fort as a nucleus gathered tradesmen and artizans, whose habitations were generally at first of a temporary nature. If the site proved to be a good one, the village gradually extended, in course of time the original wattle and daub huts

gave way to stone or brick houses, churches were erected, and municipal regulations were introduced.

In 1836 Clanwilliam was made a seat of magistracy, it having been before only a sub-district. In the same year an important ordinance was issued, by which municipal boards were established in towns and villages.

In 1837 magistrates were stationed at Cradock, which had formerly been a sub-district, and at Colesberg. The establishment of the Cape of Good Hope Bank at this time was the commencement of extensive banking operations throughout the colony.

Ever since 1808, when the foreign slave trade was suppressed, it was evident that slavery was destined to extinction in British possessions throughout the world. The champions of liberty, often defeated but never subdued, were winning their way step by step towards final victory. The record of their struggle belongs to the history of England, and it is unnecessary to refer to it here, except as regards its effect upon this colony. The importation of slaves into South Africa took place during the government of the East India Company, and the evil effects of the measure have been pointed out in the chapters devoted to the history of the colony during the period that it was a mere victualling station for the Indian fleets.

On the 11th of April, 1803, the Batavian Governor JANSSENS issued an ordinance prohibiting the importation, or even the landing, of any more slaves. There were then, according to Mr. BARROW'S estimate, which was probably too low, about twenty-six thousand slaves in the colony. This enactment of the Dutch government remained in force after the conquest of the colony by the English in 1806, and, according to the author of THE STATE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE IN 1822, was then the only hindrance to a large importation of slaves from Mauritius. For by an Act of the Imperial Parliament, passed in July, 1819, provision was made for the exportation of slaves from one British colony to another, and the price of a labourer in Mauritius was at that time only one fourth of the price in the Cape Colony. From 1803 no slaves were imported and retained here in a condition of permanent bondage, except a few who were landed in 1807. By 1820 the number had increased to rather more than thirty-four thousand, but from this date it was nearly stationary for the next fourteen years.

The slave population of the Cape Colony was composed of three distinct classes. There was first the pure black, whose ancestors were brought from Madagascar and the Mozambique coast, and who was employed as a field hand on the farms or as a hewer of wood and drawer of water in Cape Town. He was just a drudge, and though tolerably well fed and clothed, was regarded as being very little superior to a horse.

The second class was composed of the olive complexioned, long haired Malays. The men were employed as coachmen and mechanics, the women were house servants. The great majority were owned in Cape Town and its neighbourhood. Mahometans in religion, the Malays held the other

slaves in contempt, and never associated with them. Many of these Asiatics had managed to purchase their freedom, and these were very active in endeavouring to rescue their co-religionists from slavery. No one dared to illtreat a Malay slave, for fear of vengeance that would certainly be inflicted by others of the class. Among the free people of colour they were propagating their religious opinions, perhaps less through zeal for Mahometanism than with the object of strengthening their party. Clever, daring, and resentful, they avenged themselves upon their enslavers by the fear which their presence occasioned.

The third class was that of mixed blood. So many years had passed away since Europeans first settled in Southern Africa that many of these slaves were nearly white. The males were employed as domestic servants or as mechanics, the females were house servants. The young women were placed in that dreadful position where their only hope of freedom, for which they naturally longed, lay in courting the addresses of wealthy Europeans. To become the mother of children by their owners secured their freedom according to law, and it was a common occurrence for quadroon and octoroon slave girls to be purchased and manumitted by men whose affections they had gained. The females of this class of slaves scorned to form any connection with the blacks. Such a low state of morality as is here exhibited was a natural consequence of holding human beings in bondage.

No marriage ceremony was considered necessary between slaves, and the changes of ownership to which they were subjected often made new connections necessary. It was not usual in this colony to traffic in slaves, but in case of the distress or insolvency of their owners, they were sold at public auction like so many cattle.

In 1826 Sir RICHARD BOURKE issued an ordinance calculated to afford the slaves some little protection. It denounced their undue punishment, and provided for the appointment of a guardian whose duty it was to see that they were treated with humanity. One of its clauses was to the effect that a slave might compel his owner to sell him his liberty, if he could command a price fixed by impartial appraisers. This local ordinance was superseded in February 1830, by an order in Council, the provisions of which were even more stringent. It not only denounced under heavy penalties the excessive punishment of slaves and provided guardians to see that the law was observed, but required every slaveholder to keep a record of all punishments inflicted on his slaves, to the correctness of which he was to make oath twice a year. Excitement rose high in the colony as soon as this became known. From all parts of the country delegates were sent to Cape Town, where, being joined by the slaveholders of the neighbourhood, a mass meeting was held, at which resolutions were carried not to make the record required, and to march in a body to government house and inform the Governor that they would not. Between three and four thousand persons agreed to these resolutions. A deputation having been

sent in advance to announce their approach, Sir LOWRY COLE was prepared to receive them, when their spokesmen, Messrs. MUNTINGH and CLOETE (the latter afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court and author of FIVE LECTURES UPON THE EMIGRATION OF THE DUTCH FARMERS) announced in the name of all the slaveholders in the colony that they could not and would not comply with the law. The Governor promised them to report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies the excitement this regulation had occasioned, and soon afterwards they had the gratification of learning that it was not to be enforced.

Many of the slaveholders were men of liberal views in other matters, but as regarded their own peculiar institution they were conservatives to a man. They looked upon the emancipation of their bondsmen as an experiment that would almost certainly bring ruin upon themselves, and they were also of opinion that the slaves would not be benefitted by the change. But, as they clearly foresaw that the British people would not rest satisfied until emancipation was effected, they devised a plan which they put forward as intended to bring this about in a gradual rather than in a sudden manner. They formed what was termed the Philanthropic Society, whose object it was to purchase young females for the purpose of manumission. In 1830 an Ordinance was issued, empowering this society to carry out its intentions, and to bind as apprentices to fit and proper persons all females whose freedom it should purchase, until such females should reach the age of eighteen years. The society hoped to obtain a yearly grant of £7,000 or £8,000 from the Imperial Parliament, but failed in its application, notwithstanding which some two or three hundred young females were by its means redeemed from bondage. It is evident that a scheme like this held out little hope of destroying slavery within a reasonable time, and therefore could not have received the countenance of the English people.

In August, 1833, Mr. BUXTON'S bill became the law of the empire. It provided that all slaves should be freed on the 1st of December, 1834, but their masters were to be entitled to retain them as apprentices for four years longer. The total value of the slaves within the British dominions was £50,000,000, and partly to compensate the slaveholders for their loss, the sum of £20,000,000 was voted by the Imperial Parliament.

The number of slaves in the colony at that time was thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-five. This was an increase at the rate of only a hundred a year for the last fourteen years, and shows that manumission had become common during that period. Mr. BIRD, in his account of the Cape in 1822, states that the 60th regiment was disbanded here shortly before that time, when the men found wives entirely among emancipated slave girls. The practice of emancipating deserving slaves by will had also become common of late years.

Appraisers were appointed by government, who classified and valued the slaves, and it was ascertained that £3,000,000 would be required to pay

the full value set upon them, which amounted on an average to about £85 each. The same course had been pursued in the other slaveholding colonies of Britain, and, upon a proportionate division of the grant, the amount to which the Cape Colony was entitled was found to be £1,200,000. Thus every slaveholder lost three-fifths of the appraised value of his slaves. But, by the mode of payment, the loss to most of them was even greater than this. The compensation money was made payable at the Bank of England only, and thus a prospect of a rich harvest was opened to agents, who were enabled to purchase the requisite certificates at a rate much below their nominal value.

Many of the slaveholders had been tottering on the brink of bankruptcy before the passage of the emancipation act, and these were now reduced to ruin. Others,—and they were not a few,—whose slaves had been mortgaged, but who were otherwise free of debt, were proceeded against by their creditors, and in many instances were brought to poverty. A few were so indignant at the forcible liberation of their slaves without full compensation being made, that they refused to receive the allowance offered them, though tendered again and again.

The 1st of December, 1838, was looked forward to with the greatest joy by the slaves, with the greatest dread by their masters. These apprehended not only poverty to themselves personally, but a complete disruption of society, attended by riots and all the results of legalized vagrancy throughout the colony generally. Never were men more mistaken. In very few instances indeed did the freedmen remain over the day in the service of their late masters, but their conduct everywhere was most exemplary. Many were affected with religious fervour, and spent the first day of their liberty in giving thanks to God for the great blessing conferred upon them, others congregated together and spent the day in festivity. The knowledge that they were really free elevated them above all thought of crime. Thirty-five thousand people in utter poverty, without food or homes, without anything excepting their bodies to call their own, and yet rejoicing with a wild delirious joy, abstaining from theft and all manner of crime: such was the sight witnessed in the Cape Colony on that memorable day, the first of December, 1838.

The emancipators have had no reason to blush on account of the conduct of the freedmen since. For a time, indeed, many of them withdrew from the service of the farmers, preferring to gain their living by working in villages. Agriculture thus received a temporary check, but only to be carried on afterwards with redoubled energy and increased success. So far from society being disturbed, there has never been any such danger since the emancipation as there was before it, when bands of escaped slaves infested the country, plundering the farmers and frequently imbruing their hands in blood. The slaves and their descendants quickly and quietly became merged into the great body forming the labouring class of the colony, which is as free from crime as any peasantry in the world.

There was now taking place an extensive emigration of Dutch colonists, principally the descendants of those whose turbulence gave such trouble to the government about the close of the last and beginning of the present century. They were dissatisfied with all the recent acts of the British government with regard to the colony, more particularly with the elevation of the Hottentots, the restoration of the ceded territory to the Kaffirs, and the emancipation of the slaves. For a hundred and fifty years emigration beyond the colonial boundary, wherever that might happen to be at the time, had been continuous, but never before had it been on such a large scale, nor conducted in such an organised manner as now. The elevation of the Hottentots to a political equality with the whites caused such dissatisfaction that many families left the colony, but the insecurity of life and property that arose from the arrangements with the Kaffirs in 1836 tended more than anything else to extend the emigration movement. It seemed at this time as if whole districts would be depopulated, so general was the desire to escape from the dangers to which the frontier farmers were exposed.

The reduction in the number of Europeans, and consequently in the military strength of the colony, was urged in the strongest language by the British settlers in their petitions to the Home Authorities, as a reason why they should receive adequate military protection, so as, if possible, to check the abandonment of the country; but very little notice was taken of their prayers. The emancipation of the slaves, following so closely upon these other events, spread the desire to emigrate into districts far removed from Kaffir depredations. Stragglers from the west now joined the great stream flowing away from the colony. Their subsequent career forms part of the history of Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal Territory.

That these people, many of whom were accustomed from infancy to a semi-nomad life, should have resolved to leave their native land when they felt themselves aggrieved without the power of resistance, can be little matter of surprise. In this they were only following, though in a different cause, the example of those brave Huguenots whose blood ran in their veins. There was much that was good in their character, and they were decidedly free from prominent vices. But with regard to the black man their opinions were at variance with those of enlightened men of our day. In their eyes he was an inferior being, who ought to be kept in subjection to a white master. Neither they nor their fathers considered it a sin to disregard native rights, when those rights interfered with the white man's prosperity.

It is a matter of surprise that they were permitted to leave the colony in the manner they did. They went avowedly with the purpose of seeking a home where they could be beyond the reach of English law. They were themselves in doubt as to the legality of their proceedings until they were assured by the Lieutenant-Governor that he knew of no law to prevent

a British subject from leaving one country and settling in another, and that if such a law did exist, it would be tyrannical and oppressive. This, the declared opinion of the officer second in rank in the colony, gave great impetus to the emigration movement. From the Divisions of Albany, Somerset, Uitenhage, Graaff Reinet, Cradock, and Colesberg, the farmers, forming themselves into strong armed bands, now moved northward. Under the very eye of the government, and with its implied sanction, some thousands of individuals, providing themselves with arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, even to cannon, organized themselves into military bands under leaders chosen by themselves, and left the colony, renouncing all allegiance to the British crown, and claiming the right to make war when and upon whomsoever they chose They attempted in some instances to take their former slaves with them, but were prevented by military interference from doing so. In no other respect was any endeavour made to check their proceedings. Many of them advertised their farms for sale, and so candid were they, that the intention to emigrate was generally given as a reason for desiring to sell. The commotions afterwards caused by this movement could not then have been anticipated, nor, on the other hand, was it possible to foresee that immense tracts of country were about to be added to the domain of civilization by these hardy pioneers.

One effect of this emigration was to place in the hands of the British settlers some of the finest sheep-walks in the colony. They had already become convinced of the value of wool as an article of export, but the land they originally occupied was not well adapted to the rearing of sheep. They now began to disperse over the whole of the eastern districts, and from this time the quantity of wool which was yearly exported rapidly increased. This industry had been tried as far back as the early days of the government of the East India Company. During the short rule of the Batavian Republic it had been encouraged, and great hopes were entertained of its success. But it had never advanced so far as to become an important source of colonial wealth. With the Dutch colonists the heavy tailed African sheep continued still the favourite breed, and with them it was only slowly and gradually that the Merino supplanted the old stock.

This period marks a great turning point in South African history. The abolition of the commando-reprisal system and the emancipation of the slaves were measures of incalculable benefit to the community. As long as those systems endured, moral progress was impossible. When they were destroyed, men acquired clearer and juster ideas of their duties and responsibilities. More humane and liberal opinions began to be formed, and in course of years have spread among the whole European race in South Africa.

SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

CHAPTER XXII.

FROM THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES TO THE WAR OF THE AXE.

1838 TO 1846.

Principal Subjects:—Condition of the Colony.—Establishment of Public Schools under the Herschel system.—Creation of Road Boards, and Employment of Convicts on Public Works.—Immigration.—Rapid Increase in the production of Wool.—Instance of Kaffir Superstition connected with the death of the Chief Tyali.—Shipwrecks in Table Bay.—Discovery of the Guano Islands off the coast of Great Namaqualand.

Governors:—Sir GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER.
Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND, March 18, 1844.

THE history of South Africa from the landing of VAN RIEBECK to the date now reached, a period of one hundred and eighty-six years, has run on in an unbroken stream, to which the transactions of native tribes were merely tributaries. Up to 1838 there was but one civilized government,—that of the Cape Colony,—at this extremity of the continent, all beyond its jurisdiction being yet solely occupied by independent barbarians. Henceforth the stream of European occupation will be seen separating into several channels, spreading the benefits of civilization rapidly and widely through the land.

The most interesting and important events of this period took place in connection with the emigration of the Dutch farmers and their struggles with the Zulu tribes of the north and east. Compared with the deeds of men who were exploring what was then a wilderness and there laying the foundations of thriving states, the record of occurrences within the limits of the old settlement seems so tame as to be hardly deserving of notice. It is necessary, however, in order to avoid confusion, to refer the history of those more stirring events to future chapters, and to confine our attention for the present solely to the Cape Colony.

During the ten years that followed the renunciation of British sovereignty over the Province of Queen Adelaide, the condition of the frontier districts was deplorable. The old colonists were moving away in large bodies, preferring, as they said, to run the risk of danger elsewhere rather than remain longer exposed to constant violence and destruction of property. Farms, now worth thousands of pounds, were being sold for a couple of hundred, or exchanged for a few cattle or a waggon. Many were parted with for even less than this, as the owners had resolved to abandon them altogether if no purchasers could be found. Speculators were thus enabled to get titles at their own prices, and, in not a few instances, by laying out of paltry purchase amounts for a few years, a profit of two or three thousand per cent was gained. Some of the farms thus vacated were immediately occupied by Albany settlers, but this transference of inhabitants from one part of the frontier to another rather weakened the country at the time than strengthened it. The force was too small to be spread over such a large area. Progress was out of the question in districts infested to such an extent with robbers that open war could hardly have been more ruinous. Very little assistance in suppressing or preventing robberies was to be obtained from the chiefs, and there was no police to apprehend the marauders. Sir GEORGE NAPIER, who succeeded Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN as Governor at the beginning of 1838, on his arrival in the colony held the same views as Lord GLENELG with reference to the policy to be pursued towards the Kaffirs, and persistently shut his eyes to what was going on. The six years of his government make up one of the darkest periods of frontier history in times of nominal peace. But he saw enough to cause him to change his views before he retired from the government in 1844, and he stated afterwards, when giving evidence in England on native affairs, that he was convinced Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN was right in bringing the Rarabe tribes under control and surveillance. His successor, Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND, came to South Africa with a thorough missionary spirit. He was a man of very advanced age, and an earnest Christian. His chief motive in accepting the appointment, as he himself stated, was that he would thereby be enabled to do something for the spiritual and temporal improvement of the natives. But, before any thing else could be attempted, it was necessary to restore order on the frontier by preventing the constant inroads of marauders. This was no easy matter to undertake, for it was quite impossible to guard the whole frontier line with only a handful of soldiers backed by the scattered and impoverished farmers. The Governor resolved, as one step towards the desired end, to erect a fort in the Ngqika country, for the purpose of holding in check the principal chiefs. Practically, this was a reversal of the Glenelg policy of dealing with them as independent powers, and of trusting to treaties alone. When the conquered lands were restored, not a single post was retained in Kaffir territory, even Fort Willshire, on the western bank of the Keiskama, which had been occupied since 1819, being then abandoned. Fort Beaufort was on the colonial side

of the border, and Fort Peddie was in the country occupied by the Fingoes. The paramount chief SANDILE was induced to give his consent to the establishment of a post a few miles on the Kaffir side of the boundary, but as soon as the work was commenced he withdrew his word, on the ground that he had acted before without the advice of his councillors. Post Victoria, however, was built and garrisoned as a matter of necessity. According to a clause of the treaties, the power to erect forts and make roads was retained by the government; but the treaties had not been observed for eight days by the Kaffirs, and now, after the lapse of eight years, all parties might well consider them obsolete. The erection of the fort was years too late to be of any service. Instead of the chiefs being overawed, they became more insolent in their demeanour, and made active preparations for war. Colonel HARE, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander of the Forces on the Frontier, made several armed demonstrations with the few troops at his disposal, but without any good effect. Robberies and murders became even more frequent than before. One of the last victims was an inoffensive German missionary, who, while travelling towards Kaffirland, was mistaken for another person and killed by some men of PATO's tribe, just before the formal declaration of hostilities. PATO was called upon to deliver up the murderers to punishment, and promised to do so, but failed to keep his word. His people had not been able to resist the temptations to plunder placed in their way by the Glenelg treaties, and he had joined hands with his old enemies and was now a leader of the war party.

In the western districts, the emancipation of the slaves caused a temporary derangement in farming affairs and consequently a stagnation in trade. For a short period, indeed, that is, until the compensation money was spent, the importation of articles of luxury was larger than usual, so that judging by the customs' returns the colony appeared to be flourishing; but this money soon found its way abroad again, and with it departed the purchasing power of the people. It required some years for the country to adapt itself to the new order of things. Slowly at first, but more rapidly as years rolled on, the farmers who beforetime had commanded the service of bondsmen accustomed themselves to the employment of free labour, and found to their astonishment that the change was to the advantage of all. But while the new and better system of paid labourers and improved implements was only in its birth, these districts appeared to be in a state of stagnation. Amidst the general depression, however, the seeds of future prosperity were being sown.

A great extension of the educational machinery of the colony took place at this time. Many attempts had previously been made to diffuse elementary education among the European children of the settlement, but none had been successful. There was a free government school in each of the principal villages, and a few private schools had been established, mostly in the eastern districts, but they fell far short of the requirements

of the people. The returns of 1839, indeed, show only five hundred pupils attending the government schools throughout the colony. The farmers depended, as in days gone by, upon itinerant teachers, who spent a few months at each house, and instructed the children in reading, writing, and getting the Heidelberg catechism by rote. Sir JOHN HERSCHEL, the eminent astronomer, who resided in the colony from 1834 to 1838, interested himself greatly in the cause of education, and suggested a plan for the establishment of district schools, which was adopted by the government and carried into effect. Afterwards, when he returned to England, he busied himself in selecting and sending out suitable teachers. These services have recently been acknowledged in a becoming manner by a district being called after his name. Under the Herschel system pecuniary aid was given to properly conducted schools, in which instruction, religious and secular, was imparted, wherever a sufficient number of pupils could be got together. School Commissions, presided over by the Civil Commissioners, and of which the resident clergymen and justices of the peace were members, were appointed in each district, by which means the system was soon in thorough working. Aid was also given to mission schools, intended for the education of coloured children. This class of the inhabitants had hitherto been cared for solely by mission societies, which were dependent for funds upon the benevolence of people in Europe. Through the exertions of Dr. PHILIP and other philanthropists, a system of infant schools, costing a mere trifle for maintenance, had been for some time in operation at most of the stations, and at several of them really good schools for youths had been established; but what had already been accomplished was only a trifle compared to what remained to be done if money was forthcoming. From this time, therefore, the extension of schools has been a prominent feature of mission work, while a desire for education has taken firm hold upon the coloured races, as well as upon the Europeans of the colony. Under the Herschel system, rivalry between different denominations of Christians, such as might cause a deepening of the lines of distinction between them, was a danger to be apprehended. But the country was too sparsely inhabited and churches were too few at that time for this element of discord to come into operation. In course of time, however, the evil began to show itself, but the colony was then ripe for the establishment of undenominational schools, such as are now scattered broadcast over the land.

The result of the various efforts made within the last forty years to educate the people of the colony is shown in the census returns of 1875. Out of every hundred Europeans of all ages, sixty-two can read and write. Of coloured people, only six in a hundred can read and write, but this percentage includes the whole of the Kaffirs westward of the Kei, as well as the numerous Bechuanas and other foreigners who have come into the colony within the last two or three years. In the scale of education the different races stand in the following order:—

Percentage of all ages.	*Can read and write.*	*Can read only.*	*Can neither read nor write.*
Europeans	62·35	3·93	33·72
Mixed races	16·30	8·75	74·95
Malays	7·41	2·69	89·90
Hottentots	7·25	6·00	86·75
Fingoes	5·07	3·37	91·56
Kaffirs and Bechuanas	1·86	1·62	96·52

Another measure of this date that has since proved of great service to the colony was the establishment of Road Boards and the turning of convict labour to some profitable account. In 1843 an ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council, under which Divisional Road Boards were created, with taxing powers, for the purpose of making and keeping in repair branch roads. These boards, which consisted of the Civil Commissioner of the district and a number of members elected by the landowners, are still in existence under the name of Divisional Councils. The same ordinance created a Central Board of Commissioners of Public Roads, consisting of three official and three unofficial members, all appointed by the Governor. This central board was endowed with very considerable powers. It had control of all convict labour, it could establish tolls, levy rates not exceeding one penny in the pound on fixed property, and make use of any land required for main roads. Up to this period very little had been done towards forming really good thoroughfares in the colony. Even Cape Town itself was as yet isolated from the back country by the sandy downs of the isthmus, some sixteen or seventeen miles in extent. Through this sand, waggons laden with two thousand pounds of produce were dragged at the rate of two miles an hour by from fourteen to twenty oxen, while the post cart took the better part of a day to reach Stellenbosch. This being the state of affairs close to the capital, it can readily be understood that the interior was left pretty much as nature had formed it. The treasury chest was nearly always empty, and if ever there happened to be a surplus of revenue over expenditure, it went to pay the Imperial government for the redemption of the old paper currency. Hitherto, convict labour had been frittered away, with hardly an attempt to utilize it. Each district had the use of its own convicts, but their labour without proper supervision or engineering skill was of very little value. The ordinary prison discipline was not calculated or intended to qualify criminals for labourers. The excessively harsh treatment of former days was no longer permitted; but, owing to the want of proper accommodation, the cells were frequently still crowded to suffocation, and in many instances the prisoners slept with their feet in stocks to prevent their escape. Under the Central Road Board, all criminals sentenced to long terms of imprisonment were massed together under competent overseers, and employed in the construction of roads through difficult mountain passes and in other places where a great deal of labour was required. The first

mountain pass converted by this means into a highway of traffic was called after the Colonial Secretary, who was chairman of the board and very active in promoting the object for which it was formed. Montagu Pass is in the Division of George, on one of the main thoroughfares of the colony. An excellent road was made over it, and opened in 1844. An immense improvement in the means of communication was effected by the Central Road Board within a very few years, and in a manner that was not burdensome to the inhabitants, considering the advantages gained. With the introduction of representative government some years later, it ceased to exist, since which time the most important main roads are constructed by parliamentary grants from the general revenue, and are now included in the Public Works Department, which is under the supervision of a responsible minister. All other roads, whether main or branch, are attended to by the Councils of each Division, the necessary funds being raised by rates on landed property and the proceeds of tolls.

After the emancipation of the slaves, two schemes of introducing labourers were set on foot. By one, some six or seven hundred boys and girls of good character, from twelve to sixteen years of age, were sent out in small parties from England, under the auspices of the Children's Friend Society, and were apprenticed to colonists by commissioners appointed for the purpose. The scheme did not answer the expectations of the Society, and was abandoned as soon as it was seen that except in occasional instances the juvenile immigrants were not likely to prosper. The other source of supply was the island of St. Helena, where captured slave ships were taken by English cruisers. A few thousand liberated Africans were brought to the Cape by means of private subscription; but the supply was precarious as dependent upon chance, and many persons in the colony objected to this class of immigrants. Through the long-continued exertions of the missionaries, the coloured inhabitants were now rising rapidly in intelligence as well as in morality, and it was considered undesirable at this stage to bring in a mass of barbarism which might have the effect of checking their progress.

During this period sheep's wool rose to the prominent position it has since occupied as the most valuable export of South Africa. In 1838 less than half a million pounds were clipped, but every year saw a large increase. In 1846 over three and a quarter million pounds were exported, two-thirds of which was shipped at Algoa Bay.

On the 1st of May, 1842, the chief TYALI died after a long illness, when, according to custom, a witchfinder was employed to "smell out" the sorcerer who had caused his death. The accusation fell upon SUTU, mother of SANDILE; but she received notice in time, and fled to the house of Mr. MCDIARMID, one of the missionaries at Burnshill. Intelligence of her dangerous position being conveyed to Mr. STRETCH, the representative of the government with the Kaffir tribes, immediate steps were taken to bring what influence the colonial authorities yet possessed to bear in her favour.

Very fortunately, the chief NQENO and his son STOKWE protested against "smelling out" a person of SUTU's rank, and the delay thus caused gave time for Colonel HARE to remonstrate with the other chiefs. They then thought better of the matter, and SUTU was saved from the terrible fate that had so nearly overtaken her. Read by the light of subsequent events, there can be little doubt that she was selected as a victim on political grounds. But what a picture of heathenism is here! MAQOMA consenting to, if not instigating, the murder of his father's favourite wife; SANDILE, then about twenty years of age, agreeing to the death by torture of his own mother; the people believing the word of a miserable witchfinder, even when that word was directed against one whom under other circumstances they felt bound to respect and obey. What a strange scene is this also, regarded as an example of vicissitude in life. Seven years before, SUTU had protected a number of mission families when their lives were in danger; now, one of them is performing the same friendly act for her.

In 1842 several disastrous shipwrecks took place in Table Bay. On the 28th of August, the transport *Abercrombie Robinson*, with detachments of troops on board, went ashore. Fortunately, the ship was sound and held together until her crew and passengers got safely to land. At the same time the *Waterloo*, a convict ship bound to Tasmania, which had put in for refreshments, drifted on to the beach. This ship was quite rotten, and within a few minutes after striking she crumbled to pieces. There were no means of saving life at hand, either on board the hulk or on shore, and though the wreck was close to land and an ordinary boat could reach her in safety, little or nothing could be done by the crowd of spectators assembled on the beach. Many of the unfortunate people on board were crushed to death amid the fragments of the ship, many more were drowned. Altogether, within a few minutes, one hundred and ninety persons perished, of whom one hundred and forty-three were convicts. This disaster led to the providing in Table Bay of the usual means for preserving life in cases of shipwreck, including a lifeboat and appliances for throwing lines over stranded vessels.

About this time a mine of wealth was opened in South Africa, and one of the most desolate portions of the country became for a short period a wonderful scene of activity. An American sea-captain named MORRELL, who had been in charge of a vessel engaged in whaling and sealing, published in a pamphlet a description of the south-western coast of Africa, in which the existence in a rainless region of certain islets frequented by myriads of sea-birds was mentioned. In 1842 a copy of this pamphlet happened to fall into the hands of a Liverpool broker, by whom three small vessels were secretly despatched to search for the islands, in hope of finding deposits of guano upon them. The speculation was unfortunate. One of the vessels put back before the voyage was ended, and another, after reaching the coast and finding no fresh water there, at once sailed away. The third was successful in finding the island of Ichaboe, and took in

three-fourths of a cargo of guano; but having parted her cables in a gale, she bore away for England, and reached the port of Bristol in safety. There litigation followed, owing to the losses sustained, and the existence of the guano islands was communicated to the public. Before this date the Peruvian islands were the sole sources of supply of this valuable manure, which was then selling at £9 5s. per ton in the English market. A firm in Glasgow and another in Liverpool at once sent out a large number of vessels, most of which arrived on the African coast before the close of 1843. The island of Ichaboe, a rock less than a mile in circumference, the highest point of which is only thirty feet above the sea level, was found to have upon it a deposit of guano varying from forty feet in depth at the northern to ten feet at the southern end. This is the principal guano island, though there are several others upon which large deposits were found. Shipping stages were erected, and the fleet was laden. So successful did the speculation prove that immediately great numbers of people embarked in the enterprise. Just then the shipping business was depressed elsewhere, and this gave additional impetus to the new trade. Before the end of 1844 as many as three hundred vessels were lying at once in the Channel of Ichaboe, and by February, 1845, the whole of the deposit was removed. During the busiest period, when some thousands of labourers were engaged on shore, there was a tendency on the part of the unruly to create disturbances and riots, and the presence of a frigate was requisite to support a committee of shipowners and agents in keeping order. The quantity of guano from these islands that entered the English market at this time was about three hundred thousand tons (254,527 tons in 1845 alone), which being sold at an average price of £7 per ton, was equal in value to £2,100,000. The importers cleared about £2 per ton, freight being £4, and charges for shipping and landing about £1. Only a few shiploads were taken to foreign countries. The guano from our islands contained less ammoniacal salts than that from Peru, and was consequently of less value. Though this large amount of wealth was found on our coast, but little money was brought into South Africa through the discovery, and that little almost entirely in return for supplies required at the islands. It was not until the rocks were cleared that the business fell into colonial hands. Since 1845 the islands have been regularly swept clean two or three times every year, the quantity of guano exported being limited to the fresh deposits. For several years it averaged about six thousand tons, but recently the quantity has decreased.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE WAR OF THE AXE.—1846—7.

Governors:—Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND.
Sir HENRY POTTINGER, January 27th, 1847.
Sir HENRY G. W. SMITH, December 1st, 1847.

BY the beginning of 1846 the war party in Kaffirland was ready for immediate action. From the first, the concessions of the English government had been altogether misunderstood, being attributed to weakness, which inspired contempt. What the Kaffirs hoped to gain by war was the ejection of the white man from the country as far to the westward as they knew anything of it. In rank, SANDILE was now the first of the Rarabe chiefs. He was a man of less mental power than his brother MAQOMA, and was deficient in physical energy, owing to one of his legs having been withered from childhood. But he was a great boaster, and was wont to express himself freely as to what he would do when the time came. A message of his to some other chiefs, to the effect that he was ready, having come to the ears of the traders in Kaffirland, they wisely withdrew from the country early in the year. MAQOMA was opposed to war, probably on account of the jealousy he felt of his brother. A miserable life he was leading, even for a savage, that crafty chief of the Ngqikas. Missionary effort had been concentrated on him to no purpose, for though his words to the teachers were ever good, his acts were those of a heathen. The same man that said to a missionary in reference to his work among the Kaffirs, "The rock is hard: you may not be able to break it to pieces, but you must hammer away and you will get bits off it," in a moment of jealousy compelled one of his wives to bury her new-born infant alive, and was in the constant habit of causing wealthy subjects to be murdered and of confiscating their property, on the charge of dealing in sorcery. He had acquired a passionate taste for brandy, and much of his time was spent in intoxication in the canteens of Fort Beaufort. When in this condition, he was a source of terror to his wives and attendants, whom he assaulted at will, as it would have been deemed a dreadful crime to resist a chief of his rank.

The immediate event which led to a declaration of war was a very petty crime. A Kaffir was detected at Fort Beaufort in the act of stealing an axe. He was an old offender, and it was therefore resolved to send him to Grahamstown to be tried. He was manacled to a Hottentot, who was likewise being sent to the nearest court of justice, and both were placed under charge of a small guard. On their way the guard was attacked by

a large party of Kaffirs, whose object was to liberate their friend. This they succeeded in doing without difficulty, since it would have been folly to resist them. They freed him from his companion by severing the arm of the Hottentot, as they were too impatient to get the handcuff off in any other manner. The Hottentot being without assistance bled to death, the guard having succeeded in escaping. This outrage took place within the colonial boundaries, on the highway between the two most important military stations in the frontier districts, so that it could not be overlooked. The Governor demanded of the chiefs the surrender of the murderers, and when this was refused he declared war, 31st of March, 1846. It is from this circumstance that the war which followed is termed by the Kaffirs THE WAR OF THE AXE.

The tribes on the immediate frontier of the colony at this time were:—

I. The Amagqunukwebe, under the chiefs PATO and KAMA. They occupied the seaboard of the old ceded territory, and were in close proximity to the Fingoes around Fort Peddie. KAMA and his followers who had been converted to Christianity aided the colonists in the war. PATO and his followers were among the most active of the enemy.

II. The Amamfengu in the neighbourhood of Fort Peddie. These were under the protection of the British, and fought faithfully with them.

III. The Amambala, under STOKWE and SONTO. They occupied the central portion of the old ceded territory, and were with the war party. The principal clan of the Imidange, under the chief TOLA, resided also in this neighbourhood. They had been among the most noted for daring robberies and acts of violence, and took a very active part in the war.

IV. The Amangqika, under SANDILE, MAQOMA, ANTA, and numerous other chiefs, who were all in arms against the colony. They occupied the remainder of the ceded territory, and the district in which the Amatola mountains are situated.

To the eastward of these tribes, and occupying the remainder of the coast lands to the westward of the Kei, were the Amandlambe and Imidushane, whose principal chiefs were MQAYI, MHALA, SIWANI, and SIYOLO. MQAYI with a few followers went to Grahamstown and resided there until the termination of the war. This chief, whose attachment to the English was unwavering, had repeatedly informed the government of the preparations for hostilities that were being made by his countrymen. The three last named, with numerous other chiefs of lower rank and less importance, were allied with the Ngqikas.

An attempt was made to seduce the Hottentots of the Cape Corps from their allegiance, but it failed. They, as well as all of that race, remained faithful throughout the war.

For some time after the commencement of hostilities disasters attended the British forces. The campaign was opened on the 15th of April by an attempt to occupy SANDILE'S great place on the Keiskama, and from thence to scour the Amatolas. For this purpose a force of about fifteen hundred

men, consisting of companies of the 91st infantry, the 7th dragoons, and the Cape Mounted Rifles, together with some Hottentot levies from the Kat River, was sent forward from Fort Beaufort, where Colonel HARE had established his head quarters. The column of invasion was commanded by Colonel SOMERSET, and was accompanied by a train of nearly a hundred waggons laden with baggage, stores, and ammunition. On the march no opposition was encountered and the country passed through appeared to have been abandoned, the position at Burn's Hill being reached as quietly as if war was an unknown word. A camp was formed in the centre of a jungle, and parties were then sent out in different directions to seize the enemy's cattle. Had SANDILE himself planned the entire movement, he could not have devised it more to his own advantage. As soon as the troops had dispersed, the Kaffirs, who were lying in wait in great force, attacked the camp, when it was immediately seen that the position could not be held. An attempt was then made to withdraw into a more open country, but the only road passable for waggons was so narrow that they were compelled to proceed in single file. Selecting a favourable spot, where the path was lined with jungle, the Kaffirs attacked the train, cut some of the oxen loose, and turned a waggon across the road. The soldiers could make no effectual resistance, and thus fifty-two waggons were seized and burnt, their contents being appropriated by the enemy. The scattered troops, attacked on all sides, united with great difficulty and severe loss, and, hotly pursued by the Kaffirs, fell back towards Fort Beaufort. On reaching the Chumie, after three disastrous days, they found that the mission buildings of Lovedale, which were built of stone, could afford them shelter, and as the missionaries had already retired to the Kat River, they took possession of the premises and strengthened them for defence. There, within a day or two, they were joined by the Governor, Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND, who assumed the command.

The Kaffirs at once poured into the colony and laid waste the frontier, firing the buildings and driving off the stock. Most of the inhabitants had fled in time to the villages or had concentrated in eligible positions for defence, but here and there one was overtaken and murdered. The enemy was so active that they even burnt the grass close to Grahamstown, so as to prevent cattle from being kept there. The blazing homesteads of the farms in the vicinity could be seen lighting up the horizon at night, and the town itself was considered to be in such danger that a detachment of troops from the front was sent to aid the small garrison in its defence.

Early in May Post Victoria was burnt and abandoned, that fort being considered of less importance than the station at Lovedale nine or ten miles further in advance, and the number of troops in the field being insufficient to hold both. The only other stronghold held by the English beyond the colonial boundary was Fort Peddie, which was surrounded by the enemy. It was necessary to make an attempt to throw in supplies for the garrison. Accordingly a waggon train was despatched from Grahams-

town, under command of Captain CAMPBELL, but while it was ascending the hill from Trompetter's Drift on the Great Fish River, the Kaffirs attacked it and succeeded in capturing forty-one waggons with their contents. This was on the 22nd of May, and six days afterwards a most determined attack was made upon the fort itself. The Fingoes had driven their cattle under the walls for protection, and fought bravely in their defence. The garrison could act only on the defensive, and hence, though the fort was saved, nearly the whole of the Fingoes' cattle were captured. In this attack, JAN TSHATSHU, chief of the Amantinde, took part. Previous to this time TSHATSHU was a professed Christian, having been educated at Bethelsdorp, where he had been placed by his father under Dr. VANDERKEMP'S care. After the war of 1835 he visited England, where he was treated as a very distinguished person. Upon his return to Kaffirland he was puffed up with pride and self importance, and as he had acquired a fondness for strong drink, his career thenceforward was most unsatisfactory. Still, it was not generally believed that a man who lived in a house built after the European model, and who had adopted European customs generally, would take part in a war which he must have known could only terminate in the subjugation of the Kaffirs. His defection was of little importance in a military point of view, as his clan was small, but it tended greatly to discourage those who were anxious for the civilization of his countrymen.

Within a few days after the attack on Fort Peddie supplies in abundance were thrown in, so that henceforth the position was safe. Colonel SOMERSET, who had been despatched by Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND to take measures for the defence of Albany, having done all that was possible there, took command of a train of waggons from Grahamstown, and by making a circuit round by one of the upper fords of the Fish River, succeeded in conveying relief to the garrison.

As soon as war broke out troops were sent for from England, and large bodies of burghers, Hottentots, and liberated slaves were equipped and sent to the front. The colony was suffering from a prolonged drought, so that it was very difficult to move with cattle. Owing to this circumstance the Kaffirs were enabled to lay waste the frontier districts with ease, before any sufficient force could be mustered to oppose them. Their success brought them allies from among the Tembus, and for a time they must have considered themselves invincible; still, they took the precaution to send the captured stock away into the heart of Kaffirland, where it was taken care of by the Gcalekas under the chief SARILI.

The first stage of the war,—the furious, destructive onset which marks the commencement of every such contest,—was now, however, past. The irregular colonial forces were rapidly arriving on the frontier, and some transports with troops on board had fortunately called at the Cape, when the soldiers were detained and hurried to the scene of action. Measures could therefore be taken for the protection of the most exposed portions of

the colony, while heavy columns were sent forward. Owing to the drought and to the jungles of the Fish River valley being in the occupation of the enemy, it was necessary to land troops and stores somewhere on the coast of Kaffirland. Waterloo Bay, an open roadstead about a mile and a half to the eastward of the mouth of the Great Fish River, was selected for the purpose, and was found to answer.

On the 7th of June an event took place of which old Kaffirs still tremble when they speak. A great number of their ablest warriors had assembled in the open valley of the little rivulet Gwanga, a few miles from Fort Peddie, and were there feasting on captured colonial cattle, when they were surprised and attacked by Colonel SOMERSET, who had with him a strong patrol of cavalry. The Kaffirs were massed too thickly together to fight to advantage, and when the dragoons and the Cape Corps charged upon them they became helpless with fear. They attempted to escape, but their retreat was cut off, and they were ridden down and sabred by hundreds. Several escaped by stretching themselves out on the ground and feigning death. The casualties of the British were only one soldier killed and three officers slightly wounded. Between two and three hundred Kaffir corpses were counted on the field, and probably an equal number died afterwards of wounds received there. Many of the survivors retained such a vivid remembrance of what they saw on that day that they could never be induced by their chiefs to meet a European in battle again. MHALA'S power was broken at the Gwanga. He lost there his brother and chief councillor, MXAMLI by name, and many of his ablest and most influential followers.

Colonel SOMERSET then proceeded to the Kei, for the purpose of recovering some of the cattle which had been driven in that direction. He had with him, in addition to his regular troops, a party of burghers and a large body of Fingoes. The forward march was made without opposition, the river was crossed, and a few thousand head of cattle were seized. It was necessary to return at once, on account of the distance from support if it should be needed and the want of everything except beef for food. The horses, too, were perishing, as the drought had been so severe in the country passed through that there was little or no grass. In falling back the commando was harassed day and night by the enemy, who hovered in the rear and lay in ambuscade in every thicket, but did not venture to make a stand on open ground. Many of the captured cattle were lost again, but the patrol reached head quarters without any serious casualties. The Gcalekas had another enemy besides the English to contend with. FAKU, chief of the Amampondo, whose country was to the eastward of theirs, deemed this a favourable opportunity to increase his stock of cattle at the expense of his neighbour. He therefore proclaimed himself an ally of the English, and took the field. He succeeded in capturing several thousand head of cattle, after which he was easily induced to agree to terms of peace.

About the end of July operations were commenced with a view of getting

possession of the Amatolas. A body of fifteen hundred burghers and native levies, under Sir ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM, and a division of regular troops one thousand strong, under Colonel HARE, moved forward for that purpose. Ten years before, Sir ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM had acted as the agent of Lord GLENELG in restoring the authority of the chiefs over this same country, and had maintained the justice and expediency of the measure. In carrying out that disastrous policy he had sacrificed the confidence of the bulk of his fellow colonists, rather than swerve in the least from what he considered right. But the events that followed had the same effect upon him as upon Sir GEORGE NAPIER, and now he had come forward as a volunteer to aid in rectifying the mistakes then made. He had already expressed his opinion that the Kaffirs, by their conduct, had forfeited all right to the Amatolas, and had stated that when they were again driven out, he would exert any influence he might have to prevent their being permitted to return. To him and his irregular forces was intrusted the duty of scouring the wooded kloofs and fastnesses of the mountains, while the soldiers under Colonel HARE operated along the base. It was a difficult matter to drive the Kaffirs out of the jungles in which they had entrenched themselves, and was not accomplished without considerable loss of life. But within a few days several salient points in these strongholds were secured, when the enemy fell back to the eastward, burning the grass in their rear.

Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND then found it necessary to move the bulk of his forces to a camp near Fort Peddie where they would be within reach of supplies, as the men and horses were so worn out as to demand immediate rest. Some of the burghers of the western districts were permitted to return to their homes, and a period of partial inactivity commenced. The chiefs at this time declared themselves anxious for peace. They had not driven the white man into the sea, as they had expected to do. The severe drought of the previous year had left them almost without food, and hunger was already wasting their followers. The planting season was at hand, and it was necessary to get their gardens in order. On the 21st of August STOKWE abandoned the contest, by voluntarily surrendering to Colonel SOMERSET. The Ngqika chiefs shortly afterwards sent a message to the Governor, requesting to know on what terms peace would be granted. The reply was that the Kaffirs must surrender their arms, restore all the stolen colonial cattle, and submit to the loss of sovereignty over the country as far eastward as the Kei. With these terms, Colonel JOHNSTONE, of the 27th regiment, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. CALDERWOOD, of the London Missionary Society, and an escort of six Cape Mounted Riflemen, was sent to meet the chiefs. The conference took place,—30th of September, —on the eastern bank of the Chumie, about a mile from the present village of Alice. On the slope of a hill called Sandile's Kop, the Kaffirs were massed in a phalanx at least a mile square. In front of this imposing array the chiefs met the English messengers, and after hearing the terms

of peace rejected them with disdain. It was evident, however, that some of them were anxious to submit, but dared not express themselves to that effect in presence of the others. This was notably the case with MAQOMA, who was suffering from protracted illness. The Governor, therefore, as soon as it was possible, moved towards the Chumie with a column of troops, consisting of the 90th regiment, part of the 45th and of the 7th dragoons, and some artillery. Reinforcements, consisting of the Rifle Brigade and the 6th infantry, had recently arrived in the colony, and were then on the march to the seat of war. This demonstration had the desired effect. Scarcely had the troops reached their destination when MAQOMA gave himself up. He was soon followed by MHALA and SIYOLO, and on the 17th of December by SANDILE. The great chief brought with him the axe stealer and the murderer of the Hottentot prisoner, and professed to think that in giving them up to justice he was making ample amends for all that had transpired. Still, there were a few,—among others, the chief PATO,—who would not submit, and who continued to carry on a guerilla warfare. SARILI, also, was still harbouring the stolen stock, so that another invasion of his country became necessary. This was accomplished in December, 1846, and January, 1847, when several thousand head of cattle were recovered.

The principal chiefs, except PATO, had now submitted, but peace seemed yet far distant. The frontier districts continued to be infested with bands of robbers, whose capture was extremely difficult. Over these the chiefs professed to have no power. The work of hunting them out was harassing to the last degree, for no sooner was one locality cleared than they appeared in another. Great numbers of horses had perished in the campaign, and it was found impossible to supply their places with fresh ones. At this time those of the dragoon regiment were being fed on damaged biscuits, so scarce was ordinary provender. To meet this difficulty, Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND determined to assign sufficient land to each chief without delay, so that they might collect their followers about them, after which the robber bands would be considered and treated as outlaws. The country westward of the Chumie and Keiskama was declared forfeited. The Rev. Mr. CALDERWOOD was appointed Commissioner, with instructions to locate the chiefs who had submitted beyond this boundary. But now another great mistake was made. The Governor was desirous of excluding the Kaffirs from the Amatolas, but Mr. CALDERWOOD induced him to restore that tract of mountain land to them. The Commissioner afterwards had occasion deeply to regret having given this advice.

While these steps towards pacification were in progress, a new Governor arrived at the Cape. Soon after the commencement of the war, Lord JOHN RUSSELL had become Premier of England, with Earl GREY as Secretary for the Colonies. The Earl considered that Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND, who had seen fifty-four years service in the army, should be succeeded by a younger man. Sir HENRY POTTINGER, an officer in the East India Company's service,

who had acquired brilliant renown in the war with China, accepted the appointment, on condition that it should not interfere with his advancement in India. In January, 1847, he arrived in the colony, with the power of High Commissioner for the settlement of affairs beyond the boundary, in addition to that of Governor. He was the first to hold these two offices conjointly, but each succeeding Governor has been High Commissioner as well. With him arrived General Sir GEORGE BERKELEY, who had been appointed Commander of the Forces, as the rules of the service did not permit an officer of the East India Company's service to hold a command in the national army.

Sir HENRY POTTINGER continued the plans of his predecessor without any material alterations. To the chiefs who professed to be submissive tracts of country were assigned, and a considerable number of Fingoes, who had fought loyally with the English, were located on the western bank of the Chumie. Several new military posts were established in commanding positions, and others were strengthened. By degrees the robber bands were driven over the border. But during this time PATO was making a most obstinate resistance, while there is little doubt that he was actively assisted by the others. While they professed to be sitting still, and were busy harvesting their crops, many of their followers were engaged in the war. The district between the Buffalo and the Kei had become the principal stage of operations. The kind of warfare pursued was something as follows: An attack upon a bushy ravine, from which the Kaffirs would immediately flee to another, then an attack upon this, from which they would return to the first; a waylaying of small parties of troops by the enemy; and an extraordinary activity shown on both sides in the capture of cattle. The Governor at length gave orders that all captured cattle which would incommode the troops in marching, or which could not be herded without inconvenience, should be shot.

The hostile Kaffirs were well supplied with ammunition, and as Sir HENRY POTTINGER was convinced that this was obtained from the nominally neutral party, who again procured it from secret traders, he forbade all traffic of every kind with any of the tribes then or recently in arms against the colony. Any person caught trading with them was to be considered and treated as if he were in treasonable intercourse with the enemy. As the penalty for this was death, transgressors could be tried by court martial, and shot if found guilty. An order such as this, prohibiting traffic of all kind with people who appeared to be intent only upon cultivating as much ground as possible, may seem severe; but it was necessary under the circumstances. There have never been wanting men so lost to honour and integrity as to imperil the lives and property of their countrymen for the sake of gold. And those industrious gardeners, so recently engaged in war and now apparently so devoted to peace, could not conceal their anxiety to become possessed of powder and lead. The advantages of martial law are seen on occasions like these, when the rules by which society is usually

governed are found powerless to preserve order. In point of fact, many of these neutral Kaffirs boasted afterwards of having cleverly outwitted the whites, by securing a suspension of hostilities during the growing season. It was a truce, they said, and ridiculed the idea of its being called peace. Had free trade continued, or the punishment for disobedience been less severe, there can hardly be a question that they would have obtained such supplies of ammunition as would have enabled them to do much more harm than they afterwards did.

The shifting of the scene of hostilities made it necessary to find a port further to the eastward than Waterloo Bay, where troops and stores could be landed. The mouth of the Buffalo River, now the port of East London, was selected. A line of military posts was established along that river, and Sir GEORGE BERKELEY was anxious to keep open communication by sea. In April, 1847, the *Frederick Huth* discharged a cargo of military stores there, after which Fort Glamorgan was built and the place was permanently occupied. In July a regiment was landed there from the steamship *Rosamond*. There is a popular belief of the existence of an ancient prediction among the Kaffirs, that when sea-waggons should find a resting place in the mouth of the Buffalo, Kaffirland would die. It is certain that no such prediction was handed down from times of old. But the landing of soldiers and munitions of war at the Buffalo mouth was not the less the means of discouraging the Kaffirs. They saw at once that it was in the power of the white man to attack them at any time in the rear of their mountain strongholds, to surround them, as it were, with a circle of fire. It was probably this that deterred many of the minor chiefs from again taking up arms when SANDILE soon afterwards was proclaimed a rebel.

From the time of his surrender the conduct of SANDILE was suspicious, and it soon became evident that his sole aim in submitting was to gain time to plant crops of corn. But the government was so anxious to conciliate him that little or no notice was taken of his designs until they ended in an overt act of hostility. He refused to surrender a thief, and when some troops were sent to his location, his followers waylaid and fired upon them, killing two and wounding several. The Governor then proclaimed him a rebel, 7th of August, 1847. SANDILE at once retired to the Amatolas, and occupied the old fastnesses from which he had been driven with such difficulty. About this time the troops that had garrisoned the Lovedale mission buildings since the retreat from Burn's Hill, removed to a new fort just across the Chumie River, which was called after the late Lieutenant-Governor Fort Hare.

The Governor now applied himself to the organisation of a powerful force of burghers, Hottentot levies, and Fingoes, and to the collection of large supplies of provisions and military stores. Sir GEORGE BERKELEY, on his part, drew all the soldiers available from the different garrisons. By the middle of September three great columns were ready, which entered the Amatolas at different points, and scoured them in every direction.

The great chief was pursued as long as his whereabouts could be ascertained. At length, with a few retainers, he concealed himself in a secluded woody ravine, but even there he narrowly escaped capture. Hunger forced him from that retreat, when he had no choice left but to surrender unconditionally,—19th of October. With his brother ANTA and his chief councillors he was sent under escort to Grahamstown, where he was placed in confinement.

PATO still held out. He was hunted from place to place, until, on the 19th of December, he, too, was compelled to relinquish the unequal contest. "I am no longer a man, but a baboon," said he as he surrendered to Colonel SOMERSET, "for I have been living among the monkeys." He and those of his followers who accompanied him looked haggard indeed, for they had held out till their only choice was to starve or surrender. Hunger had been keenly felt by the hostile tribes towards the close of the war, as their gardens had been destroyed and their cattle seized.

A few days before the surrender of PATO the government again changed hands, for the second time within ten months. Sir HENRY POTTINGER had received the appointment of Governor of Madras, and it had become necessary to select some one to succeed him. For some time past it had been admitted at the Colonial Office that the Glenelg system of dealing with the natives was a failure. The war had cost a vast sum of money, and thus the fact was impressed much more forcibly than it ever had been by the prayers of the plundered colonists. Sir HARRY SMITH, who had been in the former war an active supporter of the plans and views of Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, and who had since gained military fame by his splendid victory at Aliwal, was sent out as Governor and Commander-in-chief. He hastened to the frontier, and on the 17th of December, 1847, issued a proclamation extending the colony to the Orange River on the north, and on the east to the Keiskama from the sea to the junction of the Chumie, and along the Chumie to its source.

From the territory thus annexed on the eastward, the Amararabe were expelled, with the exception of those few who had taken no part in the war. The territory received the name of the Division of Victoria East. Two Magistrates were appointed to reside in it: one at Fort Peddie, whose principal duty was to superintend the Fingoes in that neighbourhood, the other at Block Drift, now the village of Alice. Some large tracts of fertile land in the upper part of the Division were set apart for the use of those Fingoes and Hottentots who had assisted in the war. In these grants to Fingoes, the plan followed was that of allotting large blocks to separate clans, thus perpetuating the evils of chieftainship and tribal holding. Instead of each man having his own plot of ground and looking up to the magistrate as his immediate superior, he held of his chief, who was in theory the magistrate's delegate, in reality an aspirant for independent power. It was the feudal system of the natives themselves, but its evils were so apparent that it causes surprise to find it perpetuated in an English colony,

when so favourable an opportunity for abolishing it occurred. In the unreserved portions of the district, farms were afterwards surveyed and offered for sale, some of which fell into the hands of speculators and were not occupied for many years. The land regulations of that day did not admit of farms being offered to colonists under military tenure, as in the system afterwards introduced by Sir GEORGE CATHCART.

On the 23rd of December the Governor met the chiefs at King William's Town. He had released SANDILE and ANTA when he passed through Grahamstown, so that all were present except MAQOMA, who was in confinement at Port Elizabeth for creating a brawl in the streets when in a state of intoxication. With a great deal of theatrical display, Sir HARRY SMITH there announced himself as the great chief of the Kaffirs, and proclaimed British sovereignty over the country between the new colonial boundary and the Kei. The district was to be reserved for occupation by the natives, the same as when it formed part of the Province of Queen Adelaide. It was now called British Kaffraria. The people within it were to be governed by their chiefs under the superintendence and control of British officers. The chiefs were to consider themselves British subjects, and were to exercise no more power than should be delegated to them by the Queen's representative. To all these terms they agreed for themselves and their people, and were even profuse in expressions of gratitude to the Governor for the restoration of peace. On the 7th of January, 1848, another meeting took place, when they took the oath of allegiance, and promised good behaviour. The pacification of the border was then proclaimed with a great deal more ostentation than was prudent under the circumstances, much of the ceremonies being unintelligible to the Kaffirs.

The war had been protracted for a period of twenty-one months, and had been much more expensive to the Imperial Government than the one which preceded it. The colonists had also suffered more severely both in life and in property, a careful estimate, made at the time, showing the value of the losses to exceed half a million sterling. The natives engaged in hostilities were more numerous, and many of them were supplied with firearms. They were therefore able to hold out longer, and to do greater damage than they had done before. But their losses were out of all proportion greater than those of the Europeans. Towards the close of hostilities, hundreds of them were compelled to subsist upon wild fruits of the earth, hundreds more now sought service among the farmers for the sake of food. The missionaries, too, had suffered very severely. Most of the stations had been abandoned in haste, and these were all pillaged and burnt. The missionaries were now invited to return and rooccupy their stations under the protection of the government, which they did without delay.

CHAPTER XXIV.

INTERVAL BETWEEN THE WAR OF 1846-7 AND THAT OF 1850-2.

Principal Subjects:—State of British Kaffraria.—Re-occupation of the Frontier Farms.—Formation of the Division of Albert.—Growth of Burghersdorp.—Formation of Military Villages on the Frontier.—Arrival of Bishop Gray and Rapid Extension of the Anglican Church.—Erection of a Lighthouse on Cape L'Agulhas.—Successful Opposition to the Introduction of Convicts.

Governor:—Sir HENRY G. W. SMITH.

As soon as peace was proclaimed, the Governor paid a visit to Natal, where his presence was urgently needed. While he was away, the arrangements for the settlement of the Kaffirs were carried out, apparently to their satisfaction. It was intended that such of their laws and customs as were not in violation of justice should remain undisturbed, but punishment for the imaginary crime of sorcery, by torture and confiscation of property, was prohibited. The power of the chiefs was curtailed, but no more authority was taken from them than was necessary to secure the means of improving their followers. In theory, nothing can be more satisfactory than arrangements like these. Carry them out, and the first and most difficult step towards civilization is surmounted. But the government of that day found it very difficult to put them in practice. In the first place, power—the power to enforce an order when given—was wanting. The Imperial Government had again withdrawn most of the troops, when nothing but military force could enable the colonial authorities to command obedience. A body of Kaffir police had been enrolled, but their sympathies were all with their countrymen, and they were never to be depended upon. In the next place, the Kaffirs were still in possession of the Amatolas, and as long as those fastnesses remained in their hands they could not forget their former independence. Too much, also, was expected from the chiefs. That men in their position and with their training should submit to the loss of absolute power, without any adequate compensation, could only result from necessity. And in their case, when the troops were withdrawn, that necessity seemed to be wanting.

The suppression of punishment for sorcery was viewed by the Kaffirs in a light almost incomprehensible to Europeans. We can easily understand that the chiefs would be opposed to such a regulation, because by it they lost the principal source of their revenue. But that the people,—especially those possessing property and who were therefore themselves in perpetual danger of violent death,—should have opposed it also, seems at first sight to be passing strange. The cause is to be found in their belief concerning

sorcery. With them there was no question, not the shadow of a doubt, that evil disposed persons could and did bewitch others, thereby causing sickness and death. It followed as a corollary, that the new government, by preventing the condign punishment of such persons, was wantonly exposing the people to destruction. This was their view of the case, similar to what ours would be if assassins were permitted by law to wander about unmolested. From all these causes, it was not long before a spirit of discontent began to be visible; chiefs and people alike chafed under the yoke, and could not be kept under that restraint which was so necessary for the welfare of all.

In other respects the new system worked satisfactorily. The farmers on the border were not subjected to the same annoyance from robbers as formerly, and were thus enabled to pursue their occupations with profit. In a short time many of their homesteads were rebuilt and their farms restocked. Probably no country in the world recovers from disasters more rapidly than the Cape Colony. Drought, floods, war, have all at times brought it to apparent ruin, when two or three years afterwards it has been as prosperous as ever.

In January, 1848, the recently annexed territory between the Stormberg and the Orange River was placed under the jurisdiction of a magistrate, and received the name of the Division of Albert. The seat of magistracy was fixed at Burghersdorp, a village that like many others in the colony grew up round a Dutch church as a nucleus. The farmers selected the site as being in the centre of the district, and as having a good supply of water. Otherwise, the locality presented few attractions. In a narrow gorge, between bare rocky hills and surrounded by open plains, parched with heat in summer and exposed to snow and sleet in winter, it did not seem likely that Burghersdorp would ever become a village of much importance. But as the country around it was found to be admirably adapted for sheep walks, the farmers quickly increased in number, and as a natural consequence places of business were established. The settlement of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic shortly afterwards brought a stream of traffic through the village, which tended greatly to promote its prosperity. Owing to these favourable circumstances, in a few years it became one of the most thriving villages in the interior of the colony.

With a view of increasing the defensive force of the colony, some military villages were at this time formed close to the new boundary. A number of men, discharged from the 27th, 90th, and 91st regiments of foot, and from the 7th dragoons, were located on choice plots of ground so as to form several villages. Each man had twelve acres of good agricultural land and the right of an extensive commonage. They were provided with seed corn and implements of husbandry, and had besides a waggon and two spans of oxen for every twenty men, on loan for a certain term, with the privilege of purchasing them at a cheap rate. For twelve months they were

furnished with rations free of charge. They were liable to be called out for service, if required, and were then to receive 2s. 6d. each per day. According to the official return, the following was the number of individuals assigned to each village, but the number of actual residents varied very greatly at different times:—

	Men.	*Women.*	*Children.*	*Total.*
Johannesberg	71	2	2	75
Woburn	71	0	0	71
Auckland	63	12	42	117
Ely	44	3	11	58

These little settlements were from the first wanting in all the elements of prosperity and permanency. The proportion of women to the whole number of inhabitants was altogether too small, and the men, as a rule, were not adapted to become tillers of the ground. A few, indeed, made a living in that way, and a few more found employment in cutting timber in the neighbouring forests, but with the stoppage of rations the bulk of them abandoned their ground and made their way to other parts of the colony. Those who remained at Woburn and Auckland lost their lives at the commencement of the next war, and at the present time hardly a vestige of any of these villages remains by which their sites can be ascertained. Experience has since shown that military settlements of this kind are not adapted to South Africa. The experiment was afterwards repeated, but failed, except in one instance, where a body of married pensioners had cottages built for them within the borough of King William's Town.

In 1848 the branch of the Anglican church in South Africa was greatly strengthened by the arrival of its first bishop, Dr. ROBERT GRAY. Funds for the endowment of the see were provided by Miss BURDETT-COUTTS, a wealthy English lady, through whose liberality several colonial bishopries have been founded. The last of the great Protestant bodies to enter the mission field, the Anglican Church has shown itself one of the most vigorous and successful. When the bishop arrived, he found hardly any congregations outside of Cape Town, no schools, and no missions among the heathen. He was accompanied and followed by a large staff of active clergymen, who were stationed in the country villages, where they usually founded schools and mission chapels beside their churches. From the day of his appointment, the Bishop devoted much of his attention to the spread of education within his diocese. No long time elapsed before he had made a worthy commencement of that long list of colleges and high schools of the English church, which are now dotted over South Africa, by the establishment of the Diocesan College for Europeans and the Zonnebloem Institution for natives, both of which are in the suburbs of Cape Town. The last was intended as a sort of High School, in which the sons of chiefs and men of influence could be educated, and to which the most intelligent pupils from the station schools throughout South Africa could be drafted, there to receive such training, as well as instruction from books, as would qualify

them to fill important posts among their countrymen. The Anglican Church entered the mission field with this advantage over all other pre-existing bodies there, except the Wesleyans, that its operations were directed from the colony itself, not from distant Europe. This vastly increased its power for aggressive warfare against heathenism. Owing to the liberality of churchmen in England and of Societies there, it had also the command of a much greater amount of money, in addition to which it was largely aided by grants from the colonial treasury. The see has since been divided again and again, and with each new bishop the staff of clergymen has been enlarged, so that now it has a greater number of ministers than any other Christian Society in the country.

In 1849 a lighthouse was erected on Cape L'Agulhas, the southern point of the African continent, where, before that time, a great many wrecks had taken place. On no coast in the world are lighthouses more requisite than on this. Harbours where ships can take refuge are few and far distant from each other, the coast is rocky and dangerous, and the current along it does not always run with the same velocity and in some places sets on the shore. Many vessels have struck at night when supposed to be far from land until it was too late to get beyond the breakers. This lighthouse and several others which have been erected more recently have gone far towards making navigation less dangerous than formerly.

The most notable event of this period was the determined opposition made by the colonists to an attempt of Earl GREY to convert the Cape into a convict settlement, a measure which was more dreaded than a dozen Kaffir wars. The only convicts that had ever been received into South Africa were criminals from the Indian settlements, sent here to be sold as slaves during the government of the Dutch East India Company. No white man known to be a felon was permitted at any period of our history to set foot on South African soil. To a people whose pride it was, and is still, to be singularly free of the graver kinds of crime, any idea of the pollution of society was naturally most abhorrent. Once before a similar scheme for making the colony a receptacle for England's criminals had been proposed by a British Minister, and had been indignantly rejected by the people of South Africa. That scheme was to form a great penitentiary on Robben Island, in which juvenile convicts were to serve a short term of imprisonment, after which they were to be apprenticed to farmers or any other persons who might need their services. It had been proposed at a time when, if ever, the colonists might have been expected to agree to it, for the country was then believed to be sinking into ruin from a dearth of labourers. The emancipation of the slaves had taken place only three years before, and the freedmen were still clustered together in the villages, endeavouring to support life without engaging in farm work. Certainly, if the vinedressers and corngrowers, whose lands were lying untilled in 1842, preferred to meet poverty boldly in the face rather than employ convicts, it could not be expected that in 1849, when their

greatest difficulties were surmounted, they would be less inclined to use such labour.

Earl GREY could hardly have been ignorant of the manner in which the proposal had been received at the Cape seven years before, and assuredly nothing had occurred since then that could lead him to believe he might succeed where his predecessor had failed. During that period, short as it was, the colonists had made a great advance in liberal ideas, they had seen the ruinous Glenelg treaties torn into fragments by the storms of war, they had been earnestly engaged in the work of education, and had been preparing themselves to take an active part in the government of the country. Throughout the colony the people were imbued with an intelligent patriotism, they were conscious that a great and prosperous future was before them, if they were only true to themselves. In 1842 Mr. FAIRBAIRN had advanced an opinion in the *Commercial Advertiser*, "that a pestilence sweeping off half the population should be preferred to an infusion of vice which would render the whole unworthy to live," and the words had echoed from the Atlantic to the eastern frontier. A memorial of that date, after referring to the promising appearance of Cape society and the progress of education and morality among the coloured people, declared that "the introduction of convicts would be fatal to the morals, industry, and very existence of the native population of Southern Africa," and concluded with a pledge "not to employ criminals of any description, nor to receive them into their establishments on any terms." Was it likely that the repugnance to have the land flooded with vice, the determination to oppose the measure by every possible means, would be less strong in 1849? The Secretary of State seemed to think so, but he was destined soon to be undeceived.

When, towards the close of 1848, the first intimation reached South Africa that the design had been renewed by the Imperial Government, inasmuch as by an Order in Council of the 4th September of that year the Cape was included among those colonies to which convicts might be sent, petitions and remonstrances began to be framed. Never was such unanimity displayed as on this occasion. From village and farmstead, from vine-clad valleys of the west where the descendants of the Huguenots passed their peaceful lives, from eastern sheepwalks where the sons of British settlers guarded their flocks with rifle in hand, alike from boer and Englishman, went forth the firm resolve to keep untainted the land which was to be their children's home. Their remonstrances were insufficient to turn Earl GREY from his purpose. The Cape would make a most convenient convict station, according to the Minister; the scheme would relieve England of a pressing difficulty in disposing of her felons, and assuredly it was the duty of the colony to bear a portion of the Imperial burden. It would almost appear as if he held the same views as did Fiscal BOERS in days of old, that the paramount object in dealing with colonies should be the welfare of the parent state. Fortunately for themselves and for future generations, the people of South Africa held a different opinion.

The local government, viewing the matter in the same light as the people, and believing that the petitions then on their way to England would be favourably received, issued a notice on the 14th of November, 1848, that none but political offenders would be sent to this country against the wish of the colonists. This promise, backed by Sir HARRY SMITH'S declaration that he would resign his appointment rather than be Governor of a penal settlement, partially allayed the excitement; but when in the following March intimation was received through an English newspaper that a convict ship was under orders to sail, the feeling rose almost to frenzy.

During the period of the famine caused by the failure of the potato crops in Ireland, a number of persons were convicted of agrarian offences, and were transported to Bermuda. But for some reason, it was considered advisable or necessary to remove them, and the transport *Neptune* was sent to convey them to the Cape. The character of these men was less objectionable than that of any other class of convicts, as the crimes for which they were suffering had been committed under the pressure of want, and were such as in this colony they would be free of all temptation to repeat. Nevertheless, the principle of receiving them with tickets of leave was the same as if they had been criminals of the deepest dye, and if they were permitted to land, the door would be open to as many as England might choose to send thereafter.

It is impossible to conceive of people placed in a more embarrassing position than were the colonists at this juncture. At the extremity of a vast continent inhabited by heathen and savage tribes, a few score thousands of white men had made their homes. Among them, in contact with them, were freed slaves, Hottentots, Bechuanas, Fingoes, outnumbering them in the proportion of two to one, all moving onward in the path of civilization, but all still far from the goal. If the northern border was partially protected by desert wastes, on the east were powerful tribes prone to war and eager to destroy. Was this a country in which to let loose the vicious and depraved, the wretched outcasts of English prisons? How easy it was for Europeans, once lost to self respect, to sink to the level of savages, to associate with them, to instruct them in villainy, the colonists had seen again and again. All the labours of the missionary, the schoolmaster, the civilizer, would be swept away before this torrent of vice, progress like safety would become an unknown word. And if their children escaped the dreadful infection, where would be their patriotism, for who could be proud of or love a land teeming with the base and the vile? Truly, no such danger had ever menaced the country before. On the other hand, no more loyal people were to be found in the Empire than among the South African colonists. The east was thoroughly English in blood, language, and sentiment. And if in the west men mostly spoke Dutch, all, old colonists and new colonists, English and Dutch, appreciated the advantages of English protection, of English ships to guard the coasts, of English soldiers in time of war. Suppose this protection should be withdrawn, that England

should fortify Simon's Bay, and while retaining it as a naval station, abandon the colonists as a punishment for the opposition now made. There were not wanting members of the Imperial Parliament who were prepared to approve of such a step, as the easiest way of getting rid of all responsibility with regard to colonial defence. Here, then, was another danger standing out in huge proportions before the loyal people of South Africa. They perhaps could not see it so distinctly in 1849 as a few years later, when British sovereignty was actually withdrawn from an African colony as large as England itself; but that such a policy was openly advocated by a large party at home, and might at any moment be carried out, was known to all. Of the two dangers, however, this was the least. And so the colonists resolved to rely upon English honour and English interest not to desert them, while they opposed in every way short of armed rebellion the Minister's attempt to force convicts upon them.

In Cape Town an Anti-Convict Association was formed, with ramifications extending throughout the colony, so as to provide for union and concerted action. The *Neptune*, meanwhile, had put into Pernambuco for supplies, and was detained there for some time, owing to sickness having broken out among the prisoners. While the convict ship was lying there, Earl GREY received despatches from the Cape, in which he was informed that the opposition to his project was certain to prove more formidable than he had anticipated, in short, that the colony was agitated from one end to the other, and that the consequences could not be foreseen. All classes of the people were united, and had bound themselves by a solemn pledge "not to employ or knowingly to admit into their establishments or houses, not to work with or for or associate with, any convicted felon or felons sent to this colony under sentence of transportation, and to discountenance and drop connection with any person who should assist in landing, supporting, or employing, such convicted felons." Petitions were following each other in rapid succession, petitions to the Queen and to both Houses of Parliament, petitions to the British and Foreign Bible Society, to Mission Associations, to the mayors and corporations of various cities, entreating them to use their influence to get the Order in Council rescinded. The colonial officers of government, even to the nominee members of the Legislative Council, were resigning their situations and taking the pledge. In the Commons, the rights and privileges of the colonists were being defended by Mr. CHARLES ADDERLEY, who had secured large and influential support. In the face of all this resistance, the Minister concluded that it was necessary to abandon the design and get out of the difficulty with as much grace as possible. He had no doubt that the convicts in the *Neptune* would be allowed to land, but since the colonists were so sensitive he would send no more. This was the reply received by Sir HARRY SMITH, who communicated it at once to the public.

The Association regarded the concession with disdain. Not one single convict would they have, not so much as the shadow of such a disgrace

should be cast over the colony. In Cape Town the people deliberately resolved to cut off all supplies of food from the officers of government, the garrison, and even the naval department at Simon's Town, if an attempt should be made to land the convicts. Some of them even spoke of annulling all government contracts, forgetting that by so doing they would hurt no one but themselves. The party that advocated such extreme measures presently rose to the ascendant, and then as a matter of course exemplified on a small scale the nature of popular tyranny. They would brook no opposition, no holding of more moderate views. There were those who thought the best course would be to work cordially with the local government, which was as much opposed to the introduction of convicts as were the colonists themselves. But this was scouted by the extreme party. Riots, not, however, on a very large scale, took place, in which a few of the moderates were assailed, and some property was destroyed. The Governor forebore to make use of the military in suppressing the disturbances, as he did not wish to exasperate the colonists still further. He endeavoured rather to quiet matters, by promising that the convicts should not be landed until further instructions were received from Earl GREY.

At daybreak on the 20th of September, the sounding of the fire alarm gong of the town house, followed by the tolling of the bells of the English, Dutch, and Lutheran churches, announced to the inhabitants of Cape Town that the *Neptune* had arrived in South African waters. At ten o'clock of the preceding evening she had cast anchor in Simon's Bay, having two hundred and eighty-eight convicts on board. The leaders of the Association had met at midnight and appointed a committee, who had immediately left for Simon's Town to communicate with the naval officer commanding there, and to see that nothing was supplied to the dreaded ship. There were no sales on the market that morning, no shutters moved from the windows of the stores. No thought of buying or of selling entered people's minds that day. An excited crowd at an early hour poured into the old square in which the town house stands, and there awaited till after midday the Governor's reply to a letter which the Commissioners of the Municipality had addressed to him, almost demanding that the *Neptune* should be instantly ordered away. His Excellency answered that to do this was beyond his power. Next morning a monster meeting was held, when a letter addressed by Mr. J. B. EBDEN, the Chairman of the Association, to the Governor, was approved of. In it, His Excellency was informed that "the words of the pledge, to drop connection with any person who should assist in supporting convicted felons, included all departments of the government by, or through, or under the authority of which, supplies of any kind might be conveyed to the *Neptune*, until that vessel's destination should be changed." And from that hour, the Cape Town branch of the Association resolutely acted upon this declaration. The Governor explained that if he were to order the *Neptune* to sail, the further detention of the prisoners on board would be illegal; but the explanation was thrown away.

Every person that had anything to do with the convict ship was treated as if he had some horrible and contagious plague, and the attempt to starve those who were only obeying lawful orders was persevered in to the last.

Throughout these troublous times Sir HARRY SMITH acted with great forbearance, though he certainly never forgot that he was the servant of the Imperial Government. He was guided largely by the advice of the Attorney General, Mr. WILLIAM PORTER, one of the ablest public officers this colony has ever had, and one of its truest friends. It is to be regretted that the Governor was not always treated with the respect due to his position, but great allowances must be made for the intense excitement that prevailed everywhere. At a time when people believed the country to be placed by the temporary controller of its destinies in greater peril than it had ever known before, a gallant chivalrous soldier such as Sir HARRY SMITH could excuse them for any indignities offered to himself, and could close his ears to language that sounded strangely disloyal and rebellious. Himself a man who often said hard words when in a passion, and just as often regretted having said them as soon as his temper was cooled, he could quite understand the defiant tone of the colonists and appreciate it at its true value. But he was in no wise inclined to be starved, and intimated that neither he nor his troops would go hungry as long as they had arms in their hands. Nor did they, though their arms were not needed, for it was simply impossible to cut off every source of supply.

Five months the convict ship lay in Simon's Bay, five weary months they must have been to the wretched prisoners on board. At last an order arrived for her to proceed to Tasmania, and in February, 1850, she sailed. Then only, when all danger was over, was the Anti-Convict Association dissolved, and the usual course of business resumed.

The action of the colonists on this occasion not only prevented the country being made a penal settlement, but created a respect for themselves in England greater than any they had hitherto enjoyed. There were indeed incidents connected with the demonstrations in Cape Town which could not be approved of anywhere; but, setting these aside, the spectacle exhibited was that of an earnest, united, intelligent people standing fearlessly on its honour and its purity, a spectacle that could not but command the esteem of Englishmen. Such a people was deserving of free institutions, could safely be trusted to manage its own affairs. And later on we shall see that even while the order for the *Neptune* to leave was being borne over the Atlantic, the most liberal constitution ever granted to a foreign possession was being prepared in London for the Cape Colony. A long, harassing, destructive war, added to various other causes, prevented its being put in force at once; but the preparation of the Constitution was coincident with the resistance to the introduction of convicts. The boon of representative government would have been conferred upon this colony if the anti-convict agitation had never been heard of, yet it is open to doubt if in that case it would not have assumed a less perfect form.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE GREAT NATIVE REBELLION.—24TH DECEMBER, 1850, TO 9TH MARCH, 1853.

Governors:—Sir HARRY SMITH.
Sir GEORGE CATHCART, March 31st, 1852.

EARLY in the year 1850 it became evident to the frontier colonists that another struggle with the Kaffirs was at hand. The Ngqika chiefs had submitted apparently with good grace to the loss of independence, but their only object had been to gain time to recruit their forces and enlist allies. These objects they endeavoured to attain without attracting notice, but in this they were unsuccessful. At their instigation, or at least with their concurrence, an imposter was busy inciting their people to war. This man's name was MLANJENI. The chiefs patronised him, the people gave credit to his wild predictions of superhuman aid in driving the white man into the sea. They believed that certain charms which he gave them would prevent musket balls from hurting them, and would cause cattle to follow them wherever they chose to lead. The farmers saw their servants flocking homewards at the call of MLANJENI, and they knew what was coming. The Governor, who thought the fears of the colonists were only imaginary, paid a visit to the frontier, and called a meeting of the chiefs. SANDILE, the highest in rank of them all, refused to appear. In vain he was summoned and assured of personal safety, he could not be induced to meet the Governor. He was therefore deposed from his authority,—30th of October, 1850,—so far as the colonial government was concerned, but this act had no effect upon his followers. They still regarded him as their chief, whose orders they were bound to obey to the death. The Governor returned to Cape Town, believing that there was not the slightest cause for alarm. He relied so much upon the prestige of his name, and was so thoroughly convinced that the Kaffirs appreciated the civilising tendencies of English rule, that he would not permit any steps to be taken which would imply the possibility of another war. But he had scarcely reached the seat of government when he received accounts which caused him to hasten back again at the head of all the troops available. His arrival at King William's Town with these reinforcements would, he was certain, prevent any disturbances that might have been in contemplation. SANDILE had in the mean time concealed himself in a thicket on the head waters of the Keiskama, and as it was impossible to secure his person, on the 20th of December he and his brother ANTA were outlawed. The government of the tribe was intrusted to SUTU, with the title of regent, and a body of councillors was appointed to assist her.

At daylight on the morning of the 24th, a column of troops seven hundred strong, consisting of detachments of the 6th, 45th, and 73rd regiments of foot and of the Cape Mounted Rifles, left Fort Cox on the Keiskama, and proceeded up the river. The patrol was commanded by Colonel MACKINNON, and was accompanied by a large party of the Kaffir police. The objects of this movement were, first, to arrest the deposed chiefs or drive them from their lurking place, second, to dispel the fears of the farmers by making what was expected to be a peaceful march through the most dangerous part of the country. It would be a test of the perfect submission of the Kaffirs, for up to this moment the Governor did not believe that they had any notion of war. So infatuated was he, that the infantry were not permitted to load their muskets, lest some untoward accident should take place in the event of Kaffirs being met with. The police, whose loyalty was then generally unsuspected, knew the particulars of the expedition and the line of march long enough before they set out to communicate the information to their countrymen. After marching some miles along the footpaths which led towards Keiskama Hoek, in the course of the morning the patrol reached the Boomah Pass, a rocky defile so narrow that the horsemen could not move two abreast. The tops of the hills were seen to be covered with Kaffirs, but as yet no shot had been fired. The police entered the pass first, then the Cape Corps, and afterwards the infantry. Just as the last horseman was through, an attack was made upon the line by thousands of Kaffirs who were lying in ambush behind rocks and in thickets. SANDILE himself, who never personally took part in an engagement, had just left the spot with two of his councillors. The troops fought their way through with a loss of twenty-three killed and about as many wounded. That night they lay on their arms while resting at Keiskama Hoek, and next day they made a circuit to Fort White, a post several miles to the eastward of Fort Cox. On the way they found the remains of fifteen men of the 45th, stripped and horribly mutilated. A small patrol had been surprised, when every man was put to death without mercy. In this manner the great rebellion was commenced. Before midnight of the 24th it was known over all Kaffirland, by the signal fires that flashed the news from peak to peak.

Another inhuman massacre took place on Christmas day. The Ngqikas were particularly embittered against the military settlers on the west bank of the Chumie, because they were occupying what had once been the favourite lands of the tribe. There had also been a great deal of ill feeling caused by the impounding of cattle trespassing on gardens. The kraals of OBA, son of TYALI, were on the eastern side of the valley, and his herds frequently crossed over the river, when they were driven to the pound and trespass fees were charged. In cases of this kind, when damage is sustained during daylight, Kaffir custom sanctions nothing more than for the women to drive cattle so trespassing into the gardens of their owners, because cultivated ground is supposed to be carefully watched from

morning till night. Compensation is only recoverable when cattle destroy crops during the night, that is, during the time when every one is supposed to have his stock securely kraaled. Another and greater cause of enmity was the violation by some ignorant soldiers of the grave of the chief TYALI, in expectation of finding treasure deposited there. The defenceless state of the three military villages in the Chumie valley was, however, the principal cause of their male inhabitants being doomed to death by the Kaffirs. For some time previous, much uneasiness had been felt at the warlike preparations going on in the neighbourhood, but the authorities had asserted so positively there was no cause for alarm that the villagers had allowed their fears to subside.

On Christmas morning a patrol of three men of the Cape Corps was sent from Fort Hare to warn the people of danger, by announcing that war had commenced; but the message was too late. About nine o'clock a horde of warriors armed with guns and assegais appeared at Woburn, the central village. The officer in charge, STACEY by name, with thirteen or fourteen followers made a gallant resistance, but in a few minutes every man was killed. The cottages were then set on fire, after which a party was detached to destroy Johannesberg, while the remainder proceeded towards Auckland. Woburn was situated on a gentle slope in the centre of the valley, facing Johannesberg, which was four or five miles further down. The last named village was built on a plateau commanding an extensive view, so that the residents, seeing the smoke of Woburn, became alarmed, and as soon as the Kaffirs appeared, most of them fled and reached Alice in safety. Three men were, however, overtaken and murdered. The village was committed to the flames. At the very head of the valley, in an amphitheatre formed by the Amatolas, lay the village of Auckland. A more romantic and beautiful situation cannot be imagined, but no worse site could have been selected for a military post. The rich land, the charming stream, the numerous cascades that come tumbling over the cliffs around, the patches of dark evergreen forest on the slopes, the grey rocks towering far overhead, all gave beauty, but not strength. Behind and on each side the mountains were almost too steep to be scaled, while in front a low spur extending nearly across the valley entirely shut out the view. Auckland was so secluded that the villagers could not see the smoke of Woburn, and so situated that escape was impossible from a foe coming up the valley. But no danger was apprehended by the doomed people, who were engaged in the festivities usual on Christmas day. So entirely off their guard were they that they took no heed of the warlike appearance of their visitors, but invited them to be seated and to partake of food. Suddenly, on a signal being given by their leader, the Kaffirs fell upon the defenceless people and murdered the greater number of the men. A few, with the women and children, took refuge in a sod house, which they barricaded and defended during the night. Next morning the women and children were permitted to leave, after being stripped nearly naked.

The men defended themselves till their ammunition was expended. Great fires were then made round the house, which forced them out, and all were murdered. The village, after being plundered, was given to the flames. Altogether, on the Keiskama and the Chumie, eighty-four lives were sacrificed to the fury of the Kaffirs during the first three days of the insurrection.

On the western side of the valley, a couple of miles from Woburn, was the mission station of Gwali, then occupied by the Rev. Mr. CUMMING. It was the oldest station among the Kaffirs, having been founded by Mr. BROWNLEE in 1820. After its formation, NGQIKA promised that it should be considered a sanctuary, and though it had been abandoned in former wars, it now served as a secure retreat for all who could reach it. On Christmas day arrived there the Rev. Mr. NIVEN with his family, five European men, and the three soldiers of the Cape Corps who had been sent up the valley in the morning with the notice of danger. Two of the men were naked when they reached the station, having been stripped by the Kaffirs, but not otherwise injured. On the following day the women and children from Auckland, some thirty in number, reached the place. Once there, they were safe, and were sheltered by the missionary until they could leave without danger. The station was of necessity abandoned some months later, when it was destroyed, and has never since been re-occupied.

At the time of these occurrences, Sir HARRY SMITH was at Fort Cox, which was immediately besieged by the whole power of the enemy. On the 29th, Colonel SOMERSET, with two hundred men of the 91st and the Cape Corps, together with a party of Fingoes, attempted to relieve the Governor, but failed. After proceeding some six or seven miles from Fort Hare, he encountered such numbers of Kaffirs that he considered it necessary to retreat. In falling back, the patrol was vigorously pressed by the enemy, when the soldiers were seized with a panic, and became incapable of resistance. Twenty men and two officers were killed, and had a party of the 45th not been sent out to their relief, the whole of the rear guard would probably have been cut to pieces. On the 30th His Excellency resolved to liberate himself. At the head of two hundred and fifty Cape Mounted Riflemen, he made a dash through the enemy, and succeeded in reaching King William's Town in safety.

Most of the Kaffir police had by this time deserted, and had gone over to their countrymen with their arms and horses. There is reason to believe that those who accompanied Colonel MACKINNON'S expedition on the 24th would have done so at the Boomah Pass, if their wives and children had not been at Fort Cox at the time. Two days later ninety of them deserted in a body, and these were followed by all the rest, except fifty who remained faithful throughout the rebellion. Then followed the usual accompaniment of a Kaffir war: a raid into the colony. Again the frontier districts were overrun and laid waste, the farmers being compelled to flee for their lives, leaving all they could not carry away to be destroyed by the invaders.

In this war the Amararabe were somewhat differently divided from what they had been in the last. The principal clans in arms against the colony were: The Ngqikas, under SANDILE, MAQOMA, ANTA, and OBA; the Imidange, under TOLA; the Amambala, under STOKWE; and the Imidushane, under SIYOLO. Those that remained faithful to their promise of allegiance were: The Amagqunukwebe, under PATO and KAMA; the clan of the Amandlambe under MQAYI; and the clan of the Imidushane under SIWANI. All these did good service on the English side. PATO kept the main road near East London open, and furnished escorts for waggon trains. KAMA was of great assistance in the defence of Whittlesea. MQAYI was useful in bringing slaughter cattle from Fort Peddie to King William's Town, and SIWANI conveyed the mails over the same line of road when it was closed to the ordinary posts. MHALA professed to be sitting still, but many of his people were with the Ngqikas. He took care of their own cattle and also of those which they brought out of the colony, in consequence of which Sir HARRY SMITH fined him a thousand head. Throughout the rebellion he acted a suspicious part, but was never openly in arms. TSHATSHU undertook to keep open the road between King William's Town and Fort Murray. But many of his people were with the enemy, and his own behaviour was such that the Governor deprived him of a portion of the ground which had been allotted to him in 1848. The remaining petty Rarabe clans, an enumeration of whose titles and chiefs would only cause confusion, were ranged, some on one side, some on the other, according to their location. All the clans along the Amatolas, and in the remaining portion of what was termed the Ngqika country, were in rebellion, while those on the seaboard were either neutral or were actively engaged on the colonial side. That none of the clans on the seaboard took an open part in the rebellion was owing mainly to the judicious conduct of Captain JOHN MACLEAN, who filled the post of Commissioner with the Ndlambe tribes, and had acquired great influence over them.

The Gcalekas, under SARILI, were aiders and abettors of the insurgents. The Tembus were divided into two sections. One, under the regency of NOMSI, the mother of their infant chief, took no part in the war, and, to avoid becoming mixed up with it in any way, moved eastward to the Bashee. The other sided with the rebels. The Fingoes fought loyally with the British.

But to the old enemies of the Europeans was now added a new ally, more dangerous because better disciplined than they. The rebellion of a large number of Hottentots made this the most expensive and destructive of all the wars yet waged in South Africa. No reasonable cause for the treason of these people has ever been put forward by any of their number. Twenty-two years had passed since their wrongs were redressed, and during all this time they had been on a perfect political equality with the white men. They had every inducement to remain loyal which the possession of liberty and complete protection of property could hold out.

But they were suspicious of the intentions of the colonists towards them, arising from the urgency with which a stringent vagrant act had been again and again pressed upon the legislature by a large section of the European inhabitants. Such an act had been passed in 1834, but, being vetoed by the Imperial Government, had never been enforced, and at this time it would have been impossible to procure a legal enactment depriving of their liberty those who were earning their living honestly. But the opinion was prevalent among them that the colonists were only seeking an opportunity to reduce them again to their old state of bondage, and that this would be done under the plausible name of a vagrant act as soon as a representative government came into power. That this would soon be, was no longer a matter of doubt. A constitution had already been prepared, and throughout the colony meetings had been held, petitions had been framed, and party feeling had run high, while a leading topic of conversation was the change that would take place when the colonists should be empowered to legislate for themselves.

At the Kat River settlement the people had been for a long time in a state of irritation. They had suffered severely in the last two wars, and were impressed with the idea that they had been unfairly treated in the distribution of captured cattle and in compensation for active military service. The villages, instead of presenting the prosperous appearance of former years, were now crowded with idle worthless characters, who had gradually found their way into the settlement, and remained there as squatters, discouraging those who were inclined to be industrious by their incessant demands for food. To appeals of this kind the Hottentots were unable to turn a deaf ear, hospitality towards the poorer individuals of their race being a predominant trait in their character, and thus the once thriving community had become an assemblage of paupers. Real, substantial grievances, they had none. But they believed that there was an entire absence of friendly feeling towards them on the part of many of their European neighbours, an impression which was certainly founded on fact. In short, there was no sympathy between the two races. The Hottentots, uneducated and unreasoning, were drawn into rebellion without counting its costs and its dangers. Some of them entered deliberately into treason, but others followed their leaders without thought until they were too deeply involved to withdraw. The residents at Theopolis, Shiloh, and many of those at the Kat River, joined the Kaffirs, and a considerable number deserted from the Cape Mounted Rifle Regiment and went over to the enemy. But this defection was far from general. The conduct of the men of the Cape Corps, with the exception of those who deserted at the outbreak of the rebellion, was satisfactory, and numerous Hottentot levies rendered good service to the colony throughout the war.

At a place called Blinkwater, in the vicinity of the Kat River Settlement, there was living a man named HERMANUS MATROOS, the son of a Kaffir woman and a slave who had escaped from the colony. He spoke the Dutch

language fluently, and had been for many years an interpreter in the service of the colonial government. About him had collected a horde of Kaffirs and people of mixed blood, who looked up to him as a sort of chief or leader, This man's land had been taxed, and he had been compelled to pay quitrent. much against his will. Before the outbreak of the rebellion he became an active partizan of the Ngqika chiefs, and served as a means of communication between them and the Hottentots. He was one of the principal instigators of the insurrection, but was so crafty that he avoided drawing suspicion upon his conduct. An application for arms and ammunition which he made to the authorities, to aid, as he averred, in defending the border, would have been granted if there had been any to spare. On the 7th of January, 1851, with a horde of Kaffirs, Hottentots, and mixed breeds, he attacked the village of Fort Beaufort. A small garrison was stationed there, but the commanding officer thought it prudent to act on the defensive only and declined to permit the soldiers to leave the military buildings, as he feared that the enemy might in that case gain possession of them. The inhabitants, left thus to protect their property themselves, acted in a most courageous manner. They met the assailants as became men to whom defeat meant certain ruin, and after a short but sharp action drove them from the village with a loss of fifty killed, including HERMANUS himself.

Among the pensioners from the Cape Mounted Riflemen there was a man named WILLEM UITHAALDER, who was possessed of considerable ability and great ambition. He had no wrongs to avenge, but he had conceived an idea of the formation of an independent Hottentot nation, with himself as its head. Such a result could only be attained by rebellion and alliance with the Kaffirs. This man was chosen as their leader by the rebel Hottentots, and round him soon rallied over a thousand of that people, all of whom were accustomed to the use of firearms. Some of them rivalled the Kaffirs in deeds of cruelty. The people of Theopolis had been suspected of treasonable intentions, and many of them had been disarmed shortly after the commencement of the rebellion, but it was not until the end of May that they formally committed themselves. Some Fingoes were residing among them. Early one morning they raised an outcry, and as the Fingoes rushed out of their huts to ascertain the cause of the disturbance, the rebels shot most of them in cold blood.

For several months nothing could be done to check the insurrection. The Governor called the loyal inhabitants, both European and native, to arms, but some time elapsed before an adequate force could be collected on the frontier. The troops were too few in number to commence active operations until reinforcements should arrive. Under these circumstances, the eastern portion of the colony was at the mercy of the insurgents. They made a second raid into it, driving off great herds of cattle, sheep, and horses, and burning and pillaging the country on their line of march. Still, they met with several reverses. They repeatedly attacked the village of Whittlesea, and were always driven back with loss. A good many of them fell also in

several petty engagements which took place. It was impossible to bring them to a pitched battle, but towards the close of the year several of their strongholds were stormed, and large numbers of them were shot in guerilla warfare. Their own cattle, together with those they had taken from the colonists, had been driven across the Kei and placed under the charge of SARILI. In December two columns of troops were directed to that quarter, with the double object of punishing SARILI and depriving the rebels of their sources of supply. One of these columns, under command of Colonel EYRE, was crossing the lower ford of the Kei when it was attacked by the enemy, who had constructed breastworks to defend the passage of the river. A smart engagement followed, in which the soldiers were victorious, but so bravely were they met that more than a hundred of the enemy were killed before they would retreat. The troops then scoured SARILI's country, doing great damage to the crops and kraals, and on several occasions repulsing the natives with considerable loss. On the 11th of January, 1852, the principal column returned to King William's Town with thirty thousand head of cattle, besides horses and goats. The other column left Butterworth on the 13th, and brought out some thousands of Fingoes released from slavery and thirty thousand head of cattle.

Christmas Eve was kept in the colony as a day of solemn humiliation and prayer before God, in respect of His judgment of war upon the land. On this day the Tembus were defeated by a burgher force, when a great number fell, and some fine herds of cattle, horses, and sheep, as well as several stand of firearms, were captured.

Very few burghers had hitherto taken the field, as they dared not leave their property behind them unprotected. Some volunteer companies had been formed and had done good service, but hostilities were carried on mainly by regular troops and Fingo and Hottentot levies. On the 6th of February, 1852, the Governor called upon the farmers of the frontier districts to assemble in commandos and assist in expelling the rebels from their fastnesses, but to this appeal they did not respond in sufficient numbers to be of any material assistance.

The loss of the steam transport *Birkenhead*, rendered memorable by the almost unparalleled heroism of the soldiers on board, was one of the saddest events of this year. She was conveying reinforcements to the seat of war, when at 2 o'clock in the morning of the 25th of February, she struck suddenly on Danger Point. So violent was the concussion that her framework was shattered, and she instantly began to fill with water. The terrified passengers rushed on deck, where, by command of Colonel SEATON, of the 74th, the soldiers drew up as if on parade. Only two boats could be got out, and then commenced the disembarkation of the women, children, and sick, who were all safely landed. When this was effected the order was given that the men should jump overboard and try to reach the shore on bits of plank and broken spars. If the ship had held together a few moments longer most of the men would probably have been saved.

But before they could leave her deck she went to pieces, and four hundred of England's braves met death in the boiling surf. Upwards of two hundred lives were saved, when, had the men not been under the influence of discipline, the boats would have been swamped at the outset, and all must have perished.

On the 31st of March Sir HARRY SMITH was superseded by Sir GEORGE CATHCART, as the Home authorities were not satisfied with the manner in which the war was being conducted, and thought it might speedily be brought to a close.

At this time SANDILE was still in possession of his old haunts in the Amatolas. MAQOMA, with two or three thousand followers of his own, together with numerous rebel Hottentots and a clan of Tembus, occupied the Kroome Mountains, within the colonial boundaries. From these fastnesses, bands of marauders were continually harassing the country even as far distant as Cradock and Somerset. SIYOLO, STOKWE, and TOLA, aided also by rebel Hottentots and Tembus, held the Fish River jungles and nearly the whole of the Division of Victoria East. Their bands were frequently swooping down upon the Divisions of Fort Beaufort and Albany, carrying off all they could get hold of, and then retiring to their fastnesses so speedily as to defy pursuit. MLANJENI was at the height of his glory, for the crops of maize and millet which had been cut down by the troops early in the season had sprung up again, and he asserted that this was a miracle performed by himself. The Kaffirs believed him and were elated. The Tembus north of the Amatolas were not yet entirely subdued, though they had been so far crushed that if it had not been for the presence of some rebel Hottentots among them, there would have been no difficulty in settling matters there. The farmers of Albert and Cradock were, however, yet exposed to frequent inroads from parties of these marauders. On the Gcalekas very little impression had yet been made. After the evacuation of his country by the troops in January, SARILI professed to be anxious for peace. He was informed by Sir HARRY SMITH that if he would pay fifteen hundred head of cattle as a fine for his destruction of mission and other property and as a mark of good faith, and would further cease from sheltering and aiding the Ngqikas, he would not again be molested. But these terms he declined with contempt. Soon afterwards he took part in a raid into the colony, but was met by Captain TILDEN at the head of a large force of burghers and native levies, and was driven back with great loss. Still he continued to be defiant, treating the Governor's very moderate demands with haughty disdain. UMHALALEB seemed to be ubiquitous. He had his followers thoroughly organised and under control. He assumed the title of General, and sent word to the British commander that he was prepared to fight or make peace on equal terms. The troops were worn out by fifteen months of harassing guerilla warfare, and needed some repose. Especially, the cavalry horses were so thin as to be incapable of performing duty. A few weeks rest was necessary.

During this interval Sir GEORGE CATHCART was arranging for a vigorous campaign. There was now a large regular force in the country, consisting of the First Battalion Rifle Brigade, the 12th Lancers, the 60th Rifles, the 2nd, 6th, 12th, 43rd, 45th, 73rd, 74th, and 91st regiments of foot, the Cape Mounted Rifles, Artillerymen, Engineers, &c. As much of this force as could be spared from garrison duty was formed into two divisions, one, under command of Major-General YORKE, to whom the duty of clearing the Amatolas was assigned; the other, under command of Major-General SOMERSET, was intrusted with the task of blockading the Kroome Mountains and driving MAQOMA from the Waterkloof and other fastnesses there, which he had hitherto held with the utmost tenacity, though they had been scoured again and again. The Governor saw that it was useless to drive the enemy out of any stronghold, unless it could be permanently held afterwards. There could be no such thing as territory left vacant in warfare like this. But forts such as had hitherto been constructed in South Africa were enormously expensive, and required half a regiment at least to garrison them. They were built as if they were intended to stand a siege by regular troops provided with cannon and scaling ladders, whereas something far simpler would answer the purpose equally as well against such enemies as the Kaffirs. He resolved therefore, as soon as a mountain stronghold was cleared, to build small defensible turrets in commanding positions, and to surround them with stone walls in such a manner that a large party could take shelter under them. Stores could then be kept there in safety under a guard of fifteen or twenty men, while the surrounding country could be constantly patrolled. Though two hundred of these redoubts could have been built for the same money that some of the old forts cost, they were found to answer in every respect the purpose for which they were designed. Sir HARRY SMITH had made King William's Town his centre of operations, from which he had worked in both directions; the new Commander-in-chief made Fort Beaufort his head quarters, and determined to work forward from that point.

There had hitherto been an enormous expenditure of public money in organizing native levies and keeping irregular forces in the field. Horses, arms, clothing, rations for themselves and their families, liberal pay, and a share of captured cattle, were demanded by the levies, and though they did not always receive as much as they thought they were entitled to, the expense of keeping them in the field was very great. Sir GEORGE CATHCART determined to reduce the number of these auxiliaries, and to employ in their stead a force of armed and mounted European police, the efficiency of which became so soon apparent that it has continued in existence ever since. The men of this service provide themselves with everything. They are ready to move at a moment's notice, and have proved themselves most admirably adapted to South African warfare. This force was raised in the Imperial service, and during the continuance of the rebellion was paid by England, but was afterwards taken over by the government of the colony.

In the course of a few weeks six hundred men were enrolled in it, and henceforth the frontier districts were kept comparatively free of marauders.

The colony being thus protected, in July the Governor called upon the burghers to aid in an invasion of SARILI'S country. He closed the proclamation by stating that if the colonists would not help themselves, the troops would very likely be withdrawn. He soon had as many burghers as he needed. In August, at their head and aided by some regulars, he crossed the Kei, burnt SARILI'S principal kraal, and captured ten thousand head of cattle. This campaign brought the Gcaleka chief to terms, and he was henceforth most anxious for peace.

During the month of September the Kroome Mountains were thoroughly cleared, and forts were established in such positions that they could not be re-occupied by the enemy. MAQOMA, who had held these fastnesses for twenty-one months despite the most heroic exertions of the troops, now fell back upon the Amatolas, where he joined the other rebel chiefs. He was followed at once by such a force that within a fortnight these strongholds also were cleared and dotted over with military posts. The power of the insurgents was by these means completely broken. In October, SITOLO, in whose country Tamacha Post had been erected, gave up the contest by surrendering himself. His example was followed by those of the Tembu chiefs who were still living. The others were seeking places of concealment, their followers having dispersed among neutral tribes. A reward of £500 and a free pardon was offered to any one who would apprehend UITHAALDER, and £50 for any of his subordinate leaders, dead or alive; the remainder of the Hottentot rebels were assured that their lives would be spared if they would surrender at once. Most of them gave themselves up, and were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment.

A settlement of the Tembus was next effected. A tract of country to the westward of the Indwe, since called the Tambookie Location, was reserved for their use. NONESI was invited to return with her people and occupy it. Mr. J. C. WARNER was placed there as the representative of government, and found no difficulty in preserving order and maintaining his own supremacy. All the remaining Tembu lands were forfeited. The clans of this tribe that were engaged in the war had been nearly exterminated. MAPASA, their principal chief, had been killed, and now the survivors were permitted to disperse among the followers of NONESI.

The pursuit of a few wretched fugitives being all that remained to be done, in November the Governor withdrew two thousand of the troops for an expedition to Basutoland. After arranging matters there to his satisfaction, he returned to the colony and took steps for the final settlement of affairs on the border. In February, 1853, peace was formally concluded with SARILI. He had previously paid the larger portion of the fine imposed upon him, and the remainder was now remitted.

In the meantime the Rarabe chiefs with a few devoted followers, hunted from place to place, had fled across the Kei. But they had no desire to

place themselves under SARILI's protection, even if he were willing to receive them; for his yoke, they knew well, would be heavier to bear than that of the white man. From their retreat on the Tsomo, SANDILE, acting for all, despatched two messengers to PATO, and begged him to intercede for them with Colonel MACLEAN. The messengers were to say, their strength was gone, they were beaten and driven from their country and only asked that a place might be assigned to them where they could rest in peace. On the 13th of February, MALI and MANI reached Fort Murray with this word from their chief, which was immediately communicated to the Governor. Enquiries made during the next fortnight proved that they were in earnest in tendering their submission, since they were really in desperate circumstances. On the 2nd of March the Governor issued a proclamation, granting mercy and pardon to the rebels, upon condition of the surrender of their arms and future good behaviour. Seven days afterwards a meeting took place at the Yellowwoods, six miles from King William's Town. The chiefs had hastened back from the Kei upon receiving news of the Governor's clemency, and nothing more remained to be done but to make arrangements for their location. SANDILE, MAQOMA, ANTA, OBA, STOKWE, and TOLA, were all there. They were informed that the Amatolas were forfeited for ever, and that any of them found there would be dealt with summarily under martial law, but that the large tract of open land from the Kei to the great northern road, northwards from MHALA's location to the Thomas River, was theirs as long as they conducted themselves as loyal and obedient subjects of the Queen. With this scene,—the brave soldier, who was so soon thereafter to fall at Inkerman, granting in the name of his sovereign pardon to the fallen chiefs, and they, warm in expressions of gratitude and loyalty,—the great rebellion terminated. It had ruined its instigators and hundreds of colonists besides. It is supposed to have cost Great Britain upwards of two millions sterling and the lives of four or five hundred soldiers. Among those who fell were several men of distinguished ability and high position. There was no braver officer in the British service than Colonel FORDYCE, of the 74th, who lost his life in one of the numerous skirmishes in the Waterkloof.

The names of SARILI and the Xosabe chiefs will appear again, MLANJENI and UITENHAALDER now pass out of sight. The former sank into contempt, became an object of derision among his own people, and died a few months after the restoration of peace. UITENHAALDER wandered for some years an outcast beyond the border. Without followers or friends, in constant danger, and sunk in abject poverty and want, he clung to his dream of an independent Hottentot nation. His final plan was to obtain a grant of land from SARILI, and collect the outcasts of his race there. But it did not succeed. SARILI declined to entertain the proposal, and UITENHAALDER, sunk in despair, committed suicide.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE REBELLION TO THE MEETING OF THE FIRST CAPE PARLIAMENT. 9TH MARCH, 1853, TO 30TH JUNE, 1854.

Principal Subjects:—Arrangements for the Protection of the Frontier.—Formation of the Division and Village of Queenstown.—Location of Europeans in the Kat River Valley.—Government of British Kaffraria.—Grant of a Constitution to the Cape Colony.—Cape Town in 1854.

Governors:—SIR GEORGE CATHCART.

LIEUT.-GOV. C. H. DARLING, (acting), May 26, 1854.

UPON the conclusion of peace, arrangements were made which greatly altered the relative position of the frontier clans to each other. The Christian chief KAMA had a large and fertile tract of land along the Keiskama given to him in reward for faithful services, and his clan being joined by numerous refugees from others soon swelled to be a powerful tribe. The Ngqikas, having lost most of their cattle as well as the rich valleys of the Amatolas, were poor and weak. The Fingoes had some of the choicest lands in the country allotted to them, a large portion of the Chumie and Upper Keiskama valleys being added to their former possessions. Some considerable strips of land were retained as Government Reserves, to be used in future for any purpose, as occasion might arise.

The forfeited Tembu lands north of the Amatolas were to a large extent filled up with European settlers. Farms, not exceeding four thousand acres in extent, were surveyed there, and offered to colonists under a system of military tenure. Young men who were possessed of some property and had been active in the defence of the frontier had a preference given to them in the allotment of these farms. They were bound to reside on their grants, to arm themselves efficiently, and to maintain in addition to themselves one armed man for every thousand acres over the first thousand of which their farms consisted. Under these conditions the district was at once occupied by a class of men well qualified to defend it. A Land Commission was appointed, to which applications for grants were sent in, and from the list of names the most suitable were selected. The portion of the forfeited territory allotted to Europeans contained about four hundred farms, while there were at least three times as many applicants.

Tracts of land at Lesseyton, Kamastone, Oxkraal, and Windvogelberg, were set apart for the use of natives who had been loyal. The strip of country known as the Bontebok Flats was left unoccupied for a time. It adjoins the Amatolas, but on account of there being no wood upon it and its being particularly exposed to cold winds in winter, it was not likely to

be chosen as a place of residence by either whites or blacks. It forms, however, an excellent summer grazing ground for sheep and cattle, for which purpose it has since been used. The district received the name of the Division of Queenstown. The farms were held under military tenure until 1868, when an act was passed by which the grantees were released from their obligations, on the ground that such burdensome conditions were no longer necessary. From that date land in this and in the other frontier Divisions has been held under the ordinary quitrent tenure of the colony.

A village was established in an excellent situation on the Komani River, (a feeder of the Kei), on a plain where abundance of water could be led out, and where superior building material was plentiful. The plan of Queenstown differs from that of other colonial villages, whose streets run commonly at right angles with each other. From an open space in the centre, called the Hexagon, its streets radiate to different points of the compass, an arrangement which was adopted to facilitate defence. Fifty building allotments, half an acre in size, were sold at its establishment for £4 10s. each, on condition of being built upon immediately, fifty others were sold at £7 10s each, on condition of being enclosed, sites were granted free for Episcopal and Wesleyan churches, and ten acres were presented to the Dutch Reformed congregation, with a view of inducing them to build a place of worship there. The growth of Queenstown was extremely rapid, as its position on the great northern road from East London, and in the centre of a fertile district fully occupied, gave it great commercial advantages. It is at present being connected by rail with the seaport, which is about one hundred and forty miles distant.

In Victoria East, after the Fingoes had received ample grants, there still remained much unoccupied land. Of this, a large portion was in the hands of speculators, who had been enabled before the rebellion to purchase extensively, under colonial regulations then in force, which required all crown lands to be sold to the highest bidder at public auction. What remained was now laid out in farms and granted to settlers under military tenure, the same as in the Queenstown Division.

The forfeited lands of the rebel Hottentots at the Kat River were given to European settlers. Very few titles had ever been issued there, owing to some neglect on the part of government. This was certainly one of the causes of the thriftless state into which so many of the people, who had once promised so well, had of late years fallen. Had titles been issued at the proper time to those who fulfilled the conditions of occupation, it is probable that many of them would have disposed of their ground, and thus in a measure have defeated the object contemplated in the formation of the settlements. But such a weeding out would have reduced the number only to increase the wealth and intelligence of the people, and, if an evil at all, would have been one of less magnitude than that occasioned by leaving the erfholders without that stimulus to industry which is found in

the possession of titles. This being now apparent, the requisite documents were issued without delay to those who had remained loyal. A new village, named Seymour,—after Lieutenant Colonel CHARLES SEYMOUR, who was Sir GEORGE CATHCART's military secretary, and who afterwards fell at Inkerman,—was laid out at Eland's Post, on one of the sources of the Kat River, and a magistrate was stationed there. Its situation is pleasant, but, not being on any of the great routes of commerce, it has not risen to much importance.

The frontier line was now occupied by a compact body of hardy Europeans, all accustomed to the use of arms, and by Fingoes whose loyalty could be depended upon. Behind these were the friendly chiefs MQAYI, SIWANI, and KAMA, along the eastern bank of the Keiskama, while further north the Tembus, friendly also, were separated from the colonists by a mountain range. The Amatola country, held as a crown reserve, was garrisoned by numerous military posts. The Frontier Armed and Mounted Police, stationed at the most exposed situations, were ready for any emergencies that might arise. Never before had the border been so secure, nor the confidence in permanent peace so widely felt.

During the war Colonel MACKINNON had resigned the situation of Chief Commissioner in British Kaffraria, and had been succeeded by Colonel MACLEAN, formerly Commissioner with the Ndlambe tribes. A very simple form of government was in force in the province, there being as yet only about twelve hundred Europeans, exclusive of the military, resident there. The natives were as heretofore governed directly by their own chiefs, who were supposed to act under the guidance of European officers stationed with them. To have deprived the chiefs of authority would have been to reduce the people to a state of anarchy, as they were entirely unprepared to come under the operation of English laws administered by English officers. The Governor's design was, gradually, and yet as rapidly as possible, to raise them in the scale of civilisation, by suppressing the worst parts of their own laws and customs, and by bringing them under the influence of missionaries. This was no new plan, as it originated with Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, not with Sir GEORGE CATHCART, and Sir HARRY SMITH had done his best to carry it out; but it never had a fair trial until now.

The missionaries were encouraged to resume their labours, which had been generally suspended during the continuance of the war. The Governor was desirous of forming industrial schools in connection with some of the stations, which should be partly supported from public funds, but his early departure from the colony prevented their establishment at that time. In most instances the missionaries had to commence their work afresh, as their property had been destroyed, and their stations were now occupied by stranger clans. From this date, however, their means of improving the natives have been greater than before. They have been released from subjection to the whims and caprices of petty heathen chiefs,

the exactions of some of whom were next to intolerable. The law of the land has been with them, and the grossest vices of heathenism have been suppressed. They have had all the advantage of working with the government of the people they are seeking to improve, instead of being opposed to it. But that their former labours were not fruitless was evident from the fact that not less than fifteen hundred Christian natives had refused to rebel at the bidding of the chiefs, and had taken refuge at King William's Town, where they remained while the war lasted, without a single charge of any kind being brought against any one of them.

The time had at length arrived when the colonists were permitted to take part in the management of their own affairs. They had long and anxiously desired this privilege. Notwithstanding the destruction of property in the frontier districts, caused by the Kaffir wars, the colony had of late years greatly increased in material wealth. Sheep farming had been found to pay in immense tracts of country not long since considered valueless, and the production of wool in large quantities was bringing the dependency into notice abroad. Immigration, though neither constant nor large, was sensibly adding to the number of European inhabitants. During the four years from 1847 to 1851, about three thousand six hundred individuals, mostly families selected from the working classes, had been brought out from Great Britain at the public expense, and had been distributed over the colony. This method of introducing Europeans was then abandoned for a time, but stragglers were frequently landing upon our shores. The yearly trade returns showed steady progress. Internal improvements, such as the construction of good roads and the erection of necessary public buildings in country villages, were being effected. Municipal institutions had been largely developed, and had served to train men to take part in public affairs. The Divisional Road Boards had acted in the same manner. More noticeable still was the moral progress that had taken place during late years. What the mission schools had done for the natives, the free government, district, and private schools had done for Europeans. A generation had grown up with sufficient education to be able at least to read and judge for themselves. Newspapers too had been circulating widely over the colony, and had done much to educate the people. Old prejudices were dying out,—slowly perhaps but not the less surely,—and the broad fact was generally recognized that legislation should be directed so as to secure the common welfare of all classes. The union of interests, which alone can weld together races of different origin, was no longer ignored, save by a very few. It is true that incomparably greater progress has been made since that period than was thought of then by any but the most sanguine; yet the foundations of all our later improvements were already securely laid. Under these circumstances it was impossible that the colonists could be satisfied with a Legislative Council composed entirely of nominees, even if these were recommended, as was the case in one instance, by the Divisional Road Boards.

As early as the year 1841 the inhabitants of Cape Town had petitioned the Home Government for representative institutions, and the Governor, Sir GEORGE NAPIER, had recommended compliance with the request. The question continued to be the subject of despatches until the appointment of Sir HENRY POTTINGER, who was required to report specially upon the fitness of the colonists for such a change, but who was unable to do so on account of his whole time and attention being taken up with the war then raging. As soon as peace was concluded, Sir HARRY SMITH entered into the matter, and in 1848 reported in favour of a representative government being granted. The Home Authorities were quite willing to gratify the wish of the colonists, and accordingly referred the subject to the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations, to suggest the best mode of carrying it into execution.

In January, 1850, the Committee presented their report, in which they recommended the creation by Letters Patent of two elective chambers, leaving the details to be settled by the existing Legislative Council. They thought that the colony was too extensive for one government, and that therefore two separate legislatures should be created, an opinion that had been held by the Imperial Commissioners of Enquiry in 1823, and was strenuously advocated by a considerable section of the inhabitants of the frontier districts. But the Governor's official advisers, including the bench of judges, were unanimous in opposing the division of the colony, and the Committee, relying upon their superior local knowledge, gave way to their judgment. They proposed that an ordinance be passed in the colony, subject to the approval of Her Majesty, fixing the number of members of which each chamber should consist, the franchise of the electors, the mode of dividing the colony into electoral districts, and all other details. This was the plan pursued, but much delay was encountered, owing partly to the rebellion, partly to great differences of opinion among the members of the Legislative Council.

It was not until the 11th of March, 1853, that the preliminary arrangements were concluded, on which day the Constitution was confirmed by an Order in Council. It was more liberal than that of any other dependency of Great Britain. The Upper Chamber, called the Legislative Council, at its creation consisted of fifteen elective members and the Chief Justice as President. The whole colony was divided into two electoral districts, called the Eastern and the Western Province, the former of which returned seven and the latter eight members. Half the Council retired every five years. The Lower Chamber, called the House of Assembly, consisted of forty-six members, elected by twenty-two Divisions, one of which—the City of Cape Town—returned four, and the others two representatives each. No elected member of either Chamber could hold any office of profit or trust under the Crown. Such, at its establishment, was the Constitution, under which this colony has since made most gratifying progress. With the growth of the country in material wealth and in intellectual power, it also

has grown to greater perfection; but considering the circumstances of the people, who had never before been permitted to take part in legislating for themselves,—(except in the solitary instance mentioned in a preceding paragraph, when Sir HARRY SMITH considered it necessary to ascertain the wish of the colonists respecting the form of the Constitution, and therefore requested the Divisional Road Boards to nominate persons from whom he could make a selection),—it was exceedingly liberal.

On the 30th of June, 1854, the representatives of the people met for the first time in Cape Town, and settled such preliminary business as the taking of the necessary oaths by the Councillors and the election of a Chairman by the members of the Assembly. The ceremonies to be observed on the occasion of the formal opening of Parliament for business had been arranged by Sir GEORGE CATHCART before his departure from the colony, which had taken place on the 26th of May. The duty of carrying out these arrangements devolved upon Lieutenant Governor DARLING. Under a royal salute, the Administrator was received at the door of the state-room of Government House, and was conducted to an elevated seat, on each side of which the consuls of different nations, public officers, and other persons of note were grouped. The members of the House of Assembly, preceded by the Speaker, were then admitted, and the opening speech was read. The Administrator then retired, the members of the Assembly proceeded to the Masonic Lodge where they were to hold their meetings, and the business of the first session was entered upon.

Two hundred and two years of time had passed away since VAN RIEBEEK on a memorable April morning stepped on the shore of Table Bay, and set about the construction of his fortress of mud. We have seen the changes that took place during those years, how rapidly the colony grew in territorial extent, how slowly in all that makes a country really great; we have followed its moral progress from the days when no religion was tolerated but that of the state church to those in which a Mahometan, a Romanist, a Lutheran, and a Calvinist were equal before the law; we have seen slavery give way to freedom, ignorance to intelligence, despotic rule to representative government. How was it faring now with the old South African town which VAN RIEBEEK had founded, and where a free Colonial Parliament had just met? It no longer directed public opinion so exclusively as it did in days of old, since Grahamstown for years past had given a tone to the political thought of a majority of the people of the east; but its influence was still undivided in the west, and paramount in the colony as a whole. The idea of Grahamstown was a division of the colony, with local government for each of the districts and a federal government over all, or, if that could not be, the removal of the seat of government to the east; but Cape Town influence was opposed to both these plans, and Cape Town influence prevailed. As a shipping port, the old town had sunk to the second rank, Port Elizabeth taking the lead, especially in exports. But the real trade of Cape Town was superior to that of the eastern port, for though the whole

of the eastern trade passed through Port Elizabeth, it did not centre there. In the number and importance of its public institutions, its benevolent, friendly, and religious societies, Cape Town was unrivalled. It had seven newspapers out of fifteen published in the whole colony, and three banks out of twelve. It had a Chamber of Commerce, and Insurance Companies, Life, Fire, and Marine. Railway stations and telegraph offices were as yet nowhere to be seen in South Africa.

Could the storm demon, who by ancient mariners was fabled to have his abode on Table Mountain, have looked down now from that lofty height, what a wondrous transformation would have met his gaze. The forests on the slopes were there once more, but the trees were not those of the southern land. Further down, the very form of the vale was changed. Little hills had disappeared, and, stranger still, that limpid purling stream, whose sweet waters refreshed the weary voyagers of old, no longer ran murmuring down to meet the sea. The lean-visaged, famine-stricken beachrangers, and the Saldaniers with their sleek herds, had all passed away; they might have belonged to another world, so few vestiges of their presence had they left in this. Even less than the Bushman had they traced their records on the sands of time, for he, as he flitted over a scene, dropped at least a boulder ring and marked a rock as memorials of his existence. Their names and their deeds, their joys and their sorrows, had all vanished into the land of shadows. Gone, too, was the greensward spangled with its myriad flowers, where by the light of the silver moon the revels of that perished race were held. The mountain, sombre and majestic, the fleecy cloud suspended along its brow, with which the storm demon was wont to screen himself from human eye, the sea, dashing its billows on the shore of the bay, were changeless all; men, races of men, might come and go, but mountain, cloud, and bay remained the same. By these alone could the fiend have recognised the domain over which, as poets averred, he once held boundless sway. And not all gone yet was his power, for coming years were to witness whole fleets of gallant ships lying stranded on that rock-bound shore. The day was yet distent when the mariner, safe within the walls of a splendid dock, could bid defiance to the raging storm.

Even Father Tulbagh, could he have revisited the scene where his memory was so long and so fondly cherished, would have had a difficulty in recognizing some of its features. The early governors, whose thoughts often turned to their dearly loved fatherland, bethought them that a town without canals was not the correct place for honest Hollanders to live in. Accordingly, they had projected a system of huge open drains, canals in miniature, which they regarded with pleasure and pride. But Englishmen had come, and had turned up their dainty English noses, had prated and plotted, till the best and goodliest of the canals had become things of the past. The great warehouses of the Company were there still, but needed no longer in the days of free trade, they had been turned into barracks for English troops. The gardens so famous in days gone by, the great parade

ground carefully levelled and turfed by Governor SWELLENGREBEL, the castle with its bastions and its moat, as yet defied the hand of time, but around them and stretching away on every side were streets and rows of stately buildings which Father TULBAGH would never have known. Churches and schoolhouses, stores and shops, printing offices and banks, all had sprung into existence in modern days. Here and there a windmill, lazily spreading its sails to the breeze, stood out as a relic of the past; but the steam engine was busy turning the stones that now ground the Malmesbury corn. The one solitary jetty, over which the commerce of the Company was borne, had become three, and shining on the shore of the bay were guiding stars which never gleamed of old. The galleots, with their enormous poops, low waists, and rounded bows, were well nigh forgotten, while in their stead rode a fleet of ships of modern build, over which waved fair and free the flags of many nations. Among them were some which to Father TULBAGH would have seemed of magic power, propelled as they were by a force which bid defiance alike to torpid calms and to the strength of the wild storm king. Dancing over the waters of the bay was many a fisherman's boat, for from the rich storehouses of the deep came much of the food used by the labouring poor. And over all, on land and on sea, the spirit of freedom reigned. The Malay artizan in his wide trousers, hip jacket, and conical hat, the swarthy coolie, less sumptuously clad, were as free to come and go, to sell their labour to the highest bidder, or to live if they could without labour at all, as if they had been born and bred under English skies. The poet and the painter might sigh for the days of the storm demon, no one surely could wish to recall the good old times of Father Tulbagh.

The suburbs, where grandeur and beauty are blended by nature, were still further adorned by the hand of man. On one side, Green Point, on the other, Wynberg, Clermont, Newlands, Rondebosch, and Mowbray, were covered with charming residences, many of them embowered in the most beautiful foliage. The same strong winds that in the olden times had caused VAN RIEBECK to lay out the first South African farm beyond the limits of Table Valley, still blew at times with such violence there as to raise the sand and drive it about like a storm of sleet; but away from the valley its power was gone. In pleasantness of climate as well as in beauty of scenery, the suburbs of Cape Town may be said to be almost unrivalled. The air is pure, fresh, and healthy, and even when a gale is blowing the other side of the mountain, at the villages named it is felt as a soft and gentle breeze. Plantations of firs and avenues of stately oaks are seen side by side with trees and shrubs native to the land. Vineyards and gardens fill up the foreground of the picture, while away in the distance are lines of dim and hazy mountains or the vast expanse of the horizon-bounded Atlantic.

CHAPTER XXVII.

SIR GEORGE GREY'S ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE WELFARE OF THE KAFFIRS. SELF-DESTRUCTION OF THE AMAXOSA. PRESENT CONDITION OF THE KAFFIRS AND FINGOES.

SIR GEORGE CATHCART was called away to the battle fields of the Crimea in May, 1854. He was succeeded in December of that year by Sir GEORGE GREY, who, after spending a few weeks at the seat of government, proceeded to the frontier to investigate matters there. It had now come to be pretty generally recognized that there were but two courses open in dealing with the Kaffirs, one being to civilize them, the other periodically to fight them. Seventy years intercourse had cleared away all the mists that once hung over this question, and left the fact naked and plain that permanent peace was impossible with neighbouring tribes barbarous and unprogressive. They might be beaten,—they had been over and over again,—but the fruit of conquest was always lost with the recall of the imposing military force which war brought to the front. Their vitality seemed unconquerable, crushed to-day they were more powerful than ever to-morrow. Hitherto very little had been done, except by missionaries and mission societies, to induce these people to adopt an improved mode of life. Mission schools within the Cape Colony were aided from public funds, but not a sixpence was spent on the education of the natives along and beyond the eastern border. The colony was too poor to engage in such philanthropic efforts towards the reclamation of its hostile neighbours, it had need of all its funds and more at home.

The arrangements made by Sir GEORGE CATHCART were admirable in a military point of view, but they needed to be supplemented. That friendly wall of flesh which he had built up along the frontier required to be strengthened, or it might at any moment tumble to pieces and ruin the country once more by its fall. SIR GEORGE GREY came with the means as well as the will to deal thoroughly in the matter, as the Imperial Government placed at his disposal a large sum of money to be used in improving the Kaffirs. Having inspected the locations in British Kaffraria and made himself acquainted with every particular, he directed a succession of vigorous blows at the very life of the heathenism dominant there, a life made up largely of ignorance, superstition, and indolence.

The first was aimed at ignorance. To the missionaries of various religious denominations he offered pecuniary assistance in the establishment of large industrial schools, in which native lads should be taught not only to read and write, but to work as mechanics, and where they should

be trained in orderly and decorous habits. Such of these lads as should qualify themselves for situations as teachers at outstations in connnection with the mission bodies, he promised to support with suitable salaries, hoping by their means to diffuse elementary education among the masses of the people. Several Societies accepted the Governor's offer and opened industrial schools, which continued in operation until the arrival of Sir PHILIP WODEHOUSE, when, in consequence of an alteration in the scale of the grants in aid, all were discontinued except one at Lovedale in connection with the Free Church of Scotland. Recently, however, the plan has been reintrodnced, and it now meets with general favour.

The superstition of the Kaffirs was a barrier in the way of their improvement, that could not be assailed in too many ways, nor too soon be broken down. The misery it caused, the many murders and confiscations of property it gave rise to, the power it communicated to chiefs and people in time of war, had often been witnessed by the colonists. And the time was close at hand when, prompted by that dire superstition of theirs, the Kaffirs would commit an act unparalleled in the world's history for its folly, a deed of madness such as nowhere else had ever been seen. They were themselves about to give the death blow to that monstrous faith which the English Governor was seeking to destroy. But just then there were no indications of the tragedy so soon to be performed by the children of XOSA. These hardy barbarians, true stoics when suffering from the most painful wounds or accidents, were yet helpless with fear when attacked by any kind of disease. For why? The nature of a wound they could understand, but disease was caused by the malice of an enemy operating upon them by means of witchcraft. Their doctors of medicine were acquainted with the powers of many plants and herbs, of which they made free use, but the operation of these was considered secondary and far inferior in importance to the detection of the bewitching matter and the punishment of the person suspected of having administered it. The antidote to a system by which, for instance, a man was treated for rheumatism by digging up a bit of bone from the ground where he usually slept and then falling upon the cattle of one of his neighbours, was to cure him by skilful medical treatment. This, it was thought, would break his belief in the power of witchcraft and of every species of witchdoctor. Accordingly, a splendid hospital was erected in King William's Town, where medicine, attendance, food, and comforts such as they had never known before, were offered free to any sick who chose to come. The design was as prudent as it was benevolent; but, unfortunately, it was frustrated before its effects could be tested by time.

The Kaffirs were indolent. What need had they to labour, when all that they knew of comfort and luxury could be obtained without the sweat of the brow? New wants must be created, new habits formed, to counteract this hereditary love of idleness, attended as it was with many a kindred vice. Traders were encouraged to open shops and offer for sale articles

useful and ornamental in native eyes. Only the sale of spirituous liquors and munitions of war was forbidden, for the people were to be improved, not encouraged to destroy themselves or their neighbours. Public works, such as roadmaking and the construction of a harbour at the mouth of the Buffalo River, were undertaken, so as to provide employment for all who were desirous of obtaining it. Long before this, the Kaffirs had acquired a knowledge of the use of money; here was an opportunity of earning it, without going far from their homes or losing the society of their friends. They offered themselves by hundreds, and thus while the country was being strengthened by an improvement in its means of communication, its people were being taught that lesson they needed so much,—the use and value of honest labour.

The chiefs were yet regarded by the people with a devotion of attachment, which no misfortunes had been sufficient to weaken, much less to destroy. Their will was the law of their followers, a law to be obeyed to the death, openly if circumstances would permit, secretly if the English power appeared for the moment too strong to be resisted. And these chiefs, though possessing much greater authority now than Sir HARRY SMITH had left in their hands, were yet compelled to resign to British officers the most important of their prerogatives, without any equivalent or compensation that could reconcile them to the loss. Let the nation recover its wasted strength once more, and this dethronement of its hereditary rulers would assuredly cause the land to be deluged again with blood. Sir GEORGE GREY attempted to secure the attachment of the chiefs by the payment of salaries or pensions sufficiently large to provide for all their requirements. A formal bargain was concluded with them, by which, in return for these salaries, they relinquished the privilege of levying contributions from their adherents and surrendered their judicial power in important cases. Apparently, they entered cordially into this agreement, but little more than a twelvemonth passed away before they showed their real feelings undisguised, and proved what a hold the love of independence yet retained in their hearts.

These arrangements were made during the year 1855 and the early months of 1856, at which time the Kaffirs appeared to be prospering and contented. The Governor believed that they were rapidly becoming civilized, the colonists forgot their sufferings and losses in the cheering prospect of permanent peace. From this pleasant dream they were suddenly awakened to a sense of danger greater than any they had known before. The Amaxosa were preparing for a last and desperate struggle, a contest that could have no issue but victory or destruction utter and complete.

One morning in May, 1856, a girl named NONGQAUSE, daughter of a councillor of SARILI, went to draw water from a little stream that flowed past her home. On her return, she informed her father that she had seen by the river some men who differed greatly in appearance from those she

was accustomed to meet. MHLAKAZA went to see the strangers, and found them at the place indicated by his daughter. They told him to return home and purify himself with the usual ceremonies, after which he was to offer an ox in sacrifice to the spirits of the dead, and to come back to them on the fourth day. There was that in their appearance which commanded obedience, and so the man did as they bade him. On the fourth day, purified and clean, MHLAKAZA went to the river again. The strange people were there as before, and, to his astonishment, he recognized among them his brother who had been many years dead. Then, for the first time, he learned who and what they were. The eternal enemies of the white man, they announced themselves as having come from battle fields beyond the sea, to aid the Kaffirs with their invincible power in driving the English from the land. Between them and the chiefs, MHLAKAZA was to be the medium of communication, the channel through which henceforth instruction would be given. For strange things were to be done, stranger than any that had ever been done before, if the proffered assistance was welcomed. And first, he must tell the people to abandon dealing in witchcraft, to kill fat cattle and eat.

Such is the tale which the Kaffirs told each other, of the manner in which MHLAKAZA and NONGQAUSE became acquainted with the secrets of the spirit world. MHLAKAZA and NONGQAUSE! What terrible visions of suffering and death are called forth now at the mention of those two names!

SARILI hailed the message with joy. It may be that he was a dupe, or perhaps, as many believe, he was the instigator of the whole scheme. His great word went forth that the command of the spirits was to be obeyed, that the best of all the cattle were to be slaughtered and eaten. Messengers from him hastened to the chiefs on this side of the Kei, to inform them of what had taken place, and to solicit their co-operation. Instantly all Kaffirland was in a state of commotion. MAQOMA, MHALA, PATO, STOKWE, and many other men of note, joined hands with SARILI and commenced to kill. The Governor sent word to the Gcaleka chief that though in his own land he could do as he pleased, he must cease from instigating those who were British subjects to destroy their property, or it would become necessary to punish him. But little cared he for such a threat, since the time was at hand when the tables would be turned and the punished become the punisher. SANDILE hesitating and timid, acting, too, under the eye of the Ngqika Commissioner, now the Secretary for Native Affairs, declined at first to obey MHLAKAZA's bidding. The Christian KAMA not only refused to go with the rest, but did all in his power to counteract the mischief they were causing. Many of his heathen followers, however, finding that either their loyalty or their national faith must be abandoned, preferred to surrender the first. SIWANI and his people escaped the general infection. MQAYI was dead.

The revelations communicated through MHLAKAZA and NONGQAUSE grew apace. The girl, standing in the river in presence of a multitude of

deluded people, heard strange unearthly sounds beneath her feet, which her father pronounced to be the voices of the spirits, holding high council over the affairs of men. The first order was to slay cattle, but the greedy ghosts seemed insatiable in their demands. More and more were killed, but still never enough. And thus the delusion continued month after month, every day spreading wider and embracing fresh victims in its grasp. By and by SANDILE gave way to the urgent applications of his brother MAQOMA, who asserted that he had himself seen and conversed with the spirits of two of his father's dead councillors, and that these commanded SANDILE to kill his cattle if he would not perish with the white man. Before this time the last order of MHLAKAZA had been given, that order whose fulfilment was to be the final preparation of the Kaffirs, after which they would be worthy of the aid of a spirit host. Not an animal out of all their herds must be left living, every grain of corn in their granaries must be destroyed. But what a future of glory and wealth was predicted for the faithful and obedient! On a certain day, myriads of cattle, more beautiful than those they were called upon to kill, should issue from the earth and cover the pastures far and wide. Great fields of waving corn, ripe and ready for eating, should in an instant spring into existence. The ancient heroes of the race, the great and the wise of days gone by, restored to life on that happy day, would appear and take part in the joys of the faithful. Trouble and sickness would be known no more, nor would the frailties of old age oppress them, for youth and beauty were to return alike to the risen dead and the feeble living. Such was the picture of Paradise painted by the Kaffir prophet, and held before the eyes of the infatuated people. And dreadful was to be the fate of those who opposed the will of the spirits, or neglected to obey their commands. The day that was to bring so much joy to the loyal would bring nothing but destruction for them. The sky itself would fall and crush them together with the Fingoes and the whites.

Missionaries and agents of the government tried in vain to stay the mad proceedings. A delirious frenzy possessed the minds of the Kaffirs, and they would listen to no argument, brook no opposition. White men were scowled upon and warned to take care of themselves, natives were silenced in a summary manner. Yet these fanatics, with their imaginations fixed on boundless wealth, were eagerly purchasing trifles from English traders, bartering away the hides of two hundred thousand slaughtered cattle. It is certain that most of them acted under the influence of superstition alone, though there is no doubt that some of the leaders viewed the entire proceeding as calculated solely for purposes of war. To throw the whole Amaxosa nation, fully armed and in a famishing state, upon the colony, was the end kept steadily in view by these. The terrible odds against the success of such a venture they were too blind to see, or too excited to calculate. Some there were who neither believed the predictions of MHLAKAZA nor looked for success in war, and who yet destroyed the last particle of their food. BURU, SARILI's uncle, was one of these. "It is the

chief's command," said he, and then, when nothing more was left, the old man and his favourite wife sat calmly down in their empty kraal, and died. SARILI's principal councillor opposed the scheme till he saw that words were useless. Then, observing that all he had was his chief's, he gave the order to kill and waste, and fled from the place a raving lunatic. Thus it was with thousands. The chief commanded, and they obeyed.

In the early months of 1857 an unwonted activity reigned throughout Kaffirland. Great kraals were being prepared for the reception of the cattle so soon to appear like stars of the sky in multitude. Enormous sacks were being made to contain the milk shortly to be like water in plenty. And even as they worked some were starving. To the eastward of the Kei the prophet's command had been obeyed to the letter, but the resurrection day was still postponed. It was in mercy to the Ngqikas, said MHLAKAZA, for SANDILE had not finished killing yet. Nothing surely was ever more clumsily arranged, more blindly carried out than this mad act of the Amaxosa. Here was one section of the nation literally starving—while another section was still engaged in destroying its resources. Mr. BROWNLEE had not been able to save the Ngqikas, but by keeping SANDILE from killing so long he had done much towards preventing a desperate raid into the colony.

The government did all that was possible to protect the frontier. Every post was strengthened, and every available soldier was sent forward. The colonists, too, were prepared to meet the expected shock, come when it would. And then, after defence was provided for, stores of food were accumulated for the purpose of saving life. For there could be no heart so cold as not to feel pity for those misguided beings who were rushing so frantically into certain destruction.

At length the morning dawned of the day so long and so ardently looked for. All night long the Kaffirs had watched, with feelings stretched to the utmost tension of excitement, expecting to see two blood-red suns rise over the eastern hills, when the heavens would fall and crush the races they hated. Famished with hunger, half dying as they were, that night was yet a time of fierce, delirious joy. The morn, that a few short hours, slowly becoming minutes, would usher in, was to see all their sorrows ended, all their misery past. And so they waited and watched. It came, throwing a silver sheen upon the mountain peaks, and bathing hill-side and valley in a flood of light, as the ruler of day appeared. The hearts of the watchers sank within them; "what," said they, "will become of us if MHLAKAZA's predictions turn out untrue?" It was the first time they had asked such a question, the dawn of doubt had never entered their thoughts till the dawn of the fatal day. But perhaps, after all, it might be midday that was meant, and when the shadows began to lengthen towards the east, perhaps, thought they, the setting of the sun is the time. The sun went down behind clouds of crimson and gold, and the Amaxosa awoke to the reality of their dreadful position.

A blunder, such as a child would hardly have made, had been committed by the managers of this horrible tragedy. Under pretence of witnessing the resurrection, they should have assembled the whole nation at some point from which they could have burst in a body upon the colony. This had not been done, and now it was too late to collect them together. An attempt was made to rectify the blunder, and the day of resurrection was again postponed, but fierce excitement had given place to deepest despair. The only chance of life that remained was to reach the colony, but it was as suppliants not as warriors that starving men must go.

The horrors that succeeded can only be partly told. There are men living now, intelligent Christian men, then wild naked fugitives, who cannot recount the events of those days. The whole scene comes home to them as a hideous nightmare, or as the remembrances of one in a state of delirium. In many instances all the ties were broken that bind human beings to each other in every condition of society. Brother fought with brother, father with son, for scraps and shreds of those great milk sacks so carefully made in the days when hope was high. The aged, the sick, the feeble, were abandoned by the young and vigorous. All kinds of wild plants, and even the roots of trees, were collected for food. Many of those who were near the seacoast endeavoured to support life upon the shellfish found there. Being unaccustomed to such diet, they were attacked by dysentery, which completed the work of famine. In other instances whole families sat down and died together. From fifteen to twenty skeletons were afterwards often found under a single tree, showing where parents and children met their fate when the last ray of hope had fled. A continuous stream of emaciated beings poured into the colony, young men and women mostly, but sometimes fathers and mothers bearing on their backs half-dying children. Before the farm houses they would sit down, and ask in the most piteous tones for food, nor did they ask in vain.

Worse instances of suffering even than these remain to be told. Charred human bones, fragments of skeletons afterwards found in many a pot, revealed the state to which the most desperate had fallen. One instance has been authenticated of a man and a woman eating the flesh of their own child. But there is no need of prolonging unduly the tale of misery, of raking up other horrors from the oblivion that time is casting over them. Let a few figures tell all that is yet necessary to complete the record. Between the first and last days of 1857, SANDILE's clan decreased in number by death and flight from thirty-one thousand to three thousand seven hundred souls; when the famine was over, MAQOMA, PATO, and STOKWE had less than a thousand people among them; MHALA had six thousand five hundred remaining out of nearly twenty-three thousand; even Christian KAMA had lost three thousand six hundred out of thirteen thousand souls. The official returns of British Kaffraria show a decrease in the population during that fatal year from one hundred and five thousand to thirty-eight thousand of both sexes and all ages. And this was in the territory adjoin-

ing the colony, a territory with King William's Town in its centre, where food was distributed to thousands. What then must have been the loss of life in the Gcaleka country, with no such storehouse, and from which flight, except to rival and unfriendly tribes, was next to impossible? The lowest computation fixes the number of those who perished on both sides the Kei at twenty-five thousand, ordinary calculations give double that number.

Among those that perished was MHLAKAZA himself. NONGQAUSE escaped, and is still living. For prudential reasons she has ever since resided in the colony, where she preserves an unbroken silence concerning the deeds in which she played so prominent a part. In speaking of these matters now, most of the Kaffirs admit that they were infatuated; they say they were never thoroughly conquered by the English, for they only made peace in 1835, 1847, and 1853, to gain breathing time, but that by destroying their substance they ruined themselves. A few still hold firm in the ancient faith, and maintain that something must have gone wrong in carrying out the instructions of the spirits, or MHLAKAZA's predictions would certainly have been fulfilled.

From the blow thus inflicted upon itself, the Amaxosa required many years to recover. For a long time the bulk of its young men and women remained in service among the farmers of the eastern districts, where they lost that antipathy to Europeans which was so strongly felt before. The power of the Rarabe chiefs was completely broken. Many of them have passed away since the date of these occurrences, and even their names bid fair to be soon forgotten. But to show the effects of the dispersion, a brief account of their subsequent careers is necessary.

MAQOMA, the ablest of them all, was convicted of having been accessory to the murder of a petty chief who refused to destroy his cattle at the bidding of MHLAKAZA, and was sentenced to transportation for twenty-one years. He was removed to Robben Island, and was there treated more as a prisoner of state than as a convict, being allowed the company of his favourite wife and as many other indulgences as could be granted under the circumstances. In 1870, under a promise of good behaviour, he was released and permitted to return to the country of his birth; but as he began immediately to foment disturbances, he was once more removed to Robben Island, where he died at an advanced age on the 9th of September 1873. Throughout his life he was always an attentive listener to the exhortations of missionaries, but never embraced Christianity. One of his sons has recently purchased a farm in the Waterkloof,—where MAQOMA stood at bay so long,—and now resides there with a number of families belonging to the clan. Though not a Christian, he is a well disposed man, and seems anxious for the instruction of those about him.

SANDILE still resides on a part of the location granted to him by Sir GEORGE CATHCART. He receives a pension from the government, and occasionally makes a tour about the country, collecting contributions from the Ngqikas and expressing wonder at the improvements going on. He

appears to be perfectly satisfied with his position, and places great confidence in the special magistrate in charge of the location. SANDILE has had ten wives, of whom nine are still living. His great wife, NOPASI by name, had two daughters, but no sons. To provide an heir she therefore adopted GONYA, the eldest son of NOKWAZI, the wife next in rank in the great house. But the heathen section of the tribe will not acknowledge GONYA as qualified to succeed to his father's dignity, because he was never circumcised, having been educated at Zonnebloem in the Christian faith. He was baptized by the name of EDMUND SANDILE, and is now engaged as interpreter and clerk in a magistrate's office. His full brother, BISSET, is at school at Lovedale. The family of SANDILE is a small one for a chief of his rank and age, he having altogether but seven sons and the same number of daughters.

ANTA, also, is still on his location, but his name is not often heard now. OBA (usually called by his retainers NGONYAMA—the Lion—on account of his conduct during the last war), in 1874 collected sufficient money among the members of his clan to purchase a large farm on the Keiskama, where he and they now reside. Though all were heathens, the chief immediately offered the farmhouse as a residence for a missionary, if one would come to live with them. But this must not be taken by itself as sufficient evidence of a desire for improvement, nor as flattering the missionaries, for it may have proceeded from quite a different motive. The chiefs have come to consider the presence of a European teacher as adding dignity to themselves, and are willing, like many people more highly civilized, to sacrifice a good deal for the sake of appearance.

MHALA's subsequent career was one of crime and misery. None of the chiefs had been more active than he in carrying out MHLAKAZA's instructions. He had even threatened with death members of his own family who were not disposed to waste their substance, and would have carried his threat into execution if they had not fled. At the dispersion, a considerable number of his remaining followers were removed from his influence by the government, and located beyond the Kei. The chief with about a dozen adherents then attempted to live by robbery, moving from one locality to another so frequently and stealthily as for some time to elude their pursuers. But at length MHALA was captured by a native policeman, was tried, and sentenced to imprisonment on Robben Island, where he was detained for five years. Of all the strange occurrences that have taken place since the white man and the Kaffir first met, the capture of MHALA is the strangest, for the man who tracked the son of NDLAMBE to his lair and there arrested him was no other than MJUZA the son of MAKANA. How difficult it is to comprehend the thoughts, or to account for the actions of these untutored beings, may be realised from the fact that at this very time MJUZA was carefully preserving the personal property of his father, in the firm belief that he would yet appear to lead his race to victory. And yet he hunted down and arrested the man whom it might be supposed, under

such circumstances, he would be most anxious to serve. But MHALA was not his chief, and therein lay the secret of his obedience to the commands of his employers. In 1864 the exile was permitted to return to Kaffraria, but his power was gone for ever. Henceforth his name was seldom heard abroad, and when he died a couple of years ago, it was not as if a great chief had passed out of the world. The people seemed almost to have forgotten him. One of his sons, like the son of SANDILE, was educated at Zonnebloem, entered the service of the colonial government, and is now engaged as a clerk in a magistrate's office.

SIWANI set his face steadily against the cattle killing mania, and with such success that he not only saved his people, but was able to increase their number by the incorporation of nearly a thousand fugitives. He is still living on his old location along the Keiskama.

PATO was sent to Robben Island for a time, and after his return found himself forgotten. His pension supported him till he passed away almost unnoticed. STOKWE passed also into oblivion. His son is now the proprietor by purchase of the farm on which Fort Willshire once stood, in the midst of territory owned by his grandfather NQENO. SITOLO, after some years of banishment, returned to his old home on the Keiskama, where he still resides in absolute obscurity.

KAMA saw his clan grow from the smallest to be the greatest in British Kaffraria. He lived in comfort, with his people prospering about him, till in 1875 the aged Christian passed peacefully to his rest. His son WILLIAM SHAW KAMA,—who had been educated for but had not entered the Christian ministry, owing to the urgent representations of his friends that he could be of greater use as a layman,—then became chief. The tribe is yet largely heathen, and from the very fact of their having resisted their chief's wishes so long, many families among them are now more hardened against the doctrines of Christianity than almost any others in the country.

Over the whole of the Rarabe clans British dominion is now firmly established. The principal and many of the petty chiefs and councillors receive small salaries from government, and are supposed to aid in maintaining order. Kaffir law is still administered in some cases, but is being gradually supplanted by the laws of the colony. The efforts made by missionaries for the conversion and civilization of these people have been productive of considerable results. Not that any great number have embraced Christianity, for the majority still cling to heathenism. Perhaps no race of men in the world is more tenacious of ancestral customs than this. But faith in their ancient superstition has been shaken, and though they retain their old customs, that which gave life to these is gone. As a whole, these people have thus made one step forward. With those who have adopted Christianity, an earnest desire exists for the education of their children, and numerous schools have been established for their benefit. Hundreds of native young men are now engaged as teachers in elementary schools, in which situations they receive salaries ranging from

£25 to £40 per annum. Several have been ordained as ministers of the Gospel. This section of the race has adopted the clothing of Europeans, and a few individuals have constructed dwellings after the European model. The quantity of manufactured goods used by them increases largely every year. They are grouped around mission stations, and are kept in order by the magistrates without much difficulty. Of late years many of them have become owners of considerable flocks of sheep, and are otherwise increasing in wealth.

The other and larger section seems bent upon ruin. Free trade in intoxicating liquors has placed a temptation in their way which they cannot resist. Prior to 1865 no person in British Kaffraria was permitted, under heavy penalties, to sell strong drink to a native. In that year the prohibition was removed, and since then drunkenness has spread rapidly and widely. Those who will receive nothing else from the white man receive brandy with eagerness, and are bartering their very existence for it.

Though the Gcalekas are beyond the border, their history is so intertwined with that of the colony that it is necessary to touch upon it in this chapter. SARILI had acted the leading part in the cattle-killing tragedy, and his people had suffered more than the others. When the famine was over, he found himself almost without followers, so many had perished, so many more had fled away. The Governor had intimated to him that if he persisted in instigating the Rarabe clans to their destruction he would be punished, but SARILI had declined to take warning. In February, 1858, a detachment of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police was sent over the Kei, and drove him and the remnant of his people across the Bashee. The vacant territory remained in the occupation of the police until 1865, when it was parcelled out among different native tribes. By this time the Gcalekas had somewhat recovered their strength, so that it became necessary to allot them a place to live in. A tribe with a country of its own must always be more inclined for peace than one that is homeless, as in the former case they have something to lose, in the latter case, nothing. The seaboard of their old territory was therefore restored to them. Since that time the Gcalekas have lived at peace with the colony, though their conduct on several occasions has been somewhat suspicious, in one instance so much so as to cause quite a panic among the farmers on this side of the river. Between them and the Tembus there has been a bitter feud for the last five or six years, owing to GANGELIZWE'S brutal treatment of his wife, SARILI'S daughter. Christianity has not made much progress among these people as yet, for, in spite of their experience, the old superstition is still tenaciously clung to. There are at present two or three European missionaries and some half dozen native teachers labouring among them. In other respects, they show cheering signs of improvement. They cultivate and sell large quantities of leaf tobacco, and graze a sufficient number of sheep to furnish them yearly with more than three hundred bales of wool. There are about twenty trading stations in their

country, where a profitable business is carried on by the sale of clothing, blankets, ploughs, and other manufactured articles, and by the purchase of their produce.

The north-eastern portion of the vacant territory was given to the Tembus in exchange for the country west of the Indwe, which they had been occupying since the war. GANGELIZWE, the paramount Tembu chief, agreed to this, but his mother, the old chieftainess NONESI, who still ruled a section of the tribe, declined the offer. She was therefore deposed (November, 1865,) and the Tambookie Location was broken up. The people have made about the same progress as the Gcalekas. Having been beaten by the Gcalekas and threatened with destruction, in 1874 they applied to be received as British subjects. Their request was acceded to, and since that time they have been under the jurisdiction of an officer who receives his instructions from the Secretary for Native Affairs. But the danger had hardly passed away when the tribe complained that their chief was not treated with the respect they considered due to him. In point of fact, he was deprived of that state and authority which the other chiefs retain, as his hands were so red with blood that he could not with decency be employed as an officer under government. He was accorded a pension of £200 a year, and openly as well as practically set aside. The consequence is a restlessness among the Tembus which, if it were possible for them to take up arms, might endanger the peace of the country.

The Fingoes had increased wonderfully in numbers and in wealth since their removal into the colony. Their locations in Victoria East had become over populated, and as they had always been faithful and their loyalty could be depended upon, in 1867 the north-western section of the vacant territory was offered to those among them who wished to remove. About forty-five thousand are now settled there, and though another emigration has taken place even more recently, to the territory of St. John, the original locations are still fully peopled. Such an instance of rapid increase in number has never been known elsewhere. It may be owing to the fact that of all the tribes of South Africa with which Europeans have come in contact, none have shown such an adaptability for improvement as these Fingoes. A glance at the present condition of that little tract of country now known as Fingoland, with its forty-five thousand inhabitants, will show how far they have already risen above the position of barbarians.

In 1874 (according to the report of Captain BLYTH, the very able officer who then represented the government there) the number of day schools in the territory was forty-six, the number of trading stations forty-five, and the yearly value of the import and export trade at the lowest computation was £150,000. Most of the people are well dressed in European clothing. They cultivate the ground very extensively, using ploughs, and raising large quantities of grain for sale. Fine flocks of sheep graze on their pastures, the fleeces of which are exchanged at the shops for useful manufactured articles. Nearly every man is the owner of a horse with saddle and bridle,

and many of them possess good transport waggons and teams of cattle. Their Agricultural Shows would be creditable to any division of the colony, both for variety and quality of produce and stock exhibited. They have made roads in their country, and though not all Christians, they have built many churches and schoolhouses. Within the last three years they have raised something like £3,000 by voluntary rates towards the establishment of an industrial school. A few of their young men, having served an apprenticeship at one or other of the industrial institutions in the colony, are now engaged as mechanics, and this class is steadily growing. A tax of ten shillings on each hut, collected without difficulty, covers the expense of their government, the machinery of which is simple but effective. Forty years ago these Fingoes were outcasts and slaves, less than one third of their number to-day. Their present condition is due to English protection and missionary teaching, agencies which bid fair to raise them very much higher yet in the scale of civilization.

Those who remained in the colony have made even greater progress, owing to their being less under the influence of chiefs and to many of them being possessed of titles to the ground they occupy. Over the Kei the land is held in common, a system which the chiefs naturally cling to, as it tends to secure their influence and power. A man with his own title deeds is independent of a chief, not so one without, who is a kind of tenant at pleasure of his superior. Yet a considerable advance beyond barbarism must be made before a native can appreciate the advantages of being a landowner. His chief says to him: "Why do you want that paper? You must pay the surveyor, you must pay quitrent every year, and then if the ground is not good you cannot move from it to another place. The old custom is better. Under it you pay only the hut tax of ten shillings a year, and you are free to stay or to go elsewhere as you please." Such is his mode of reasoning, and it accords with the ideas of an uncultivated people. The Fingoes in this colony are as a class beyond this stage. As landholders they are entitled to vote for members of Parliament, and large numbers avail themselves of this privilege. In other respects, the description of their kinsmen in Fingoland applies to them also.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FROM THE FIRST MEETING OF THE PARLIAMENT TO THE INTRODUCTION OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT. 1854 TO 1872.

Principal Subjects:—Opening of the Copper Mines in Little Namaqualand.—Ravages caused by Lung-sickness among Horned Cattle.—The Vine Disease.—Immigration.—Annexation of British Kaffraria.—Great Fire at Swellendam.—General Depression throughout the Colony.—Discovery of Diamonds in South Africa.—Disturbances on the Northern Frontier caused by Koranna Marauders.—Introduction of Responsible Government.—Formation of the Electoral Division of Wodehouse—Marks of Progress.

Governors:—Lieut.-Gov. C. H. DARLING, (acting)

Sir GEORGE GREY,	Dec. 5th, 1854.
Lieut.-Gov. R. W. WYNYARD, (acting)	Aug. 20th, 1859.
Sir GEORGE GREY, (returned)	July 5th, 1860.
Lieut.-Gov. R. W. WYNYARD, (acting)	Aug. 15th, 1861.
Sir PHILIP EDMUND WODEHOUSE,	Nov. 2nd, 1861.
Lieut.-Gov. HAY, (acting)	Nov. 7th, 1868.
SIR HENRY BARKLY,	Aug. 19th, 1870.

IN the north-west of the Cape Colony there is a belt of land which possesses in perfection all the characteristics of a desert. From the margin of the great plateau known as Bushmanland, it falls away by a series of enormous steps to the shore on which roll unceasingly the billows of the Atlantic. A long, narrow belt, twenty thousand square miles in extent, it presents to the eye nothing but a dismal succession of hill and gorge and sandy plain, all bare and desolate. In this sterile region, scorched as it is by the rays of an unclouded sun, the fall of rain and dew together scarcely exceeds four or five inches in the year. A land of drought and famine, of blinding glare and fiery blast, such is the country of the Little Namaquas. From time immemorial it had been the home of a few thousand wretched Hottentots, who were almost safe in such a desert from even European intruders. Half a dozen missionaries and two or three score of farmers were the sole representatives of civilisation among these wandering savages. One individual to about three square miles of ground was all that the land was capable of supporting.

Yet few parts of the world are richer in mineral wealth than this inhospitable, uninviting region. On its eastern side, at an elevation of something like three-fifths of a mile above the surface of the sea, are enormous masses of ore capable of yielding thirty per cent of pure copper. At various points along that lofty ridge, for a distance of at least one

hundred and twenty miles, these rich lodes are found scattered, each imbedded in solid rock. Here it was that the natives obtained metal for their rude trinkets, long before VAN RIEBECK planted the Netherland flag on the shores of Table Bay. From this source came the copper which, being spread among the south-western tribes in small quantities by means of barter and war, attracted the attention of early Dutch governors, and caused SIMON VAN DER STELL to leave his comfortable quarters in the castle and make a weary journey to what was then the far and unknown north. The metal bearing country was discovered, and, subsequently, qualified persons were sent out to explore the district and report upon the mines. Certainly, the East India Company would not have neglected such a chance of increasing its revenues as these veins of copper presented, if it had been practicable at that early day to get the ore to the sea. But the steep declivities, the frightful ravines, the wastes of sand, the harbourless coast, were physical obstacles too great to be overcome. And so for another hundred years the copper mines of Little Namaqualand were lost to view.

Towards the close of last century they were brought under observation for a little while, through a feeble attempt made by an Englishman to work one of them; but the effort was unsuccessful, and for fifty years afterwards no one resumed it.

After being disregarded for such a length of time, the mineral wealth of Namaqualand was at last to be turned to account. There is a good deal of discrepancy in the different published statements as to how, when, and with whom, the idea of working the mines first originated. It may have suggested itself to several individuals at the same, or nearly the same time. This much is certain, that as early as 1848 a lease of ground for mining purposes was obtained from the resident Hottentot chief by Mr. DONALD MCDOUGALL, who was then the proprietor of a trading establishment at Alexander Bay, near the mouth of the Orange River. The ground thus obtained was situated on the south bank of the river, about sixty miles above its mouth. The fact that such a lease had been made was known to several merchants in Cape Town, though it is no less certain that no immediate use was made of it. It was not until about six years later that the Kodas mine was opened there, by a Port Elizabeth Company, and was found not to answer the expectations formed of it, though the river offered easy means of transport, as it is navigable from Missionary Drift close to the mine to within a few miles of its mouth.

In 1852 the firm of PHILIPS and KING, of Cape Town, commenced operations at Springbokfontein, which was for a long time the most valuable mining centre known in the district. Soon afterwards a host of prospectors and explorers, bent upon discovering and appropriating copper mines, poured into Namaqualand. A perfect mania for forming companies set in, and quickly spread throughout the colony. They were called mining companies, though many of them had no intention of sinking so much as a single shaft, for it was generally believed that there was

sufficient ore on the surface of the ground to occupy the entire labouring power of the colony for many years. And in the eagerness to secure shares, no one thought it worth while to ascertain whether this was fact or merely fiction.

The fatuity reached its height in 1854, by which time companies had been formed in all the principal villages as far east as Grahamstown. Cape Town decidedly took the lead in this matter. Shares in the Alliance, the Colonial, the Cape of Good Hope, the Eagle, the Equitable, the Nabas, the New Burra Burra, the No. 6, the South African, the Tradesmen's, the Union, the Western Province, and several more, were eagerly taken up. Even the usually quiet unexcitable Paarl had its mining company, called by its own name. Parties of labourers were got together and sent by sea to Hondeklip Bay, many of them being under the charge of incompetent overseers. Some were sent to localities where there was not sufficient ore to meet the expense of removing it, others to places where there was no ore at all. Early in 1855 the bubble burst. A feverish anxiety to dispose of shares prevailed for a time, and ended in the dissolution of most of the companies. A good deal of capital had been thrown away, many grand expectations had been shattered, but the colony had added to its exports an article that is now worth over £300,000 a year.

For, amidst the general failures, one company achieved a splendid success. The mines of Springbokfontein and Spektakel, owned by the firm of PHILIPS and KING, proved to be immensely rich and productive. The only difficulty experienced was in the matter of transport, for the animal power of the country was insufficient to convey the ore to the coast as fast as it could be got ready. Mules were imported, but as their forage had to be brought from distant parts of the colony, the expense of keeping them was very great. Still, up to 1871, all the ore that reached the sea was brought down by mules or oxen. Some years before that date, the firm of PHILIPS and KING had transferred their property in Namaqualand to the Cape Copper Mining Company, who, in 1869, commenced the construction of a railway. Hondeklip Bay, hitherto the principal shipping place, was passed by, and Port Nolloth, some sixty or seventy miles further to the northward, was selected as the seaboard terminus. Ookiep, a new and extremely rich mine, only a few miles distant from Springbokfontein, was the inland point aimed at. The rails on this line are only thirty inches apart, and the cost of construction has averaged less than £2,000 a mile. As different sections have been opened for working, the quantity of ore brought down has increased, only five thousand six hundred tons being shipped in 1870 against thirteen thousand six hundred tons in 1874, the difference being mainly attributable to the railway.

Another firm was successful in working the Concordia mine, but its operations were on a smaller scale than those just mentioned. This firm subsequently disposed of its rights to the Concordia Mining Company, which is still actively engaged in the district.

A virulent contagious disease, known as lung-sickness, was at this time spreading through the colony and sweeping off great numbers of horned cattle. It was introduced by a bull imported from Holland and landed at Mossel Bay. South Africa has never since been free from this disorder, for which no remedy has yet been discovered. Its ravages, however, have been very materially reduced during late years by the practice of inoculation, that is, by communicating the disease in a mild form to cattle when they are in the best condition to bear it.

This plague was speedily followed by another. The grape vines were attacked by a disease caused by insects so minute that their individuality could only be detected under the most powerful microscopes. Under their attacks the vines withered away, and even the small quantity of fruit that was produced was of an inferior description. From this cause the manufacture of wine fell off greatly, until a remedy was discovered in the application of sulphur to the plants.

Large tracts of land in British Kaffraria having become depopulated by the national suicide of the Amaxosa, the Governor caused farms of about fifteen hundred acres each to be surveyed there, which were offered to such persons as were prepared to occupy and hold them on military tenure. They were at once taken up by farmers from the colony, and thus a powerful body of European settlers was located in advance of the Amatolas. Some regiments of men belonging to the German Legion, which had been raised by Great Britain during the war with Russia, were sent to this country upon the conclusion of peace, and were located in villages in British Kaffraria. Many of these military settlers have prospered, and they have undoubtedly been of great advantage to the colony, but as a whole their villages have been failures. The men were better adapted for artizans than agriculturists, and, even had they been inclined to till the soil, the plots of land allotted to them were at too great a distance from their homesteads to be of any service. In addition to this, the proportion of women was altogether too small to give reasonable hope of permanency to the settlements. Most of the men thus introduced dispersed over the country as soon as the issue of rations ceased.

Quite a different class of immigrants was introduced shortly afterwards. These were agricultural labourers selected from the hardy peasantry of Northern Germany. The men were accompanied by their wives and children, and were all inured to toil and accustomed to privation. In 1858 and 1859, these people, to the number of two thousand and eighty-one landed at East London. They were sent out under a contract between the Governor of the colony and a merchant of Hamburg, and were bound to refund within a certain time the passage money of themselves and their families, and to pay £1 per acre for the plots of land that were allotted to them. They were located in different parts of the frontier districts, but chiefly in the valley of the Buffalo River. Better immigrants could not have been introduced. By their industry, in the course of a few years

they became possessed of a considerable amount of stock and brought their little farms to a high state of cultivation. As market gardeners they are unrivalled in South Africa. Frugal, temperate, industrious, and religious, they have contributed very largely to the prosperity of the frontier districts.

In 1858 the small pox again appeared in the colony. On former occasions it had spread among the native tribes, creating great havoc among them, but by means of precautionary measures which were strictly enforced, it was now confined to Cape Town. There, however, it carried off between two and three thousand of the inhabitants.

The Province of British Kaffraria remained nominally independent of the Cape Colony for nearly seventeen years. The Governor, in his capacity of High Commissioner, was the supreme authority in the little dependency, but the Cape Parliament had, in theory, no voice whatever in legislating for it. In practice, as soon as an Act was passed in Cape Town, the High Commissioner proclaimed it as of force in British Kaffraria, and thus secured uniformity in the laws. The revenue was small, and required to be supplemented by grants in aid from the Home Government. The port of East London, with a rayon of two miles about the port office, belonged to the Cape Colony until April, 1860, and thus the duty on goods landed there was lost to the province until that date. The executive and judicial departments were modelled according to military forms until October, 1860, when Letters Patent were promulgated, establishing a civil government. Colonel MACLEAN then took the title of Lieutenant Governor, and shortly afterwards King William's Town was erected into a municipality, a supreme civil court of justice was established, and several other reforms were made. But the people were never permitted to have a voice in their government, and the High Commissioner's power to legislate was continued. The inhabitants were dissatisfied, but they preferred to remain under the government as it was rather than be brought more directly into connection with the Cape Parliament. They were in hopes that a Legislative Council would be appointed, and that by the settlement of the country between the Kei and the Bashee a sufficient number of Europeans would be brought into the province to support an efficient independent government. Such a scheme was at one time in contemplation, and applications for farms in that territory were actually called for and sent in, when the High Commissioner changed his mind and filled the vacant district with natives. From that moment the continued existence of the province as independent of the Cape Colony became an impossibility.

By order of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, proposals to annex British Kaffraria had on several occasions been made to the Cape Parliament, and had as often been rejected. The Imperial Parliament finally passed an Act of Union, which was, however, only to take effect after the lapse of a certain period, and provided the Cape Parliament did not in the meantime annex the province. Armed with this document, Sir PHILIP WODEHOUSE introduced a Bill which provided for the incorporation of

British Kaffraria as two electoral divisions,—King William's Town and East London. It created also the new electoral divisions of Piquetberg, Little Namaqualand, Victoria West, Riversdale, Oudtshoorn, Richmond, Aliwal North, and Queenstown, and increased the number of members of the Legislative Council from fifteen to twenty-one. This Bill, after much opposition, was carried through Parliament and became law in 1865.

On the 17th of May, 1865, the village of Swellendam was destroyed by fire. The houses were mostly roofed with thatch, according to the old colonial custom, which was certainly more conducive to comfort than the present one of covering buildings with iron, though it was attended with constant danger. The frequent occurrence of fires,—seldom, however, so disastrous as the one here mentioned,—has caused many municipalities in the colony to prohibit the use of thatch for roofing within the limits of their jurisdiction, and the high premiums charged by insurance companies on buildings covered with this material have tended further to prevent its use, so that the danger from fire is much less now than in former years.

At this time great depression was felt in every branch of industry throughout the colony. A severe and almost universal drought, which lasted for several years, completely paralyzed the farmers, and upon their operations the fortune of all other classes materially depends. Business everywhere was exceedingly languid, and many artizans who were thrown out of employment removed from South Africa to other countries. Money was so scarce that eight per cent per annum, with the best security, was considered a low rate of interest. Landed property was almost unsaleable. The public revenue was inadequate to meet the ordinary expenditure, and further taxation was considered impossible. A retrenchment scheme was adopted by Parliament, according to which certain districts were even to be deprived of courts of justice. It was at this gloomy period that a discovery was made which created a revolution in the country, and brought it rapidly to its present state of prosperity.

In 1867, a Dutch farmer named SCHALK VAN NIEKERK, who resided in the Division of Hope Town, happening to call at the house of a neighbour, observed one of the children playing with a remarkably brilliant pebble. The mistress of the house, on hearing Mr. VAN NIEKERK express his admiration of the stone, without any ado made him a present of it. Some little time after this, a trader named O'REILLY was in VAN NIEKERK'S company, when the stone was shown to him as a curiosity. He instantly suspected it to be a diamond, and, after obtaining possession of it, sent it first to Grahamstown to Dr. ATHERSTONE, and afterwards to Cape Town to M. HERITE, the French consul, to be tested. These gentlemen decided that it was a diamond, and the colony was startled by the announcement. The gem weighed twenty-one carats, and was sold to the Governor, Sir P. E. WODEHOUSE, for £500. Search was immediately commenced by several persons in the Hope Town Division, and no long time elapsed before a second diamond was found. Then, a third was picked up on the bank of

the Vaal River, and attention was drawn to that quarter. During 1868 several gems were found, but it was not until towards the close of 1869 that any great number of people were attracted towards the diamond fields. In March of that year the STAR OF SOUTH AFRICA was obtained from a native sorcerer, who had been in possession of it for a long time without the least idea of its value other than as a powerful charm. It was a magnificent brilliant of eighty-three carats weight when uncut, and it was readily sold for £11,000. By this time it had been ascertained that the largest deposits of diamonds were along the banks of the Vaal River, in the country now known as Griqualand West, and in all the districts of the colony parties of diggers began to be formed. Some of them were successful beyond expectation, though all were not equally fortunate. The roads were now covered with trains of waggons, conveying diggers and supplies of all kinds to the previously solitary and little known region where such boundless wealth was stored.

The effect was almost magical. Money flowed into the country, an extraordinary impetus was given to trade, farmers found a remunerative sale for their produce, artizans readily obtained employment at rates of payment unheard of before. Landed property rose in value everywhere, and within three years the imports from abroad were doubled. Of greater advantage than all this were the new ideas gained by the people generally. The prejudices of race, that had kept the colonists of English, Dutch, and German descent apart for so many years, were rapidly lost when all were engaged in a common pursuit and freely associated together. Men learned at the diamond fields that there is dignity attached to labour, a salutary lesson to thousands whom pride rather than indolence had previously kept from doing anything for themselves or their country. From Europe, America, and Australia, men now found their way to South Africa, and communicated broader views in many subjects than the colonists had hitherto held. It is as yet impossible to forecast the changes which the discovery of diamonds may bring to pass; this much is certain, that the country has made an enormous stride in material prosperity within the last few years, owing principally to that event.

In February, 1869, a portion of the Knysna district was laid waste by a most destructive fire. The country was parched by drought, when a hot wind set in and continued for some days. The grass commenced to burn in several places simultaneously, and the fire spread rapidly over a belt of country, destroying everything as it advanced. Great damage was done to the forests, which were previously supposed to be proof against a conflagration of this nature.

In the northern districts some trouble was given at this time by parties of marauding Korannas, who committed depredations on such an extensive scale that many farms were abandoned. A detachment of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police, under Commandant CURRIE, was sent against them, upon the approach of which they took shelter in certain almost

inaccessible islands in the Orange River. The task of bringing them to submission was a difficult one, owing more to the nature of the locality than to any resistance they could offer, but it was satisfactorily effected in August, 1869, when their island strongholds were stormed. A body of men, termed the North Border Police, was then raised to patrol that part of the country. This force is still maintained, but it has been united to the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police, for the sake of uniformity of discipline and management.

The Constitution had hardly been promulgated when its defects became apparent. A permanent Ministry, appointed by the Crown and independent of the representatives of the people, frequently came into collision with the Chambers, and, when neither party would give way, a deadlock in government was the result. The Constitution gave the Governor power to select the place where Parliament should meet. With the exception of one session, it has always met at Cape Town, where the offices of the Heads of Departments are situated. In 1863, Sir P. E. WODEHOUSE encountered such opposition in the House of Assembly that he summoned the Parliament to meet at Grahamstown in the following year. By this means he carried through the Houses certain Bills, nearly all of which were subsequently repealed in Cape Town. The Governor then found that even this power of removal was of no avail, and that the business of the country could not be carried on smoothly without some change. In the very first session of the Cape Parliament an attempt was made to introduce responsible government. It was defeated then by an overwhelming majority, but was repeated in almost every succeeding session, and gradually the colonists were brought to favour the measure. Sir PHILIP WODEHOUSE proposed to do away with both the Chambers, and to substitute in their stead a Council largely composed of government nominees. He told the colonists that they must adopt either this measure, and so secure the preponderance of the Executive, or responsible government, which would give supremacy to the Parliament. In October, 1869, he dissolved the House of Assembly, and appealed to the country on this issue. The result of the election was a majority in favour of responsible government. But the Legislative Council, which had not been dissolved, held out against the measure until 1872, when it was carried through by eleven votes against ten. The Bill, which had been introduced as a government measure, having received the royal assent, became law, and a new Ministry was formed shortly afterwards in the usual manner, that is, by the Governor selecting the Heads of Departments from among the leading members of the most powerful party in Parliament.

In the north-east of the colony, a new Electoral Division,—that of Wodehouse,—was formed in 1872. The object in this was to create an equality of members in the House of Assembly for the two provinces into which the colony was then divided, and thus to remove a grievance of which the easterns had long and justly complained. A tract of valuable

agricultural land lying along the western base of the Quathlamba, and which had hitherto been unoccupied, was included in the new Division.

Notwithstanding the great depression of the half dozen years preceding the discovery of the diamond fields, the period embraced in this chapter was marked by many signs of substantial progress. As regards public works, the formation of a splendid dock and outer harbour in Table Bay must take the first place. This work has been of great benefit to the colony, though the completion of the Suez canal has diverted much of the eastern commerce from the route round Africa, and has therefore reduced the importance of Table Bay as a port of call. Shipwrecks were formerly frequent there, and were sometimes attended with great loss of life. In 1856, and again in 1865, a whole fleet of vessels was driven ashore, and a vast amount of property was lost. Such disasters are now effectually prevented. In other ports, also, harbour works were commenced, though nowhere else were they completed. Roads and bridges were attended to. In the construction of railways and telegraphs a commencement was made on a small scale, not by the government, however, but by companies to whom a certain percentage on their outlay was guaranteed by government. The districts through which railways passed were required by the Act to make up one half of whatever deficiency might occur. It was proposed to construct two lines in this manner, of which, the one from Cape Town to Wellington was completed; but the people of Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth, which towns were to have been connected by the other, declined to bind themselves by a sub-guarantee, and hence nothing was done in that quarter. It was not until 1871 that Parliament resolved to construct railways at the public cost. In the sessions of that year and of 1872 the commencement of a line from Port Elizabeth towards Grahamstown, and the extension of the Wellington line towards Worcester, were authorized; but the works were not begun until after the introduction of responsible government. The villages along the coast from East London to Cape Town were connected by electric telegraph. Steam communication with England was developed, and two lines of powerful steamers were running in 1872, leaving fortnightly, and making the passage from Southampton to Table Bay in less than twenty-five days. On the coast, steamers were constantly plying from Natal to Table Bay, calling at all the intermediate ports. Postal communication was opened up, even with the most insignificant villages of the interior. Banks, newspapers, markets, schools, and public libraries, were established in all the leading villages. The cultivation of cotton was commenced on the eastern seaboard, and would doubtless have succeeded, had it not been for the scarcity of labour which followed the discovery of the diamond fields. Angora goats were imported, and mohair rose to be a valuable item of export. The ostrich was added to the list of domestic birds, and was made to contribute its plumes to the advancement of commerce. Immigration was limited, and at one time emigration was going on, yet the population increased rapidly, and large

tracts of crown land were occupied. Thus, on the whole, this period was characterized by many marks of solid improvement.

With the introduction of responsible government perfect political liberty was obtained by the people of the colony. The will of the majority, acting through elected representatives, is now the supreme governing power of the land. The destiny of the country is in the hands of its own children. For good or for evil the future is our own.

Upon every elector rests a responsibility which, being generally felt, must of itself tend to elevate the masses of society. The progress of the past, the active and intelligent political, commercial, and religious life of the present, alike point to a prosperous future. Never was the cheering name "Good Hope" more appropriate than now, for the colony is a land of good hope to half the continent. From it northwards and eastwards civilization is rapidly making its way. The missionary and the trader, using the Cape as a base of operations, are passing beyond the southern tropic, and the day cannot be far distant when its influence will be felt by tribes now wandering almost unknown in the dark interior. It has taken two hundred and twenty years for the white man to reach the Limpopo; it is probable that within another twenty his banner will wave over the Zambezi. It will be well for Africa if it be so. For to-day the children of Europe appear as liberators and friends, no longer as enslavers and tyrants. The mission of the Cape Colony is a noble one, marked out by a higher hand than that of man: it is to bring into the sisterhood of nations the people of a continent hitherto steeped in misery and vice. And if those who have made this land their home are but true to themselves and the cause they represent, the future cannot be other than grand and bright.

The leading events of the last three years are here recorded under brief headings:—

1873.

Commencement by Government of railway construction on a large scale. Cape Town and Wellington line purchased from private proprietors. Purchase of Cape Town and East London telegraph by the Government, and commencement of inland extensions. Establishment of the University of the Cape of Good Hope. Immigration from Europe,—particularly of labourers to whom employment for a certain time is guaranteed,—commenced at the public expense.

1874.

Colony divided into seven provinces, instead of two as formerly, for the purpose of electing members of the Legislative Council. Construction of three bridges over the Orange River authorized by Parliament. Act passed permitting free testamentary disposition of property. (December) Floods along eastern frontier, destroying immense amount of property in buildings and crops, besides sweeping away several bridges and causing heavy losses of stock.

1875.

Voluntary Bill passed by Parliament, according to which no state aid will be given to the clergymen of any denomination after the death, resignation, or removal of the present recipients. Confederation of South African colonies and states brought prominently forward by a despatch from Earl Carnarvon. Rejection by the House of Assembly of the proposal of the Secretary of State for a conference, on the ground that such a measure should be initiated in the colony. Desire for union of some kind universally expressed. Two parties developing; one desiring confederation under a central government of limited power, of a number of small provinces into which the country as far north as the Limpopo should be divided, each with a local government; the other contemplating the gradual absorption of all the existing states and colonies into one, under a strong government. Decennial census taken, showing increase of population in last ten years to have been at the rate of twenty-four per cent, and giving the following particulars:—

POPULATION OF THE COLONY.

Europeans	236,783
Kaffirs and Bechuanas	214,133
Hottentots	98,561
Mixed Races	87,184
Fingoes	73,506
Malays	10,817
Total	720,984, or 3·6 to the square mile.

POPULATION OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

Cape Town and its suburbs	45,240	Malmesbury	1,840
Port Elizabeth	13,049	Oudtshoorn	1,837
Grahamstown	6,903	Cradock	1,712
Paarl	5,760	Beaufort West	1,585
King William's Town	5,169	Aliwal South (Mossel Bay)	1,361
Graaff Reinet	4,562	Burghersdorp	1,349
Worcester	3,788	Colesberg	1,312
Uitenhage	3,693	Ceres	1,234
Stellenbosch	3,173	Aliwal North	1,229
Simon's Town	2,447	Riversdale	1,177
Queen's Town	2,320	Montagu	1,176
Somerset East	2,231	Middelburg	1,163
Wellington	2,192	Fort Beaufort	1,146
East London and Panmure	2,134	Robertson	1,104
Swellendam	2,008	Caledon	1,038
George	1,937		

CHAPTER XXIX.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONY OF NATAL.

On the south-eastern coast of Africa, facing the Indian Ocean, lies the Colony of Natal. Its northernmost point runs up like a wedge between the two republics, to near the 27th parallel of latitude; its southernmost point is at the mouth of the Umtamvuna, about latitude 31°. The country is shaped something like a diamond with broken edges, and has its northern and southern points nearly on the same meridian. On a coastline of a hundred and fifty miles there is but one harbour,—the port or bay of Natal. No complete survey of the colony has yet been made, so that its area cannot be stated with accuracy; probably it covers nineteen thousand square miles of ground. It is thus only one tenth as large as the Cape Colony; but it contains fully half as many people. No census that can be depended upon has been taken, and the numbers here given are therefore only approximate, yet they cannot be far from correct. From the number of huts on which the tax is paid, an estimate of the native population may be formed. They may be set down at three hundred and fifty thousand, Europeans at nineteen thousand, and Indian coolies at nine thousand, three hundred and seventy-eight thousand in all.

Natal is bounded on the north-east by the Buffalo River from its source in the Quathlamba to its junction with the Tugela, and by the Tugela from thence to the sea. Beyond the upper course of the Buffalo is the Utrecht district of the Transvaal Republic, and beyond the lower course of the Buffalo and the Tugela lies Zululand. On the south-east of the colony is the Indian Ocean. On the north-west is the Quathlamba or Drakenberg range, beyond which is the Orange Free State. The south-western boundary is an elbow of the Quathlamba, beyond which is Basutoland, the upper course of the Umzimkulu River and a range of hills, beyond which is Griqualand East or St. John's Territory, and the Umtamvuna River, beyond which is Pondoland.

Natal consists of a series of terraces rising from the sea to the Quathlamba mountains. The lowest of these, or that which lies along the coast, presents a tropical appearance. The soil is rich and is drained by numerous small streams, many of the kloofs are wooded, and the vegetation is extremely luxuriant. The rainfall is ample, being between forty and fifty inches yearly, and the mean temperature is high. It is washed by the hot Mozambique current, which makes it fit for the cultivation of sugar cane, coffee, arrowroot, and other productions of a torrid clime. This terrace reaches a height inland of about a thousand feet.

The central plateau rises to a height inland of from two to three thousand feet above the sea level. Here the influence of the Mozambique current is not felt, and the productions of the soil are therefore unlike those of the coast region. The rainfall is less, but is yet, in ordinary seasons, ample for agricultural purposes. Wheat, oats, maize, and similar plants, here attain perfection.

The upper terrace extends from the central to the base of the Quathlamba mountains, some of the peaks of which tower above it to the height of over ten thousand feet from the sea level. In this district agriculture gives place to pastoral occupations, though many localities are well adapted to the growth of cereals. By the time the sea breezes reach it, they have deposited most of their moisture. The rainfall is therefore less than in the central plateau, and is principally derived from thunderstorms. No large forests are found here, but along the dividing line between this and the central terrace many of the kloofs are wooded, and there are also some patches of timber land on the slopes of the Quathlamba.

These terraces are so broken up as rarely to form plains of any great extent. The hills assume an endless variety of form; many of them have precipitous faces and broad table lands upon their summits. The rivers mostly run in very deep channels, and are therefore nearly valueless for the purpose of irrigation. Three of them,—the Tugela, Umkomanzi, and Umzimkulu,—rise in the Quathlamba, and fall more than six thousand feet before they reach the sea; four,—the Umvoti, Umgeni, Umlazi, and Umtamvuna,—have their sources at the base of the inland plateau; and some nineteen or twenty others rise within a few miles of the sea. They all flow with great velocity, owing to the inclination of the country. In some of them beautiful cascades may be seen, as they come tumbling down an abrupt descent or bounding over a sheer precipice. One cataract of the Umgeni, a couple of hours' ride from Maritzburg, is three hundred and twenty-three feet in perpendicular height, and is a very grand sight when the river is in flood.

The climate of Natal is extremely healthy, as stated in the Army Medical Reports, and borne out by ample testimony. The drainage of the country is perfect, and the air is kept pure during the hot summer months by sea breezes along the coast and thunderstorms inland. There are no virulent diseases peculiar to the country, while yellow fever, Asiatic cholera, and other deadly complaints are entirely unknown.

The rainfall is almost confined to the period from October to March, that is during the prevalence of the south-east winds; thus the seasons are appropriately termed the dry and the rainy. From April to September the winds are light and variable, and the sky is generally unclouded. In the central and upper terraces, during the months of June, July, and August, the temperature frequently falls so low during the clear calm nights that the dew is deposited in the form of hoar frost. At this season of the year the climate cannot be excelled for comfort and health. Natal is sometimes

visited by hot winds from the north-west. While they last both animal and vegetable organizations suffer, but the former recover as soon as the winds cease. They are usually followed by rain.

The colony is divided into the following

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

The Borough of Maritzburg. This is the seat of government, and contains a population of about seven thousand souls, one half of whom are of European descent. It is in a picturesque situation, and is a very pretty town, with abundance of foliage about it. It is fifty-four miles inland from Durban, with which it is connected by electric telegraph. Owing to the nature of the country, however, it will require at least seventy miles of rail to reach the port.

The Borough of Durban. The town is built upon a sand flat extending from the shore of the Bay of Natal to the Berea hills. It contains many fine buildings, and being the only seaport of the colony, a stream of traffic, outwards and inwards, is constantly passing through it. The population is about nine thousand, of whom rather more than half are Europeans.

The County of Victoria, situated upon the seaboard, and containing the principal sugar plantations of the colony. Chief village: Verulam.

The County of Maritzburg, on the central plateau. Principal villages, exclusive of the capital: Richmond, York, Howick, and Edendale.

The County of Klip River, on the inland plateau. Principal village: Ladysmith.

The County of Newcastle, on the inland plateau and occupying the northern point of the colony. Until 1873 it was a division of Klip River County, but was then erected into a separate electoral division. The only village bears the same name as the county. There are deposits of coal in this district, but to what extent is not accurately known.

The County of Weenen, on the inland plateau. Principal villages: Estcourt, Colenso, and Weenen.

The County of Umvoti, on the central plateau. Principal villages: Greytown and Hermansburg.

The County of Durban, on the seaboard. Other villages besides Durban: Pinetown, Clair, New Germany, and Isipingo.

The United Counties of Alexandra and Alfred, on the seaboard. These counties are as yet so sparsely inhabited by Europeans that they are not considered of sufficient importance to be represented separately in the Legislature.

GOVERNMENT.

The government is vested in a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the crown of England. In rank he is inferior to the Governor of the Cape

Colony, and he has no power such as the latter possesses in virtue of his office of High Commissioner.

The Legislature consists at present of the Lieutenant-Governor and a Council of twenty-eight members. Of these, fifteen are elected by the people, viz., two for each of the five electoral districts first named, and one for each of the remaining five. The following officials have seats and votes: the Colonial Secretary, the Treasurer General, the Attorney General, the Secretary for Native Affairs, and the Protector of Immigrants. In 1875 an Act was passed, which is to have force for five years, and which gives the Governor power to nominate eight unofficial members, viz., four from the coast and four from the up-country districts. The nominees must be colonists of two years' standing and be possessed of fixed property to the value of one thousand pounds. Ten members form a quorum, and a majority of two-thirds of those present is requisite to impose any new tax upon Europeans. The Lieutenant-Governor has the power of approving of a bill passed by the Council, rejecting it, or reserving it for the consideration of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The Executive Council consists of the Lieutenant-Governor, Chief Justice, Senior Military Officer, Colonial Secretary, Treasurer General, Attorney General, Secretary for Native Affairs, Protector of Immigrants, and two of the elected members of the Legislature selected by the Governor.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

Justice is administered in a manner similar to that of the Cape Colony. The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two Puisne Judges, from which there is an appeal in highly important cases to the Privy Council of England. Stipendiary Magistrates, of whom there are at present fifteen, are scattered over the colony, with power to try petty cases, and to conduct preliminary examinations in cases where individuals are charged with the commission of crimes of magnitude. There is also a High Native Court, before which natives charged with serious offences are tried according to their own laws.

EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

A few schools of different classes, aided to a small extent by public funds, are established in the colony. In Maritzburg and Durban there are High Schools, in which a superior education is imparted, as well as Public Elementary Schools, in which a merely nominal fee is exacted from pupils. These are under the supervision of an officer entitled the Superintendent General of Education. Several private schools have also been established, and it may be said that adequate means exist for imparting an ordinary education to European children. A few thousands of the native children

are being educated in mission schools, which also receive aid from the public treasury, but the great majority of the youth of this class of the population are growing up in absolute ignorance of book learning.

There are a few public libraries in the colony, which receive small yearly grants from government. Of these, the most important is the one belonging to the Natal Society, in Maritzburg, which contains nearly four thousand books. The society has it in contemplation to erect a handsome building, to contain a museum, library, and lecture rooms. It receives a yearly grant of £100. Next in importance is the library of the Durban Mechanics' Institute, which also receives £100 a year. The Verulam Mechanics' Institute and the Pinetown reading room receive £50, the Greytown, Ladysmith, and Richmond reading rooms £25 each.

ROADS AND MEANS OF TRANSPORT.

The roads of Natal are similar to those of the Cape Colony, excepting that fewer rivers are bridged. Here also the transport of goods is effected by means of waggons drawn by bullocks. The only railway open for traffic is a line about five miles in length, between the Point or landing place for goods and the Umgeni River. The section of this line between the Point and Durban was constructed in 1861; the extension to the Umgeni a few years ago was principally to facilitate the transport of stone from the quarries there to the harbour works. For many years past the colonists have been alive to the importance of railways for developing the resources of the country, and several schemes have been floated from time to time. One, known as Mr. WELBORNE'S, which was approved by the legislature, was to lay down lines four hundred and forty miles in length; but the Secretary of State for the Colonies vetoed it on the ground of the concessions in land being too great.

A commencement, however, has been made by the government, and on the 1st of January, 1876, the first sod of a line to connect the port and the capital was turned by the Lieutenant Governor with much ceremony. This, together with a short branch along the south coast and a continuation of the existing line northward as far as Verulam, will be constructed by Messrs. WYTHES and JACKSON under a contract with the government. The money required will be borrowed in England. These are the only lines authorized as yet, but it is evident that the main line, to be successful, must be pushed far beyond Maritzburg to meet the requirements of the interior trade, so that an extension in that direction is almost certain at no distant date. The line to Verulam will be of great advantage to the sugar planters of Victoria County, but it too will require to be pushed further. The south coast line will open up a district of great value, which has hitherto been neglected, owing almost entirely to the want of cheap communication with the seaport.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.

Revenue.—1873, £204,922. 1874, £247,259. 1875, £260,271.
Expenditure.—1873, £201,148. 1874, £306,364. 1875, £306,412.
Public Debt (in 1874) £331,300.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

The figures under these returns represent the trade with transmarine nations of the colony and also of a large back country of which the Bay of Natal is the natural port. They do not therefore give a correct idea of the industry and wealth of the British province alone. Natal is one of the high roads to the interior, and the bulk of the traffic that passes through it is in foreign articles, though there is a considerable trade carried on with the productions and manufactures of the colony itself. Among these the principal articles are sugar, coffee, and arrowroot; but hams, bacon, butter, jams (notably pineapple jams in tins), a variety of preserves, pickles, and sauces, fine cut tobacco in tins, and some other articles, all in small quantities, go to swell the list. The imports consist principally of English manufactured goods. Sheep's wool is the principal export, amounting in value to more than everything else combined. The greater portion of it comes from beyond the border. Sugar ranks next, about seven thousand five hundred tons being exported yearly, of the value of £150,000. This, with a small quantity of coffee, arrowroot, and cotton, comes entirely from Natal. Skins of wild animals, ivory, ostrich feathers, and gold, come altogether from the interior. Hides and skins of domestic animals are partly from Natal, partly from beyond the border. It is supposed that a good many diamonds pass through Natal, without being notified to the customs' department. Most likely, if their value could be ascertained, the difference between the exports and imports of the last five years would be reduced to a mere trifle. The amounts, according to the customs' returns, are as follow:—

	Imports.	*Exports.*
1872	£825,252	£622,797
1873	£1,011,465	£651,028
1874	£1,121,948	£769,988
1875	£1,268,838	£835,643

CHAPTER XXX.

NATAL BEFORE THE DUTCH OCCUPATION.

FROM the period of its discovery by VASCO DE GAMA, 25th of December, 1497, Natal was occasionally visited by Europeans, most of whom were the crews of vessels wrecked upon the coast. A few belonged to slavers, whose traffic, however, was very limited so far south. The instruments for determining longitude at sea were not so perfect a couple of centuries ago as they are now, besides which the coast line was laid down on the charts in ordinary use considerably to the westward of its real position, so that in foul weather and at night ships sometimes ran ashore when their captains thought they were a long way from land.

In the records of the Cape Colony there is a graphic account of the adventures of the crew of a Dutch vessel named the *Stavenisse*, which was wrecked at the entrance to the Bay of Natal in February, 1686. It was written for the use of the directors of the Netherlands' East India Company, and contains a good deal of interesting information concerning the country and its inhabitants. Near at hand an English vessel had been lost a few months previously, and still another was driven ashore a few months later. All the wrecked seamen were received with kindness by the natives; they were supplied with food, and what property they could save was respected. By the united efforts of the Dutch and English, assisted to some extent by the natives, a vessel fifty feet long was constructed, partly from the wreck of the *Stavenisse* and partly from timber found growing there. In this little craft, the captain, three officers, and seven seamen of the *Stavenisse*, with nine English sailors, set sail for Cape Town, taking with them abundance of provisions and three tons of ivory obtained in exchange fo some beads and copper saved from one of the wrecks. They made th passage from Natal to Cape Town in twelve days. An English vessel which had opportunely called before they sailed, took some others away and they left at Natal forty-seven of the crew of the *Stavenisse*, one Frenchman, and four Englishmen. Upon their arrival in Table Bay, the Cape Government purchased their tiny vessel, fitted her out, and despatche her to make discoveries along the coast and rescue the remaining seamen

In the meantime most of those unfortunate people had attempted t make their way overland to Cape Town. Some perished on the journey and, nearly a twelvemonth after their departure, nineteen of them were picked up on the coast of Kaffirland by the little vessel they had assisted to build at Natal. They had by this time been living two years among the natives, whom they described as friendly, hospitable, obliging, and ingenious, with laws and customs the same as those of the Kaffirs of the present day.

Of the countries in which they had resided and through which they had travelled, they spoke in high terms of praise.

In October, 1688, the Cape Government despatched the galleot *Noord* to explore and survey the south-east coast. Her commander was also directed to endeavour to purchase the Bay of Natal and the adjacent country from the resident chief, for beads, copper, and cutlery, or anything that would please the natives, to the value of twenty-nine thousand guilders. The *Noord* arrived at Natal on the 4th of January, 1689, and entered the bay, there being at the time a considerable depth of water on the bar. In the evening of the same day the commander accompanied two of the sailors of the *Stavenisse*, who had gone on board, to their residence, where they had been living in plenty since the loss of their vessel, and were then in possession of several head of cattle. The commander was conducted to a neighbouring kraal, where he was feasted on milk and fresh millet, and found the people civil and kind. The native women carried water to the boats in large pots, and a kind of market was established, where a quantity of milk and bread was bought for a few beads, a fowl for three beads, and pumpkins for a bead each. During the nineteen days that the *Noord* remained in the Bay of Natal, the utmost harmony was maintained between the natives and Europeans. Exploring parties were sent out in different directions, one of which was absent from the vessel eight days, and was guided and provided for in the most friendly manner. The commander purchased the bay and surrounding country from the resident chief, for some beads, copper, iron, &c.; but it is quite evident that he did not comprehend what he was doing in thus disposing of the land.

Having taken the two men of the *Stavenisse* on board, the galleot sailed on the 23rd to the south, in search of the other missing men of that vessel, and on the 28th cast anchor before the mouth of a river, in sight of a party of natives. A heavy surf was rolling in on the beach, but a boat was got out, and after approaching as near the shore as possible, a seaman swam to land, with a letter to be given to the natives for delivery to any Dutchmen who might be in the neighbourhood. The sailor had hardly got back to the boat when two white men were observed hastening down to the beach, one of whom swam off, but the other was left there, as he could not swim, and it was impossible to get the boat through the surf for the purpose of rescuing him. These seamen were not the only Europeans who had been kindly treated by the natives, for they found an aged Portuguese in the country, who had been wrecked on the coast forty years before, on his homeward voyage from India. This man had forgotten the language of his youth, and even his God; he had adopted the native customs, and had wives and cattle in plenty.

A few years afterwards the Cape Government sent an expedition to Natal to take possession of the bay and form a trading establishment. But, on their arrival, they found that the chief from whom the purchase was made was dead, and his son, who had succeeded him, repudiated the

agreement. "My father," said he, "is dead; his skins are buried with him in his house, which has been burnt over him, and the place is fenced in, over which none must now pass. As to what he agreed to, it was for himself,—I have nothing to say about it." The natives would not admit the right of a chief to alienate the lands of his people, and so the Dutch did not succeed in their object. But they never relinquished the claim founded upon the sale above-mentioned, though they never had a factory in Natal, except for a short time about the year 1721.

The friendly treatment experienced by the seamen of the *Stavenisse* at the hands of the natives forms a strong contrast to that accorded to the crew and passengers of the English East Indiaman *Grosvenor*, ninety-six years later, by tribes a little further to the southward. While on her homeward passage from India in 1782, this splendid ship was lost on the coast of Kaffirland, and seldom has a sadder tale been told than that of the sufferings of the unfortunate people then cast helpless and destitute upon an inhospitable coast.

The weather had been squally and the sky overcast for several days, when Captain Coxon, who believed himself about three hundred miles from land, was startled by the cry of "breakers ahead" from the look-out aloft. Before the ship could be put about, she struck heavily on the rocky coast, and in a few minutes became a total wreck. The stately Indiaman was now lying on a reef, with a channel of deep water inshore. Her masts were at once cut away to keep her from going to pieces, and then the boats were got out, but were instantly swamped. On the deck, cold and drenched by the pitiless storm, were huddled together the passengers, many of them women and children on their way from India to England. A raft was made with great difficulty, but was washed away by the heavy surf, and by this time some twenty men had been drowned. Before morning, however, the wind changed, the sea went down, and at low tide the remainder of the crew and passengers got safely to land near the southern point of what is now the Colony of Natal.

With daylight came a horde of natives, who acted the part of wreckers, by taking possession of all that was saved. The unfortunate people then resolved to attempt to make their way to the Cape, as the only chance of saving their lives. A sad procession they must have formed, toiling along that rockbound coast, with no food but shellfish, except when they could procure a little corn in barter for some article of dress. Some sat down by the way and died of exhaustion. They broke up into little companies at last, the strongest pushing on ahead, the weakest lagging behind. One hundred and seventeen days after leaving the wreck, a small party of haggard unclothed skeletons of men reached a Dutch farm house, from which they were forwarded to Capetown, where they were treated with the utmost kindness by the Government and the residents. Captain Coxon remained with the females, but his fate and theirs is uncertain. According to popular belief, the women were seized and compelled to be the wives of

natives, but there is no absolute proof that such was the case. It seems to be just as probable that all of them perished of hunger and misery.

At the commencement of the present century Natal was densely populated, probably not less than a million of people being resident within its present borders. They cultivated the ground to a greater extent than did the Kaffirs on the frontier of the Cape Colony, and were,—possibly on that very account,—more peaceable in disposition. In colour they were somewhat darker, and their dialect of the common language contained fewer clicks. There was a slight difference also in the construction of their huts, but their laws, customs, and religion, were identical. Their artizans had acquired considerable skill, the various trades known to them being hereditary in certain families who never communicated their knowledge to others. Guilds of blacksmiths and of pedlars, for instance, were to be found on African soil, as careful of the secrets of their calling as any in Europe ever were. At times war would break out among the different tribes, but, except on rare occasions, the victors were satisfied with conquest, and did not seek to exterminate their foes. The land yielded abundance of food, so that the reduction in numbers by these internecine wars was compensated by the natural increase. Up to this period it appears to have been a rule with the tribes in the north, as well as with those on the frontier of the Cape Colony, not to destroy women and children in war. They, in fact, formed part of the spoil, often the part most prized by the conquerors.

About the year 1812 first appeared the harbingers of a more terrible storm of war than had ever before swept over these fair regions. TSHAKA had already commenced that career of bloodshed which was soon to make his name dreaded throughout South-Eastern Africa, and one of the tribes of the north, in its flight from him, crossed the Tugela into Natal. Others soon followed, some of them wild, spiritless fugitives, seeking only to get beyond the reach of TSHAKA'S murderous bands, some, enraged at having lost their own possessions and determined to inflict upon others the miseries they were themselves enduring. Thus tribe after tribe passed into or through the land, in their efforts to escape from the Zulu spear, until all was one wild whirl of confusion, war, and massacre. Then, about the year 1820, the source of all this woe, the ferocious TSHAKA himself, sprang like a fierce lion on the bleeding, suffering nations. His warriors were trained to spare neither age nor sex, neither those who resisted nor those who submitted. As far as the Umzimvubu his path was marked with fire and blood, no tribe could resist him, none could obtain his mercy.

The ancestors of the people now called by the natives Amamfengu (that is, wanderers), by the colonists Fingoes, were among those who then occupied the country along the Tugela and further to the northward. They formed there three distinct tribes, named the Amabele, the Amazizi, and the Abambo, each of which was again subdivided into powerful clans. Their antiquaries traced the line of their chiefs for many generations up-

wards, but not so far as to arrive at a common head. Had these clans combined at the right moment, they might have succeeded in holding their own, but combination in time of danger, apparently so natural, appears seldom to be resorted to by uncivilized nations. Frequently, on account of some petty jealousy, they rejoice at the downfall of a neighbouring tribe, and lack the foresight to see that their own turn will come next. It was so with the Fingoes. One after another, the tribes, whose remnants they are, were attacked, and though they fought desperately, all were overpowered and ruined. Some of the feats of valour performed by isolated parties are yet preserved in the memory of the aged, of which the following may serve as a specimen:

MJOLI, chief of the Abasekunene, a clan of the Abambo, had taken to wife a woman named GUBELA, of the Amabele tribe. She was a person of most courageous disposition, and as her husband's character was just the reverse, she placed herself at the head of his warriors, and resolved to die rather than flee. For a long time she succeeded in defending herself and the portion of the clan that adhered to her, for after her first achievements she separated from her craven husband, and the people were divided between them. Her name soon grew to be so famous that a song was composed in her honour, two lines of which read as follows:—

At GUBELA's they don't use bars to the kraals,
But close the gates with the heads of men.

Such isolated instances of valour, however, though they created a feeling of pride in the breasts of the unhappy people, could not save them from destruction. The three tribes mentioned would have been exterminated altogether, if some wretched remnants had not been able to make good their escape, either westward across the Quathlamba, or southward to the Amaxosa, who held them in bondage until the English liberated them.

Of the other inhabitants of Natal, many were slaughtered, but a few managed to conceal themselves in deep thickets or secret retreats of the mountains, and some of the youth were incorporated with the conquering tribe. The young men were compelled for a time to carry the burdens of the Zulu armies, but if they showed a desire to unite with them as warriors, they were usually permitted to do so. To all appearance they became Zulus themselves, but in after years most of them returned to the country of their birth as opportunities offered.

The objects of this terrible invasion were merely slaughter and rapine. There was no provocation, no necessity for an enlargement of territory, no desire for removal on the part of the Zulus, no jealousy of the power of the other tribes, nothing but a lust for human blood and a resolution to live and reign alone. Natal was desolate. The hum of human voices was no longer heard, the cattle that had lately browsed in vast herds upon the hills were gone, the villages were burnt, all was ruin. Only here and there a few panic-stricken men and women could be found, subsisting upon wild fruits and game when they could get it, or preying upon each other when

no other food was to be had. They dared not attempt to cultivate the ground, for that would have drawn the attention of enemies to their retreats. Wild animals multiplied to excess in the lonely land, and men learned to be more savage than even the fiercest of these. For many, driven at first by hunger and misery to cannibalism, continued the horrible practice afterwards from choice. The records of nations in modern times will be searched in vain for another such instance of the complete destruction, by massacre and famine, of the people of so extensive and fertile a region, in so short a time.

Within three or four years after these events, a party of adventurers, whose subsequent careers were both stirring and interesting, arrived at Natal. Their object was to colonise the vacant country and open up a trade with the regions beyond. They were Englishmen, and were under the leadership of Lieutenant FAREWELL, Lieutenant KING, and HENRY FYNN. A more daring, but at the same time more impracticable, scheme for settling a country was never undertaken. Both the Imperial and Cape governments refused to countenance the project, and it was not supported by any Company or Association with means to carry it on. The adventurers were dependent upon their own resources alone, and their only hope of being able to induce others to follow them lay in attracting them by their own success. A vast expanse of rich soil almost untenanted, on either side hosts of savages with ivory and hides to barter, a healthy climate, and a sheltered bay, seemed to them capital sufficient to build a colony upon. And there can be no doubt that Natal did at that time present a favourable field for colonization, if it had been undertaken by immigrants in numbers large enough to protect themselves, and under some recognized authority. It was otherwise with the little party of Europeans who, upon their arrival, found themselves subject to the caprice of the Zulu despot, without any bond of cohesion among themselves. They applied to TSHAKA for permission to reside in the country, and gained his favour by means of presents. He appears to have regarded them merely as traders deserving of encouragement, and to have had no suspicion that their power might ever increase so much as to make them formidable.

They had hardly gained a footing upon the soil when they fell into an error that entirely destroyed their only chance of success. One of them collected together a number of the dispersed natives, who were without leaders and were disposed to submit to the government of any one capable of directing them. With these as a following, he moved to a defensible position a few miles from the bay, and there established himself as a chief. The example was contagious. Then arose quarrels among themselves, each struggling for supremacy and endeavouring to increase the number of his retainers at the expense of the others. The semblance of an orderly European society ceased, for when the leading men assumed the position of Kaffir chiefs and took to themselves harems of native women, control over the others was no longer possible.

Yet they did not abandon the primary objects of their settlement at Natal. If in some respects they had become Kaffirs, they had not lost the energy of Europeans. The vessel in which KING arrived had been wrecked, and out of her timbers, together with some wood obtained on the shores of the bay, they were building a schooner, which, after about three years' labour, they finished. By this time they had acquired such influence with TSHAKA that he consented to send two of his principal officers under their guidance to the Cape Colony, to arrange a friendly commercial treaty. In April, 1828, FAREWELL and KING sailed from Natal for Algoa Bay, taking TSHAKA'S envoys with them; but upon their arrival they found the colonial authorities disposed to condemn their proceedings. The schooner was detained in Algoa Bay for three months, and then a ship of war was sent to convey the ambassadors back to Natal, without having accomplished the objects of their mission. The return of the envoys in this manner was an alarming event for the European settlers. TSHAKA had been friendly to them hitherto, but his temper was capricious, and as they were wholly in his power, they feared that he might take offence, and fall upon them in revenge. But nothing of the sort happened, and he remained on the same good terms as ever with them.

Shortly after his return to Natal, KING died, of illness aggravated by disappointment and gloomy forebodings. His hopes of founding a colony and adding fresh regions to the domains of commerce had been completely shattered, while the realities of such a life as he had been leading must have been too wretched to be longer borne. The next to disappear was the great destroyer of nations, the far-dreaded TSHAKA. He was murdered on the 23rd of September, 1828, by his brother DINGAN, who fell upon him at a moment when no help was at hand. No child of his had ever been permitted to live, so that DINGAN'S succession to the government of the Zulus was undisputed. Within a year, FAREWELL followed, being murdered in Pondoland in September, 1829. He had gone to the Cape Colony to purchase some goods, and was on his way back to Natal, accompanied by several Englishmen and a large party of natives. There had been living in Pondoland for some time a man named LOCHENBERG, who had created various disturbances in that part of the country. Associated ever since 1793 with renegades from the Cape Colony, this man had been notorious years before among the southern tribes, but the fate that had overtaken his early companions seemed tardy in reaching him. His career, however, had at last come to a close. At the head of a party of marauders, he attacked a tribe that was at war with FAKU, the paramount Pondo chief, and was killed in battle. When FAREWELL arrived in that country, FAKU warned him against visiting his enemies, since these were so greatly exasperated by the conduct of LOCHENBERG that they would probably murder any European who might come in their way. In spite of this warning, FAREWELL and his companions proceeded, relying upon their former acquaintance with those people. They were received, apparently, in friendship;

but as they lay sleeping towards dawn of the next day, they were attacked, and FAREWELL, with two Englishmen named WALKER and THACKWRAY, and five native servants, were murdered. The remainder of the party escaped with difficulty. FAREWELL's death was followed by the partition of his clan, then the largest in the country. Two Englishmen, named JOHN CANE and HENRY OGLE, who had at one time been in his service, immediately divided his people and cattle between them.

One of the first acts of DINGAN, after assuming sovereignty, was to put to death all those to whom his brother had shown any particular favour, and the Europeans in Natal were consequently in a position of extreme danger. But after taking the precaution to prepare for flight, if necessary, upon the shortest notice, they determined to await the course of events without exhibiting any signs of alarm. JOHN CANE had been sent to the Cape on business by TSHAKA, and did not return until after the death of that chief, when, as he was afraid to visit DINGAN to report the result of his mission, he sent some presents by natives, and remained himself at the bay. DINGAN then sent for CANE and FYNN to visit him at his kraal; but they, considering such a journey highly dangerous, declined to go. Upon this, the great chief sent an army to annihilate them and their people; but they received intimation in time, and fled across the Umzimkulu with about three thousand followers, losing all their cattle and a few warriors in their flight. At the same time the other Englishmen in Natal made good their escape. They returned, however, soon afterwards, with DINGAN's permission, though he refused to restore their cattle. Subsequently he took several of them into his favour and conferred many privileges upon them. In 1831 he appointed FYNN to be his principal officer in Natal, that is, to rule all the people there for him. But the dignity of Lieutenant-Governor under DINGAN gave Mr. FYNN so little satisfaction that he voluntarily resigned it, and left the country in 1834.

The last of the original European leaders had now disappeared from the stage on which they had performed so strange a part. They had come upon it in the character of pioneers of civilization, and had left it as Kaffir chiefs. A greater contrast between the beginning and the end was impossible. But throughout their career they had retained an energy and a power of direction which enabled them to bind together the rude fragments of native society. They passed away, and their places were at once filled by others less capable of directing affairs, men who had never known any higher ambition than to be the heads of Kaffir clans.

In 1835 the name of Durban was given to an embryo village on the northern shore of the bay, by a few traders who had established themselves there. Some of these men were offshoots from the original English party, and others were stragglers who occasionally found their way to Natal, and remained there in spite of danger and discomfort. They were in hope of securing some recognition or protection from the Cape government, of which Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN was then the head, but in this they were

disappointed. Some thousands of natives had by this time formed themselves into clans under chiefs English born. These men possessed absolute power over their followers, and therefore had an opportunity of leading them forward towards civilization; but this they never attempted to do. They themselves had adopted Kaffir customs to a large extent, and ruled entirely according to Kaffir law. Their principal aim seemed to be to provide their people with muskets and ammunition, and to train them as warriors. Over them all DINGAN was sovereign lord. In this year the first missionaries made their appearance at Natal. They were sent by the American Board for foreign Missions, and, assuredly, they could not have selected a country requiring their labours more. At the same time, Captain ALLAN GARDINER, of the Royal Navy, paid a visit to Natal and Zululand. He had an interview with DINGAN, and obtained the great chief's consent to the establishment of a mission near the bay. The Zulu despot was unwilling at that time to receive a teacher at his own kraal, but at a later period he agreed to this also.

The government of the European chiefs in Natal being to native ideas exceedingly mild, it frequently happened that individuals fled from the tyranny of the Zulu monarch and sought an asylum with them. These refugees were mostly persons who had been incorporated against their will with the Zulu tribe, but the anger of DINGAN was roused by their desertion. Captain GARDINER entered into a treaty with him, according to the terms of which all the refugees then in Natal were pardoned, but any one endeavouring to find an asylum there in future was to be sent back. The British residents refused to carry out the treaty, but some deserters were handed over by Captain GARDINER himself, and were put to death by starvation. Sixteen years later, on the desolate coast of Patagonia, a mission party of seven individuals perished for want of food. Their leader was the same Captain GARDINER who, through mistaken ideas of the obedience due to a barbarian chief, at this time consigned the refugees from Zululand to a like painful death. He certainly did not anticipate such a fate for them when he took them back, but he had received abundant warning, if he had been inclined to listen. The English residents, as well those who were traders as chiefs, considered themselves under the authority of the Zulu king, but generally managed to evade any of his orders which did not coincide with their own views. Their remoteness from the seat of his government, which was some distance to the north of the Tugela, was a great advantage to them, and he was not disposed to quarrel lightly with the only persons who could procure for him many articles of great value in his estimation, and who were paying him a heavy tribute in the form of frequent costly presents. Upon his second visit to Natal, in 1837, Captain GARDINER attempted, under the terms of an Imperial Act, to exercise magisterial jurisdiction over the settlers; but they ignored his authority entirely, and would have nothing whatever to do with him. He was accompanied from England by the Reverend Mr.

OWEN, of the Church Missionary Society, who took up his residence at DINGAN'S great place.

At this time the whole country from Delagoa Bay to the Umzimvubu acknowledged the sway of the Zulu monarch. His power had hitherto been irresistible, but he was now about to meet an enemy before whom he, in his turn, must submit. The Emigrant Boers were on the march to Natal.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE EMIGRANT BOERS AT NATAL.

FROM the Cape Colony emigration on a very extensive scale was now going on. Many of the farmers who believed that great injustice had been done to them by the Imperial Government, had resolved to remove beyond the boundaries of British rule. This they thought they could easily accomplish, as Lord GLENELG, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, had disclaimed an intention on the part of the British Government to assert authority over any territory in South Africa beyond the Cape frontiers. From the first, the emigrants were well aware of the danger in which they were placing themselves, but they had fully made up their minds to meet it. They left the colony in large bands, well armed, and under leaders of recognized ability. For years their great tent waggons were the only homes that most of them had, as they moved from place to place in the wilderness. But this was the normal condition of many of them when in the colony, so that to them there was no hardship in it. What they had most to fear was the loss of their flocks by plunder, disease, or want of pasturage, and the enmity of the tribes with which they should come in contact. For the sake of liberty, as they understood the word, they risked the first, and depended on their stout hearts and good weapons for the rest.

A pioneer party, in fourteen waggons, was sent from Uitenhage in 1834 to explore the country to the north-eastward and select a locality for a new settlement. This party passed along the eastern base of the Quathlamba mountains, and reached Natal after a tedious, but uneventful journey. The upland country was uninhabited, so these pioneers carefully examined its capabilities, and found it well adapted for both agricultural and pastoral pursuits. They then returned to their friends, and reported so favourably that a large number left at once for the land of promise and others followed

as soon as possible. By this time, however, a better route was discovered than that the pioneer party had taken, and henceforth the Emigrants made their way through what is now the Orange Free State.

It was no easy matter to move through a country in which there were no roads and no other resources except game. Their waggons were laden with household goods, provisions, and ammunition, and their cattle were driven on in herds. Sometimes, if the grass was good and water plentiful, they would remain for weeks together at one encampment, but if the pasturage was poor they pushed on as rapidly as possible. A party of young men on horseback was always sent on a little in advance, to scour the country and point out the best route. When danger was apprehended, a simple but effective fortress was formed by drawing the waggons up in a circle close to each other, on a plain or on rising ground. The climate of South Africa makes such a life as this not only possible, but pleasant to people educated as the Emigrants were. They had milk and meat in plenty, they were strong and healthy and free, they could worship the Creator just as well under the vault of heaven as in a building of brick and stone. And every evening they sang the praises of that God who had led Israel out of Egypt to a land of rest, and put up their petitions that He would deal likewise with them.

By the close of 1837 upwards of a thousand waggons had arrived, and the farmers had spread themselves over the greater part of the present Counties of Klip River and Weenen. This tract of country they found unoccupied, but that it had at one time contained a large population was clearly indicated by the remains of thousands of stone cattle-folds. In general, they located themselves in parties, consisting of families nearly related to each other, with some aged and respected patriarch at their head. To follow the instructions and advice of such a leader came easy to men of their simple habits, but it is evident that government of this kind must have been exceedingly weak. Society, in fact, had reverted to a very primitive form.

Among the different leaders of parties, however, there was one whose influence was universally felt, and who was to some extent the recognized head of the first Emigrants who crossed the Drakenberg into Natal. This man's name was PIETER RETIEF. He was the descendant of a respectable Huguenot family, and had received an education greatly in advance of the generality of his countrymen. When a young man he had left his ancestral home in one of the vine-clad valleys of the west, and had entered into large contracts with the government for the supply of provisions and erection of public buildings in the newly settled districts along the Kaffir frontier. In the war of 1835 he took part as Commandant of burghers, having been among those who suffered most severely from the first great inroad of the enemy. The conclusion of peace found RETIEF a poor man, and when the Glenelg treaties were made he lost all hope of recovering a competency in the colony. It was then that an inconsiderate remark of

Sir ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM caused him to join the ranks of the disaffected, and turn his steps first towards the Vaal River and thence to Natal.

RETIEF was a man of high principle, and was therefore desirous of making a formal purchase of ground from the native owner. He was well aware that this would not prevent hostilities, whenever the Zulus might be disposed for war, but it would give his countrymen a more rightful claim than that derived from occupation alone. Accordingly he visited DINGAN at his great place, where he arranged with him for a cession of the territory occupied by the boers, upon condition of their recovering for him a number of cattle which SIKONYELA, a chief residing in Basutoland, had recently stolen.

On their passage over the Drakenberg the Emigrants had become acquainted with the particulars of the raid made by SIKONYELA's people. It appears that DINGAN suspected the farmers themselves of having swept off his herds, as the robbers were dressed in European clothing, were mounted on horseback, and carried guns. The chief accused RETIEF of this and also of having fired on his people, but apparently was easily convinced that his suspicions were groundless. He appointed two of his officers and a party of men to accompany the farmers to SIKONYELA's country, where RETIEF asserted the stolen cattle would be found.

The boers fulfilled their part of the agreement, and RETIEF delivered the recovered cattle to the two officers of DINGAN. He then returned to his party, which was encamped near the junction of the Bushman's and Tugela rivers, and made ready to pay a second visit to DINGAN, and formally conclude the arrangement between them. But by this time many of the farmers had acquired such a feeling of uneasiness as induced them to urge their leader not to venture again into the Zulu despot's power. A man whose life was of less value to the community, they thought should be sent, and there were not wanting many who nobly volunteered to fulfil the dangerous task. But RETIEF was deaf to their entreaties, for he would send no one where he feared to go himself. They urged him then to take only two or three companions, arguing that the weakness of such a party would be its best security; but he thought to create a favourable impression by the presence of a goodly escort.

On the 2nd of February, 1838, RETIEF accompanied by sixty-six of the most respectable and picked men from among the farmers, with about thirty Hottentot servants riding or leading spare horses, arrived at the Zulu capital. DINGAN expressed himself highly satisfied with what had been done, and exhibited every appearance of friendship. Mr. OWEN, who by that time had acquired some knowledge of the Zulu language, and who had managed also to engage a competent interpreter, was requested to draw up a formal deed of cession. This he did in the English language, and caused it to be translated to the chief, who, with some of his principal officers affixed their marks, after which it was given to RETIEF. Under no circumstances would such a cession, in native estimation, have meant more than

the mere permission to occupy the ground during the lifetime of the reigning chief, whose supremacy as feudal lord would have been assumed; but DINGAN from the first was only seeking to lure the farmers to destruction, and never intended his cession to mean anything. Upon pretence of entertaining his visitors in a worthy manner, he had assembled a great number of warriors, and for two days sham fights were enacted, in which the different modes of barbarian warfare were represented. In these exhibitions the Zulus took great delight, and the farmers were entirely thrown off their guard by the trouble that was taken apparently to amuse them.

On the morning of the 5th, RETIEF and his party prepared to return to their friends, and went to take leave of DINGAN, whom they found, as usual, surrounded by warriors. Great care had been taken to show them that according to Zulu custom no one could approach the chief armed, and, consequently, when they were requested to leave their guns outside the kraal, they did so without suspicion of danger. They were received in the ordinary manner, and were pressed to seat themselves and partake of some beer, which was being handed round freely. While in this defenceless position, into which they had been so carefully entrapped, DINGAN gave the order for their murder, and immediately they were attacked by three or four thousand warriors armed with sticks. Those who were not instantly massacred drew their knives and maintained a desperate conflict for half an hour, but they were ultimately all beaten down and killed, and their mangled corpses were thrown upon a hillock close by, to be devoured by vultures and beasts of prey.

While the massacre was taking place, Mr. OWEN sat in his hut, expecting every moment to hear the footsteps of the messengers of death. DINGAN sent word to him that the farmers were being killed because they were wizards, but that he need not fear for himself. Notwithstanding this message, he felt that his life was in imminent danger, since the chief appeared to delight in nothing so much as in treachery. He was spared, however; but the horrors of that day made such an impression upon him that he left Zululand as speedily as possible. It is from his account that the details of the massacre are known.

Some ten thousand Zulu warriors instantly marched towards Natal, with the intention of falling upon the immigrants before they could hear of the murder of their friends and prepare for hostilities. Dividing themselves into several detachments, at early dawn they burst upon the foremost parties near the present village of Weenen, which has obtained its name, meaning wailing or weeping, from the sad events of that day. Men, women, and children, were barbarously murdered, and every European in that part of Natal must have met with this fate had not, fortunately, two or three young men escaped, who hastened to inform those further on of the imminent danger in which they were. These at once made the best possible preparations in their circumstances, by intrenching themselves

in laagers or encampments formed by drawing their waggons in a circle about them. Hardly had they time to effect even this simple arrangement when they were assailed, but in no instance were the Zulus able to penetrate these encampments, though great numbers perished in the attempt. At one place on the Bushman's River they persevered for a whole day in endeavouring to reach the farmers, whose ammunition was nearly exhausted when a shot from a three-pounder, in ploughing through a mass of the assailants, struck down several of their leading men, which caused the remainder to retreat precipitately. In the defence of the laagers the women were nearly as serviceable as the men, those who were unable to use muskets themselves loading spare ones for their husbands and brothers.

As soon as the savages retired, the farmers sallied out of the different laagers to learn the fate of their friends, when they found that all who had not had time to intrench themselves had been murdered. All their cattle had been swept off, and their household goods had been destroyed. The waggons had been broken to pieces and burnt for the sake of the iron about them, and beside the ruins lay the corpses of young and old, men and women, in some cases horribly mutilated. In one place two girls about ten or twelve years of age were found still living, though one had received nineteen and the other twenty-one stabs of the assegai. They were tended with care, and recovered, though they ever after remained cripples. Altogether, thirty-three men, ninety-five women, two hundred children, and one hundred and eighty coloured servants, besides those of RETIEF's party, were thus cut off without warning by the merciless barbarians.

The survivors of this fearful massacre, after ascertaining the full extent of their loss, held a consultation to decide upon what was to be done. One or two proposed to withdraw from the country, but they were shamed by the women, who declared that they would never leave Natal till the blood of their relatives was avenged. The earnest, deep-seated religion of the Emigrants supported them in this hour of distress, and gave a tone to all their proceedings. What had happened, said one, was in punishment for their sins, but let them call upon God and He would certainly help them. And then from that sorrow-stricken camp went up their cry to the God of heaven, that He would not forsake His people nor let the heathen triumph over them. The discussion was not so much, what was expedient for them to do, as what was it their duty to do. The resolution they arrived at was that it was clearly their duty to punish the murderers of their friends. For this they were then too weak, but they were not left long without assistance. A large party which had lagged behind on the Quathlamba, and had thus escaped the onslaught, hurried forward, together with many small parties that were on their way to the district.

By April they were ready to take the field. Leaving their laagers under adequate protection, about four hundred men, in two divisions, under the command of PIETER UYS and HENDRIK POTGIETER, advanced towards the Zulu capital, intent upon destroying the power of DINGAN. Take the fact

of their being mounted and armed with muskets into consideration, and this action must still remain one of the most daring on record, considering that DINGAN could bring into the field at least fifty times their number of men, trained to despise death in battle, disciplined to move in concert, and armed with the deadly stabbing assegai. The loss of their horses at any moment must have been fatal to the commando, which was without a commissariat and at one time five days' journey from the encampment of their friends. Until their arrival within a short distance of the great chief's residence, their march was unopposed, the country they passed through appearing to have been abandoned.

Having at length come in sight of a division of the Zulu army, they attacked it impetuously, and were drawn into a skilfully planned ambuscade. One of the approaches to the great place was a long defile between two ranges of hills, and into this the farmers were led by the Zulus apparently retreating before them. When in the narrowest part of this gorge, they found themselves surrounded by an immense force which had been lying in ambush, and by which they were so hemmed in that they could not fall back rapidly after firing and again load and charge, as was their usual mode of fighting. They accordingly directed all their fire upon one mass of the enemy, when, having cleared a path by bringing down hundreds at once, they rushed through and escaped. Their loss was eleven men, including their gallant leader, PIETER UYS, who, upon being mortally wounded, called out to his followers to leave him and fight their way out, for he must die. The Commandant was accompanied by his son, a boy twelve years of age, who might have escaped with the rest, but he refused to abandon his father, and fell at his side. After this experience of Zulu strategy, the commando had no course open but to return to their friends with a report of failure.

The English chiefs in Natal deemed this a favourable opportunity for throwing off their allegiance to DINGAN. At the same time that the farmers, under UYS and POTGIETER, were advancing upon the Zulu capital, they made a successful raid upon the kraals of two of DINGAN'S great captains, and carried off about three thousand head of cattle and a number of women and girls. The success of this foray elated and excited them so much that they determined upon repeating it on a larger scale, and, accordingly, a band of about three thousand Kaffirs, with a few Hottentots, under eighteen or twenty Englishmen, invaded Zululand. This band styled itself "The Grand Army of Natal;" about four hundred were armed with muskets, the others carried assegais and shields. After crossing the Tugela, they destroyed a kraal, in which a detachment of the Zulu army was lying, but immediately afterwards they themselves were attacked by a Zulu force of over ten thousand men. The retreat of the Dutch commando had left DINGAN at liberty to deal with these rebel subjects of his, a contingency they had not calculated upon before they were too far advanced to retreat.

A desperate battle ensued, and ended only when the Army of Natal was annihilated. The death of JOHN CANE, the principal leader, was the turning point of the battle. He had been wounded with an assegai, when one of his followers came to his aid. CANE, mistaking this man for an enemy, shot him dead, and at the same moment fell himself a corpse. The action took place above a steep bank of the Tugela, and over this precipice the fugitives were compelled to leap when attempting to escape. A division of the Zulu army had made a detour to cut off their retreat and put the fugitives to death as they crossed the river. Three or four Englishmen, as many Hottentots, and a few Kaffirs, were all that escaped, while the Zulu chief lost some thousands of his best warriors in this dreadful engagement.

DINGAN'S army at once marched to the Bay; but, fortunately, a small vessel was lying at anchor there, and on board of her the surviving Englishmen took refuge. The Zulus destroyed all their property, drove off the cattle, and then returned to their own country.

The farmers now gave up all hope of acting on the offensive for the present, but sent messengers imploring assistance from their friends in the Cape Colony and the present Free State. Many parties, on hearing of their distress, came to join them, but this, at the moment, only increased their misery. Their cattle having been swept off by the Zulus, and having been prevented from cultivating the land, they were actually in a state of famine. Disease, caused by anxiety and want of sufficient food, broke out among them, and had their countrymen at the Cape not sent them some supplies of provisions, medicines, and other necessaries of life, but few could have survived the hardships of the next six months. In August, DINGAN attacked them again, but they were prepared to give him a warm reception. At every laager the Zulu forces were defeated with great slaughter, while the lives of only two or three boers were lost during several successive engagements.

A man, whose name was often to be heard in connection with the most daring deeds of the Emigrants during the next fifteen years, came upon the stage of Natal at this critical time. ANDRIES WILHELMUS JACOBUS PRETORIUS, formerly a plain farmer of Graaff-Reinet, joined the stream of his countrymen pouring out of the old colony, and passed over the Drakenberg just when an able commander was most needed. The heads of the three principal parties that had moved into Natal,—PIETER RETIEF, GERT MARITZ, and PIETER UYS,—were all dead, and there was no one of sufficient note to command general confidence when, in November, 1838, PRETORIUS arrived. Like most of the farmers of that day, he had received so little education as to have no knowledge of geography, modern history, or the condition and relative strength of European nations, but in Bible history he was thoroughly well versed. It was because he was a model of piety, according to the ideas of the farmers, and an embodiment of their ruling passions, —hatred of control and of sudden innovations, love of freedom and of abundant space to move about in,—as well as on account of his ability and

bravery, that PRETORIUS came to be the hero of the Emigrants. At this time he was in the noontide of life, being thirty-nine years of age, and was possessed of unusual vigour and strength of body. A calm, unexcitable, plainly dressed farmer, unassuming in manner, slow in counsel, but quick in action, such was the man who was now elevated by public suffrage to the rank of Commandant General.

By the beginning of December the Emigrants were able to take the field with four hundred and sixty mounted men, under the command of PRETORIUS, supported by another but less powerful body under CARL LANDMAN. They had advanced far into Zululand, when, at early dawn of Sunday, 16th of December, 1838, they were attacked by DINGAN'S forces, ten or twelve thousand strong. For three hours the enemy continued to press upon the camp in which they had intrenched themselves, until PRETORIUS, observing that the Zulus were concentrating all their efforts upon one point, ordered two hundred horsemen to sally out and attack their flanks. These, by pouring deadly volleys into the immense mass crowded together within a small space, at length put the enemy to flight with fearful loss. About three thousand Zulus bit the dust; and their defeat must have been felt by themselves to be decisive, as DINGAN fled panic-stricken, set fire to his capital, and hid himself with the remnant of his army in the woods skirting the Umvolosi River.

The farmers, having had only five men killed and as many wounded, advanced at once upon the Zulu capital, which they found still burning. On a hillock outside of the town they discovered the remains of RETIEF and his companions, who, ten months before, had fallen victims to DINGAN'S treachery, and whose deaths they were then avenging. The bodies appeared never to have been disturbed by man since the day of the massacre. Most likely, the superstitious fears of the Zulus prevented them from visiting the spot where the remains of those whom they considered mighty wizards were lying, as even the clubbed sticks with which RETIEF and his party were murdered lay strewn around, and the riems with which the dead bodies were dragged to the place were still attached to the skeletons. All the skulls were broken, showing how thoroughly the murderers had done their work. The skeleton of RETIEF was recognized by a leathern pouch which he had suspended from his shoulder, and in this was found the deed of cession of Natal, from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu, written by Mr. OWEN on the day previous to the massacre, and signed with DINGAN'S mark. The document was in such perfect preservation that a sheet of paper in which it was wrapped was used by the Commandant that same day to write a letter on. After interring the remains of their unfortunate countrymen, the farmers fell back, taking with them some five thousand head of cattle, which they distributed among themselves as the hard earned spoils of the campaign.

On their return, they found that Sir GEORGE NAPIER, Governor of the Cape Colony, had sent a small detachment of troops to take possession

of the Bay of Natal. This was done, as stated in a proclamation of the 14th of November, 1838, "from a desire to put an end to the unwarrantable occupation of part of the territories belonging to the natives, by certain emigrants from the Cape Colony, being British subjects." The proclamation gave the officer commanding power to "search for, seize, and retain in military possession, all arms and munitions of war which, at the time of the seizure of Port Natal, should be found in possession of the inhabitants." It was difficult for an English Minister to decide upon the course to be pursued under the extraordinary circumstances of this emigration movement, and the Governor of the Cape appears to have been left almost without instructions. He hardly knew what to do. Here was a body of men fleeing from British rule, and waging war with the natives at the very time that the Glenelg system of upholding the independence of the tribes was being tried. Clearly it was his duty to interfere; but in face of the massacres which had brought on the war, to deprive the Emigrants of their arms, without at the same time undertaking to protect them, was something like consigning them to certain death.

The officer commanding the detachment at Natal acted with great tact, and showed such a friendly disposition towards the farmers as to gain their entire confidence. He seized, indeed, some of their ammunition, but soon afterwards restored it, on their engaging not to use it in aggressive hostilities with the natives. From that time an amicable intercourse was kept up between the troops and the farmers, which was strengthened by their being dependent on each other for various necessaries. No attempt was made to interfere with the civil government established by the Emigrants. This was certainly an anomalous condition of affairs, and though it might answer for a season, it was evident it could not long continue.

At this time the present capital of Natal was founded. A very beautiful site was chosen, on a plain at the foot of a range of hills, where the clear sweet water of the Little Bushman's River could easily be led out. Several wide streets, parallel to each other, were marked off, between which the ground was divided into plots of about two acres each, so that every family might have a large garden and orchard, with a double frontage. A quiet, tree-embowered village, with a big church standing in an open square, with houses faced with high stoeps and standing far apart, and streams of limpid water running down the sides of the streets, a village scented with orange blossoms and sweet smelling flowers, its roadways lined with weeping willows whose thick foliage would veil the rays of the fiery summer sun: this was the ideal of the founders of Pietermaritzburg. The coming of the English soon afterwards spoilt the plan to some extent, but to the present day the town bears the impress of the Arcadian tastes of its original founders. It took its name from PIETER RETIEF and GERT MARITZ, the last of whom, besides being the leader of a party into Natal, had done excellent service in a war that will be mentioned in the history of the Transvaal Republic.

During the year 1839 the farmers were undisturbed, but DINGAN had not yet given up the hope of exterminating them. The losses which the Zulus had recently sustained were tremendous, but still insufficient to humble them. Within a few months after his defeat by PRETORIUS, DINGAN was again at the head of the most powerful native army in Southern Africa. Over the proceedings of the farmers he kept a constant watch, by means of spies sent professedly to arrange terms of peace. The farmers informed him that they would not enter into any treaty, unless he first restored their cattle and sheep, nor until the value of their property, taken and destroyed by him and his people, had been made good to them. This would seem to be explicit enough, but DINGAN proved himself a perfect master of the art of spinning out negotiations. First he sent an empty message, then some three hundred horses, next a few compliments, then again an embassy with protestations of his desire for peace. At the end of several months spent in this manner, he had not restored one tenth of the farmers' cattle. His messengers were directed to make promises, to appoint places of meeting, to apologize for mistakes, to do anything to gain time. At length, in an unguarded moment, one of them admitted that he had really been sent to report whether the farmers were still in laagers or were scattered over the country. The proceedings were then abruptly terminated.

While affairs were in this state, a revolution was commencing in the Zulu country, by the formation, under MPANDE, a brother of DINGAN, of a party intent on putting an end to the destructive wars in which the nation had been engaged. No sooner was the Zulu chief made aware of this, than he determined to put his brother to death, but was unable to accomplish his design, as MPANDE with his followers fled across the Tugela, and sent messengers requesting the aid of the farmers. This was looked upon at first as a stratagem designed to separate them, but the fugitive chief succeeded in proving to their satisfaction that he was in earnest. An alliance, offensive and defensive, was formed; and in January, 1840, four hundred mounted Emigrants under PRETORIUS, accompanied by a Zulu force of four thousand men under MPANDE, crossed the Tugela, and advanced to attack DINGAN. On their march, they were met by a messenger from the Zulu king, with an offer of peace; but he and his attendant were seized, tried for being concerned in the murder of RETIEF, and executed by the farmers, in violation of all the usages of war, among savage as well as civilized nations.

A few days after this was fought a desperate battle between DINGAN and MPANDE, which terminated for ever the Zulu march of conquest. Before the action DINGAN had with him the strength of the nation, but as soon as the fight began several of the young regiments went over to MPANDE, turning the scale numerically in his favour. In acting thus, these regiments pledged themselves to conquer or die, as defeat after that meant certain destruction. And now nothing was left to the faithful troops but to fall as became Zulu warriors, for they scorned to yield to the traitors

who had deserted their lawful chief, or to follow their base example. The veterans who had won their plumes under TSHAKA sold their lives dearly in this their last and most stubborn fight. Regiment after regiment on each side perished. The flower of the Zulu army was destroyed, when a shout was raised that the boers were coming. When the battle commenced, the commando was miles away, but now it was seen hurrying towards the field of slaughter. The remnant of DINGAN'S army, the men who could not flee from a foe armed with shield and spear, gave way before those dreaded horsemen who had power to deal out death without meeting it themselves. A bushy country spread out before them, and favoured their escape. The battle was over, the terror which the Zulu name had inspired for thirty years had passed away. Not until those who were boys should grow to be men could another army be raised, and long before that time a stronger power would arise and hold the destiny of the land.

The spoils of the war, consisting of immense herds of cattle, remained to be distributed by the conquerors. The farmers contented themselves with thirty-six thousand head, and permitted MPANDE to take the remainder. But they took possession of the whole country from the Umzimvubu to the Umvolosi and St. Lucia Bay, and claimed besides a right of suzerainty over MPANDE, whom they installed as king of the Zulus.

The end of DINGAN was in keeping with his life. After the battle in which his power was annihilated, he fled northwards, and fixed his residence in a secluded part of the country he had taken from the Amaswasi. There he was assassinated by one of his own captains, in open day, and in sight of his body guard, who sprang to his assistance, but too late except to strike down the murderer. The faithful ones who had adhered to him in his misfortunes then tendered their submission to MPANDE, by whom they were received with every show of favour.

The Emigrants were now in full and peaceable possession of Natal; for, not only were the natives entirely submissive to them, but the British garrison at the Bay had been withdrawn, December 24th, 1839, as the regiment to which it belonged was under orders for home. By the farmers this abandonment of the country was not unnaturally considered equivalent to a recognition of their independence by the British Government, and they at once proclaimed a Republic. The form of government which they adopted was extremely democratic. They divided the country into twelve wards, each of which elected yearly two representatives to a Council in which were vested supreme executive, legislative, and judicial powers. This Council, or Volksraad, was required to assemble at Maritzburg every three months. At each meeting a chairman was chosen from among the members present, to regulate the order of their proceedings; but he had not in any other respect the slightest power or authority over the rest. The members performed their duties gratuitously. Two or three of those who lived in or near Maritzburg were formed into a Committee (called the Commissie Raad), and had power to decide upon and

carry out any executive or administrative duties requiring immediate despatch; but they were bound at the next general meeting of the Council to report their proceedings, and submit them for sanction or disapproval. At Maritzburg, Durban, and Weenen, landdrosts were stationed, each of whom exercised a certain limited authority. The most important officer of this government was the Commandant General, who was invested with considerable authority in military matters.

The population was now rapidly increasing by arrivals from the Cape Colony, and a period of prosperity appeared to have commenced. As soon as peace was secured, the farmers began to settle down to their ordinary peaceful occupations, believing that their principal troubles were ended. Each selected for himself a tract of land seven or eight thousand acres in extent, thus introducing into Natal a system which hardly admits of much progress. Other people besides emigrants from the old colony were looking towards these lonely plains and valleys as to a land of hope. The remnants of various tribes, which had been scattered and impoverished during the period of Zulu supremacy, commenced to emerge from their retreat and come under the protection of the Republic. In their government of the natives the Emigrants were strict and, to English ideas, severe; but those who had been under the tyranny of TSHAKA or DINGAN regarded the new lords of Natal as models of beneficence and justice. In their own expressive way of speaking, they could sleep without fear under the shield of the white man, whereas before when they lay down it was in doubt if they would ever rise. It was true, the boers laid a labour tax upon them by calling their young men out now and again for a few days, but what was that compared to being the slaves of Zulu warriors. Then, too, there was food in the land that the white man ruled, and what had they eaten under TSHAKA! And so commenced an influx which in five or six years brought the population up to one hundred thousand.

At that time there was no desire on the part of the English government to extend its dominions in South Africa. Very likely, if the Emigrants had acted with greater prudence, they would have been permitted to retain their own government, and Great Britain would merely have reserved the right of placing a garrison at the Bay, whenever necessary, to prevent any other European Power from taking possession of it. To this end events seemed tending, when the attention of the Cape government was again directed to Natal.

Some of the farmers' cattle having been stolen, a commando assembled, according to the ancient colonial system, and fell upon the kraals to which the robbers belonged, with a view of punishing them as well as of making reprisals. The tribe thus attacked was one which had fled from TSHAKA into Pondoland, and had there been a terror to all its neighbours. That FAKU, the paramount Pondo chief, encouraged them to punish an enemy whom he feared, is maintained by the boers, and is now generally believed to be true. The tribe resisted, but the commando seized three thousand

head of cattle, killed several natives, and carried away seventeen children. At the very time of this occurrence, the Emigrants were corresponding with Sir GEORGE NAPIER, urging him to induce the Queen formally to recognize them as an independent people, and promising on their part to make no aggressions upon the natives, and to prohibit slavery. The action of the commando showed how very differently the words aggression and slavery can be interpreted. Sir GEORGE NAPIER believed that the Emigrants had been guilty of aggression in attacking the Amabaca, they maintained that they had punished a band of robbers in the only possible way. The English Governor spoke of the seventeen children that had been carried off as being held in slavery, the farmers of the commando termed them destitute and helpless persons who were taken care of out of charity.

Throughout South Africa the system of indenturing destitute children to trustworthy people is in force to the present day, it is in the Cape Colony as well as elsewhere the usual way of providing for them. And whenever due provision is made to ascertain that children so indentured are really destitute, that the persons to whom they are allotted take proper care of them, and that they are kept in service no longer than the legal term of apprenticeship, no reasonable objection to the system can well be made. But whenever the government is too weak to enforce order or to curb the unruly, the custom is liable to great abuse. Children, for instance, found at kraals from which their parents were driven by force of arms, have on more occasions than one been kept to labour for many years. The case of the Baca youths was of this nature. Their retention, indeed, was disapproved of by a majority of the Emigrants, on moral as well as political grounds; but under the government which they had established every one could do nearly as he chose in matters such as this.

FAKU had been willing enough for the farmers to attack the Amabaca, but he seems to have suspected that he was not altogether safe himself. He applied to Sir GEORGE NAPIER for protection, and, accordingly, a small body of troops consisting of two hundred and fifty men of the 27th regiment, a few Cape Mounted Riflemen, and some artillerymen with two field pieces, was sent to his country, and formed a temporary camp there. Meanwhile the correspondence with the Natal farmers was continued, but they were now distinctly informed that their independence could not be recognized, and that military possession of the Bay might at any time be taken. In October, 1841, a letter to this effect was received, and as the Volksraad was then in session, a reply was at once drawn up, in which the members asserted their independence, and declared that they would not consent to receive a garrison in the country. In other words, they were determined to resist by force any attempt to bring them under control. When the issue was thus simplified, Sir GEORGE NAPIER proclaimed his intention of taking military possession of Natal, and Captain SMITH was directed to move forward from Pondoland for that purpose. The country was again about to change its masters.

CHAPTER XXXII.

SEIZURE OF NATAL BY THE BRITISH.

ABOUT the middle of March, 1842, Captain SMITH broke up his camp on the southern border of Pondoland. There was no road through the country he was about to traverse, and heavy rains had recently fallen, so that the rivers were swollen and nearly impassable. The Emigrants never imagined that a body of soldiers could be transported through such a country at such a time, and so they made no preparations for defence. The first notice they had of Captain SMITH'S movement was when, on the 4th of May, he presented himself before Durban. With seven hundred bullocks to draw his waggon train, he had overcome all the obstacles of the route. For days together the rain had fallen in torrents, but the expedition had still marched on, fatigue parties being sent forward every morning to clear a path for the waggons. Ninety miles from Port Natal a small detachment was posted to keep open communication to the southward, and there the sick were also left.

Captain SMITH formed a camp on a slight eminence close to Durban, by drawing his waggons up in the form of a triangle, with a gun at each point. An abundant supply of water was obtained from two wells which were sunk as soon as the site for the camp was fixed upon. The republican flag was then pulled down, and a notice was issued to the farmers, offering them fifteen days in which to tender their submission, and threatening them with severe penalties if they did not yield within that time.

A few days after the arrival of the troops, the brig *Pilot* entered the bay, bringing from Cape Town some stores, a supply of ammunition, and two brass field pieces. Shortly afterwards, the schooner *Mazeppa* arrived with further supplies. To protect these stores when landed, and to hold the entrance to the bay, Captain SMITH formed an outpost at the Point, and placed there a guard of twenty-five men under a sergeant.

Up to this moment neither the Home nor the Colonial Government appears to have realized the magnitude of the emigration movement or the extent of the opposition which the farmers were capable of making. Sir GEORGE NAPIER, indeed, considered the puny force he had ordered to Natal sufficiently strong to take and hold the country without any trouble. Blindness like this, which was not altogether unmixed with disdain, could only lead to unfortunate results.

The farmers, as soon as their astonishment at Captain SMITH'S overland march had subsided, determined to attempt the recovery of their seaport. They were encouraged to resist the introduction of English authority by promises and false statements made to them by the supercargo of a Dutch trading vessel which had recently been in the bay. This man, SMELLEKAMP

by name, had ingratiated himself with them, and had worked upon their vanity and credulity to an almost incomprehensible extent. He informed them that not only were the principal merchants and leading men of Holland interested in their welfare, but that the king himself sympathized with them, and was prepared to take them under his protection. He made them believe that arms and ammunition would be forwarded to them, and induced the Volksraad to pay his travelling expenses to Europe and to appoint him the representative of the Republic at the court of Holland. That country, he told them, was one of the most powerful in Europe, and so little versed were they in such matters that they gave credit to all his statements.

Acting under this delusion, they employed the fifteen days allowed them for consideration in collecting their forces, and in forming a camp at Congella, near the head of the bay. They sent word to Captain SMITH that the Republic was under the protection of the king of Holland, and demanded that he and his troops should instantly leave Natal. Finding that he took no notice of either their intimation or their demand, on the 23rd they seized the greater number of his oxen, thus committing an overt act of hostility.

The same night Captain SMITH attempted to surprise the farmers' camp at Congella, but was driven back with considerable loss. The attacking force consisted of eighteen men of the Royal Artillery, nine Sappers, one hundred and nine men of the 27th regiment, and two Cape Mounted Riflemen. The camps were distant from each other about three miles, and the road between them ran through a patch of dense bush. In this the farmers had posted a body of men, who opened a deadly fire upon the advancing English soldiers. The guns were drawn by oxen, some of which were wounded, and, breaking loose, rushed furiously through the ranks, causing great confusion. There was no alternative, so the troops retreated. They left behind them their guns, seventeen killed, thirty-one wounded, and three missing, and fell back to their camp, followed closely by the farmers.

The attack upon Congella was planned without any knowledge of the ground, or of the strength of the enemy, whose military power had up to that time been treated with contempt by Captain SMITH. With so little forethought had it been undertaken, that the soldiers were relying upon assistance from a large boat, which could have reached the head of the bay at high water only, whereas by the route they followed they could advance only when the tide was out. The force they had to oppose consisted of between three and four hundred men quite as well armed as they were themselves, and better acquainted with the locality.

The wounded were treated by the farmers with great humanity. They were not considered prisoners of war, but were sent back to their friends as soon as possible. The bodies of the slain were also forwarded to the British camp to be interred by their late comrades.

The provisions brought from Cape Town were still at the Point, when on the morning of the 26th the guard stationed there was surprised by a force of about a hundred farmers. Two of the soldiers were killed, and two others were wounded, when the rest, seeing that resistance was out of the question, surrendered, and were sent as prisoners of war to Maritzburg, where they remained in confinement for about six weeks. Eight English residents of Durban were also made prisoners and forwarded to Maritzburg for security. At the same time the *Pilot* and the *Mazeppa* were seized, but, with the exception of the captains, their crews were not removed from them. The British camp was then closely invested, and a heavy fire was opened upon it.

Captain SMITH prepared to defend himself to the last extremity. He caused deep trenches to be dug, in which the soldiers could remain in security, and he increased his small stock of provisions by slaughtering his few remaining oxen and horses and drying their flesh. The men were put upon short allowance, which, as the siege advanced, became less and less, until they had nothing more than a few ounces of biscuit-dust and dried horse-flesh daily.

A young man named RICHARD KING, one of the English residents of Durban, now undertook to ride overland to the Cape Colony, and acquaint the authorities there with the turn affairs had taken. Such a feat in travelling has seldom been performed. There were no roads through the wild country, no places of refreshment along the route. There were rivers to be forded or swum by the solitary messenger, who kept on his headlong course night and day, riding one of his horses and leading the other by turns. Once he fell sick, or rather exhausted, and was compelled to rest for twenty-four hours. On another occasion he was in danger of being stopped by unfriendly natives, but by tact he succeeded in getting past them. Nine days after leaving Natal he rode into Grahamstown, and the journey of four hundred miles was over.

The number of the farmers was continually increasing, until the force under command of PRETORIUS was raised to six hundred men. They fortified the entrance to the bay, and pressed the siege of the British camp with vigour. Their cannon balls having become exhausted, they manufactured others by casting leaden ones over a link of a chain cable or a piece of bar iron. But so well were the soldiers protected that the fire of the enemy was almost harmless, only seven men being killed and eight wounded on the British side during the whole period of the siege, and even this small loss was sustained principally during sorties. Mr. W. COWIE, a trader of Durban, managed to convey a few cattle into the camp by night, but this having been discovered, he was obliged to conceal himself, and a reward was offered by the farmers for his apprehension. All property belonging to the English settlers was then confiscated, and whatever was portable was removed to Maritzburg.

There were a few women and children with Captain SMITH's detachment,

and these, together with the wives and children of the English settlers, twenty-eight in all, were permitted to take refuge on board the MAZEPPA. On the 10th of June, the crew of this vessel managed to slip the cable and get to sea, being in hopes of meeting with a British war-vessel, from which relief could be obtained. There was very little food and no ballast on board the schooner at the time, and she had to run the gauntlet at the Point, sailing slowly along, with a light breeze, at a distance of only thirty yards from eighty farmers armed with muskets and a four pounder. Her sails and rigging were pretty well cut up, but no one on board was hurt. She ran northward as far as Delagoa Bay, and then, having met with no assistance, put about and encountered the frigate *Southampton* at the outer anchorage of Natal.

Famine was beginning to tell upon the soldiers, and they could have held out only a very short time longer, when in the evening of the 24th of June, thirty-two days after the commencement of the siege, a rocket flashing through the air over the outer anchorage announced that relief was at hand. All that night and the next day the famished soldiers watched and waited in vain. As night fell on the 25th, rockets were again seen shooting skyward, and soon after dark the booming of heavy guns far to seaward was heard. That night the fire of the farmers was heavier than it had been for three weeks before, for they knew that their only chance now was to take the camp at once. The soldiers knew just as well that the next day would bring them relief, and so they answered the farmers, shot for shot, that their friends in the ships outside might know they were yet holding out.

When RICHARD KING reached Grahamstown with intelligence of the disasters at Natal, the grenadiers of the 27th, mustering one hundred and twenty men, were at once marched to Port Elizabeth and embarked in the schooner *Conch*. Captain BELL, the master of this vessel, had been to Natal before, and was well acquainted with the harbour. The *Conch* arrived at the outer anchorage on the 24th, and sent up the rockets and blue lights that evening which were seen from the camp. As soon as the news reached Cape Town, a portion of the 25th regiment, under command of Colonel A. J. CLOETE, was embarked in the frigate *Southampton* with all possible speed, and sent to Natal. Two other ships of war and a transport followed, but arrived too late to be of any service. The authorities seemed determined at last to make up by vigorous measures for that fatal negligence which had led to the disaster. The *Southampton* arrived during the night of the 25th, and it was the booming of her guns in answer to the rockets from the *Conch*, which announced to the farmers that a new foe was at hand.

The next day (Sunday, the 26th of June, 1842) a light breeze was blowing from the south-eastward, of which the British commander determined to take advantage. The entrance to the bay was protected by cannon, and by a body of three hundred and fifty men, who could pour down a torrent of musket balls upon the deck of any vessel attempting to

pass. But the English made light of these obstacles. The *Southampton* was brought as close to the bar as was considered prudent, and from that position she opened her broadside and dispersed all who were within reach of her heavy guns. To the hundred and twenty men already on board the *Conch*, thirty-five more were now added, and eighty-five were embarked in boats and taken in tow. A line was then run along the schooner a couple of feet above her bulwarks, and covered with the soldiers' blankets, to prevent the men on deck from being aimed at. Having taken this precaution, the *Conch* set all sail and stood in, passing to the inner anchorage with the loss of only two men killed and four wounded. The troops were then landed without difficulty, as the farmers were already in full retreat. Within two hours from the time the boats left the *Southampton*, the emaciated soldiers in the camp were relieved, and the British were masters of Port Natal.

The farmers retreated in great confusion, and formed a camp about twelve miles from the bay. Some of them retired to their homes, but about four hundred still remained under arms, though undecided how to act. They had four or five field pieces, but their stock of ammunition was small.

Colonel CLOETE, who, as senior in rank, had assumed the command of the troops, was unable to follow up his success at once. He had no draught cattle of any kind, and the *Southampton* had been driven to sea in a gale with all his stores on board. Under these circumstances, he did not scruple to make use of means which can only be justified by necessity. The number of natives in Natal had of late been increasing very rapidly by immigration, and some hundreds of these were then hovering about the camp, Colonel CLOETE called upon them to bring him all the horses and cattle they could get, and they, interpreting this order into a general plundering license, commenced to rob and murder peaceable settlers as well as those who were under arms. PRETORIUS complained bitterly of this proceeding, and remonstrated by letter with CLOETE, who replied that he would endeavour to prevent excesses, but that he could not recall the order. "You," wrote he, "have caused this state of things by rebelling, and you must bear the consequences."

The farmers were not the men to submit quietly to treatment like this. They retaliated by falling upon a kraal and shooting fifty or sixty of the occupants, which struck such terror into the hearts of the natives that the robberies at once ceased. The commando then retired to Maritzburg, where a meeting of the Volksraad was held, and by the advice of PRETORIUS a resolution was carried that they should tender their submission, upon condition of a general amnesty. But, at the same time, their delegates were instructed to inform the British commander that the country was under the protection of the king of Holland.

Colonel CLOETE received the deputation with civility, and, at their request, visited Maritzburg, where, on the 15th of July, the articles of

submission were drawn up. The farmers agreed to acknowledge the authority of the Queen, to release their prisoners, to give up their cannon, and to restore all confiscated property. The British commander agreed to a general amnesty (four persons only excepted, who were afterwards virtually included), to respect all private property, to permit the farmers to return to their homes with their guns and horses, and to protect them against the natives. He agreed further not to interfere with the tenure of their lands or with the existing administration and civil institutions. Until the pleasure of the Queen should be made known, the Volksraad was to retain its power over the whole country, excepting the Bay and a small strip of land about it, which was to be under the exclusive control of the commander of the troops. The natives were to remain in undisturbed possession of the lands they were then occupying.

Hostilities being thus ended, Colonel CLOETE returned to Cape Town with the 25th regiment, leaving Captain SMITH in command of a garrison numbering three hundred and fifty men. Matters remained in this state until May, 1843, the farmers being virtually independent during that interval. Then a special Commissioner was sent to Natal to prepare for the introduction of another form of government. This mission was intrusted to Mr. HENRY CLOETE, a brother of Colonel CLOETE, and afterwards Recorder of Natal.

The Commissioner, on his arrival, found matters in a very unsatisfactory state. SMELLEKAMP had recently returned from Holland, but when the vessel in which he was a passenger put into the Bay, she was at once ordered to sea again by the English commander, and the agent who had already worked so much mischief was not permitted to land. The farmers were incensed at this treatment of their envoy, and a war party was again forming. From beyond the Drakenberg commandos were hastening to assist in opposing the introduction of English rule. The country was in a complete state of anarchy, of which Mr. CLOETE gives the following proofs:

A judgment of the landdrost's court of Maritzburg, requiring a farmer in the neighbourhood to restore some cattle seized from a Hottentot, had been lying for three months a dead letter, because the farmer had threatened to shoot any one who should act as messenger of the court, and no one could be found who would run the risk. At the meetings of the Volksraad the members came armed, and used the most violent language towards their opponents.

Many of the most respectable farmers were in favour of any change that would restore order and give strength to the government. The arrival at Durban of military reinforcements, which the Commissioner had requested to be sent from the Cape, gave this party an opportunity of openly expressing its views. PRETORIUS and several other leading men then counselled moderation, and endeavoured to show how vain was the hope of holding Maritzburg, let alone the open country, against trained English troops. Early in August a meeting of the representatives of the people took place,

at which the twenty-four members for Natal were present, and also some forty-five or forty-six chosen by the commandos from beyond the mountains. It seemed probable that a collision between the two parties would take place, as all were armed. But a declaration of the Commissioner, that the Quathlamba would be considered the boundary of Natal, was the means of restoring order, as it gave to the disaffected a hope of being left to themselves on the other side. They accordingly withdrew, and on the 8th of August the Volksraad unanimously accepted the terms offered by the Commissioner. Natal was to be an English colony, and the existing government was to remain in force only until the Queen should appoint a staff of officials. Those farmers who were determined not to be ruled by English laws now lost no time in crossing the Quathlamba into the country north of the Orange River; but a great many Dutch families settled down peaceably on their farms, where some of them and their descendants still remain.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE PRESENT COLONISTS OF NATAL AND THEIR GOVERNMENT.

NATAL had now become an English possession through force of circumstances, and not from any desire on the part of the Imperial Government to establish its dominion there. The sun shone on no fairer land, on none more capable of furnishing happy homes for tens of thousands of Europeans, if soil and climate alone are considered. But it was like some gem of the ocean, surrounded by a stormy sea ever threatening to bury it beneath the black waters. The Zulus on the north, the Basutos on the west, and the Pondos on the south, were elements that required to be taken into account when estimating the value of the new colony. On the soil of that colony itself were now gathered a hundred thousand native refugees, many of them claiming to be the heirs of the original owners. It could not be looked upon as an empty land, inviting settlers from Europe and promising them peace and plenty. With a population of five to the square mile, it was already more densely peopled than is the Cape Colony at the present day. That number is indeed small, when the capabilities of the soil are considered, but it was sufficiently large to deter Europeans from making Natal their home. The land was known abroad as the theatre of savage wars and inhuman massacres, and it was generally believed that these might at any moment be repeated. It is not surprising therefore

that immigrants from over the sea were not attracted to its shores in any considerable numbers. And though thirty-three years have since passed away, the muster roll of the white inhabitants does not yet reach to twenty thousand souls.

Those who arrived first were mostly traders, whose object was to carry on business with the Dutch settlers and the natives. Some of these in course of time became possessed of large tracts of ground, and turned their attention to agricultural or pastoral pursuits. Occasionally a few mechanics reached the colony, and parties of hunters were now and again attracted by the abundance of game. But it was only a ripple, not a wave, of immigration that set on the shore.

Five years after the landing of the English troops there were fewer white people in Natal than on the day the *Conch* sailed over the bar. With the capitulation many of the Dutch had abandoned the settlement, and again in 1847 a large number moved away to the north-west. The regulations regarding the natives made by the English government, particularly the setting aside immense tracts of the best land in the colony for their exclusive use, caused a disaffection which threatened to depopulate the country of Europeans.

Sir HARRY SMITH made his appearance among the farmers just in time to prevent a general exodus. The war of the axe was barely concluded in the old colony, when that energetic governor hastened with all speed to Natal, with a view of settling matters there. In January, 1848, he arrived, and found a train of waggons in readiness to cross the Drakenberg. He brought the first authentic intelligence that the Glenelg system of dealing with the natives was abandoned,—a piece of information which made him wonderfully popular with those who attributed most of their troubles to the carrying out of that policy by Great Britain for so many years. The High Commissioner found no difficulty in conciliating the disaffected; he entered freely into conversation with them, and made himself acquainted with their grievances, which he endeavoured as far as possible to rectify. Possibly, a portion of his success in inducing them to remain where they were arose from a proclamation which he issued, asserting British sovereignty over the country between the Orange and Vaal rivers, which led them to see that crossing the Drakenberg would not relieve them of the presence of the English flag. In another proclamation, the High Commissioner offered free grants of farms to European settlers, a measure that caused a considerable influx of people from other parts of South Africa.

In 1848 a party of agricultural labourers from Northern Germany was brought out by Mr. J. BERGTHEIL, a merchant of Durban, with a view of testing the capabilities of the country for the cultivation of cotton. The original design, however, was abandoned after their landing, and they were located at New Germany, a few miles inland from Durban, where they established themselves as market gardeners, and soon placed themselves

in comfortable circumstances through their industry and frugality. They were in all only one hundred and eighty-three souls. The success which these people attained as agriculturists, the proofs which they furnished of the capabilities of the soil, and the strength which a body of industrious peasants always imparts to a country, clearly pointed out one of the classes of immigrants most suited to Natal. But no effort was made by the government to bring out others of the same stamp, for just at that time a scheme of colonization from England on an extensive scale was set on foot.

With this object an Association was formed in London, under the management of Mr. J. C. Byrne, to work in union with the colonial government. The Association offered to convey people to Natal, to support them for six months after arrival, and to give them plots of land in freehold varying from ten to two hundred acres in extent. The charge for all this was £45 for a man and his wife, £7 10s for a child, and £25 for a single man. During the years 1849, 1850, and 1851, between four and five thousand persons were thus sent out; but the scheme failed as far as the introduction of an agricultural population was concerned. The immigrants in general were entirely unsuited for farm work, without some previous training, which it was too late to acquire after their arrival in a new country. The consequence was that they suffered great hardships at first, and in their reports and letters to their friends at home they represented the country in such a light that others were discouraged from following. The scheme was ill planned and badly carried out. Many of the immigrants were located in situations where as gardeners they could have no markets for their produce, while for the cultivation of articles fit for exportation they were too poor. As mechanics, clerks, and labourers, those among them who could obtain employment did much better. They infused a thoroughly English spirit into the colony, which, up to that time, had been in the matter of society something like what secluded districts in the Transvaal Republic are at the present day.

In 1858 a system of immigration, under the auspices of the government, was commenced. Agents were employed in Great Britain, and such persons as were approved of were assisted to the colony. Any resident could get out relatives, friends, or servants, upon payment of £10 towards the passage money of each individual. In the first year the number that arrived was about a hundred, but it rose steadily until 1862, when four hundred were brought out. From that date it fell off rapidly, and soon ceased altogether. The government continued, however, to offer free grants of land, varying in size from fifty to two hundred acres according to the amount of capital possessed by the immigrants, and to contribute £10 towards the passage money of each one approved of by the English Emigration Commissioners. The inducement was insufficient to fill up the waste lands with European settlers.

Years passed away, and along the great ocean road round the southern

capes sailed fleets of ships conveying brave hearts and strong hands to build up giant colonies in the islands of the east, but never a one dropped anchor here. Natal seemed as if forgotten by the swarms that the overpeopled hive of Europe was constantly sending forth. Her trade returns were calculated to produce an unfavourable impression abroad, and in 1865 commercial disasters occurred which ruined her prospects for years. The European population was at that time nearly as great as it is to-day. But many of those who were then in the colony have left, and others have since arrived.

A large proportion of the present settlers consists of persons who have from time to time been attracted from England and the Cape Colony by the prospect of amassing wealth as sugar planters, farmers, or traders; of mechanics who were attracted from the old colony by the high wages that ruled prior to 1865; of professional men, officers of government, and missionaries; of officers and soldiers who have left the army; and of waifs whom chance has landed there. The establishment of an Immigrants' Aid Office, supported by voluntary subscriptions, has helped somewhat in introducing settlers. In 1874 the office was embodied in the Immigration Department of the government, and an agent is now employed in England to encourage and promote emigration to the colony.

The government of Natal since 1843 has undergone more frequent changes, perhaps, than that of any other dependency of the British crown. The province was ruled by a Special Commissioner for a short time. Then, on the 31st of March, 1844, Letters Patent were issued, by which it was annexed to the Cape Colony. Another twelvemonth brought another change, for on the 29th of April in the following year it was erected into a distinct colony, with a Legislature of its own. The magistrate of Grahamstown, Mr. MARTIN WEST, received the appointment of Lieutenant Governor, and arrived with a staff of officials towards the close of the year. A Legislative Council was established, consisting of four officials appointed by the Crown. The whole machinery of government was as simple as possible, but well suited to the condition of the country. Magistrates were appointed to various localities, and a Recorder's Court was established in Maritzburg, from which an appeal could be made to the Supreme Court of the Cape Colony. The number of magistrates has since been increased from time to time, and a bench of three judges has taken the place of the Recorder.

On the 1st of August, 1849, Mr. WEST died. Colonel BOYS, as senior military officer in the colony, then administered the government for a few months, until the arrival of Mr. BENJAMIN C. C. PINE, who was appointed to the vacant office. For a few years no change took place in the form of government, but considerable improvement was made in the manner of conducting public affairs. In 1854 municipal privileges were conferred upon the towns of Maritzburg and Durban.

In 1856 the European inhabitants were first permitted to have a voice in

their government. In that year a Charter was issued by the Queen in Council, according to which legislative power was intrusted to the Governor and a single Chamber termed the Legislative Council. In the Chamber twelve members elected by those colonists who were possessed of the necessary qualifications were to have seats, together with four of the heads of the principal departments, that is, twelve elective members were added to the old Council. They were to hold their seats for four years, unless the Governor chose to dissolve the Council sooner. It is rarely that a mixed body such as this works harmoniously, and in Natal the ordinary experience has been verified. There has been little else but constant discord between the two elements in the Chamber. The government has often found itself fettered, while the representatives of the people have been powerless to do any thing more than obstruct. Yet, under the circumstances of the country, it was the only form of legislature possible, if the colonists were to be represented at all, unless Great Britain would concede the power of ruling the natives to a mere handful of white men scattered among them. With the Charter a new governor, Mr. JOHN SCOTT, was sent out.

In December, 1864, Colonel JOHN MACLEAN was transferred from the government of British Kaffraria to that of Natal; but, on account of ill health, did not long retain the office. Upon his resignation, Colonel BISSET acted as Administrator of the government until 1867, when Mr. ROBERT W. KEATE was appointed. This Governor's term of office was marked by continual strife between the elective members of the Council and the Executive. For several years prior to 1865 the colony was supposed to be in a flourishing condition, and expensive civil establishments were then created. The Governor's salary, which had originally been only £800 per annum, was raised to £2,500, the other officials obtaining a proportionate increase. Subsequently, the colonists considered it necessary to reduce the expenditure; but the elected members of the Council and the Executive could never agree as to the manner in which retrenchment should be effected. The Council claimed control over the revenue, and refused to adopt the estimates submitted by the government. Then occurred disputes and wranglings of no ordinary kind. Money which was voted for public works and other purposes was taken by the Governor to pay the officials. The Council argued that salaries had been raised when everything bore very high prices, and as the cost of living was now reduced and the colony in great distress, it was only fair that the officials should receive less pay. The Governor gravely asserted that in his department the only possible retrenchment was in the salary of a native messenger, from £12 to £9 per annum. Neither his own salary, nor that of any of the Heads of Departments or clerks, could bear the slightest diminution. He did not even affect to feel sympathy with the people or interest in the colony.

In 1869 the Council requested the Imperial Government to allow six

more elective members to be added to it, and to deprive the nominee members of the right of voting, limiting them to debate only. The expenditure was then greater than the revenue, and the colony for some years had been sinking into debt. To rectify this, it was proposed to increase taxation, and to require the natives to contribute at an average rate of at least four shillings each. At the same time it was resolved to reduce the Governor's salary to £1800 a year, to amalgamate the offices of Secretary for Native Affairs and Colonial Secretary, to reduce the salaries of those officers holding seats in the Council by £100 per annum each, to reduce the salaries and pensions of the judges, and to effect retrenchment in various other ways.

These proposals and resolutions were submitted by the Governor to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who refused to sanction them, on the ground that the circumstances of Natal did not warrant a diminution of the power of the Crown in the Legislative body. "So long as Her Majesty's troops remain in the colony," wrote he, "the Home Government must retain its control over the taxation and government of the natives and of all that falls under the head of native policy; and experience shows that this cannot be done without retaining an effectual control over all policy, whether European or native." But in order to make the acts of the Executive Council more popular, the Governor was empowered to appoint to the Executive two elected members of the Legislature, to hold office till the dissolution or other termination of the Council from which they were selected.

The opposition was rather increased than diminished when this became known. The Governor then dissolved the Council and appealed to the people. With one exception, the same members were re-elected. But already the signs of prosperity resulting from the discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West were becoming visible, and the necessity for retrenchment no longer existed. The appointment by the Governor of a commission to enquire into the adequacy of the civil service was accepted as an act of conciliation, and gradually the quarrel died out. The commission recommended (1871) the abolition of certain offices to which salaries amounting in all to upwards of £5000 were attached, and the re-arrangement of other salaries by which a yearly saving of £3000 more would be effected.

Upon this, a Supplementary Charter was sent out by the Secretary of State, in which the salaries of the principal officers were fixed and placed beyond the control of the Council, and the power of that body was in other respects clearly defined. A document such as this could not fail to renew the opposition which for a time had ceased. The elective members persistently ignored it, on the ground that by removing a large portion of the expenditure beyond their control, rights were annulled which had been conferred upon them by the Charter itself. In this view, it was not a Supplementary Charter, but a revocation of the Charter. The contention thus occasioned did not cease until 1875, when a change in the Constitu-

tion was made, which obliterated all previous differences between the representatives of the people and the Executive.

A very popular Governor, Mr. ANTHONY MUSGRAVE, arrived in 1872, but his tenure of office was very short. Being promoted to a more important government in Australia, he left Natal on the 30th of April, 1873. His successor,—after a short period during which Colonel MILLES administered the government,—was Sir BENJAMIN C. C. PINE, who assumed office on the 22nd of July. This gentleman, known as an energetic officer and a warm friend of the colony twenty years before, was very cordially welcomed by the old residents.

In 1873 the Council was enlarged by the addition of one official and three representative members, namely, one for the united Counties of Alexandra and Alfred, one additional member for the County of Victoria, and one for the new County of Newcastle.

The session of 1874 was marked by a successful effort on the part of some of the elective members to carry a resolution in favour of responsible government. It might be thought that in a country so sparsely inhabited by Europeans as is Natal, and where such a constant pressure was maintained by the official element, there could be no room for the formation of antagonistic parties. It has unfortunately been otherwise. Between the coastlands and the up-country districts a spirit of jealousy has existed, which has more than once been destructive of harmony in the Council Chamber. On this occasion the two sections of the country were arrayed against each other. The upland members carried the measure unanimously, but only after the coast members had left the House and the Speaker had ruled that the nominees could not vote on the question, as they would be personally affected by it. The resolution thus carried was, however, of no avail, for after a time came the decision of the Secretary of State, which was to the effect that responsible government could not be conceded. England was unwilling to subject more than three hundred thousand natives to the government of a party consisting of a majority in a constituency of less than twenty thousand colonists.

During Sir BENJAMIN PINE's tenure of office an insurrection of a powerful native clan took place, an account of which will be given in another chapter. The Governor promptly stamped out the rebellion, and this action met with the approval of the colonists, but the Secretary of State treated him precisely as Lord GLENELG had treated Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN in 1836. He was condemned and recalled, but took with him, when he left, the hearty sympathy of the European inhabitants. Sir GARNET WOLSELEY, the most celebrated English General of the day, was then sent out, and took the oaths of office on the 3rd of April, 1875. He was accompanied by a staff of distinguished men, who brought Natal into prominence during the short period of their stay. The principal object of the Secretary of State in sending out an officer of Sir GARNET WOLSELEY's standing was to obtain the consent of the colonists to the virtual annulment of the Charter.

Changes in the policy to be pursued towards the natives were meditated at the Colonial Office, and it was considered necessary to make sure of no opposition on the part of the local legislature. Yet there was really no reason to apprehend resistance to any measure calculated to improve the condition of the natives, for the colonists and their elected representatives have ever been anxious for the advancement of these people in civilization. There might be obstruction in other matters, but not in this. The power of the Crown in the legislature of Natal was already sufficient to ensure the approval of any reasonable measure that might be proposed, even if the colonists had not been so thoroughly at one as they were in desiring to raise their swarthy neighbours out of the slough of barbarism. Not only could the Secretary of State or the Governor disallow any bill, but of the twenty members of the Council five were officers who received their appointments from the Colonial Office, and whose only choice was to vote as directed or to resign their situations. Whenever the votes of six out of the fifteen elective members could be secured, there was a majority for the government, and it may safely be said that any native policy for which that proportion of votes could not be obtained must either be unjust or dangerous. Earl CARNARVON, however, thought differently, and so another change in the government was made.

Theoretically, the Sovereign has the power of altering, amending, or annulling such Charters as that of Natal; practically, the power of annulling them is never exercised. The usual course is to obtain by some means the consent of the legislature to its own extinction. For such a purpose, no abler man than Sir GARNET WOLSELEY could have been selected. In him great ability was united with winning manners and a rare power of leading men. He had the reputation of being a skilful diplomatist as well as a successful general. The colonists felt that their country was considered of some importance when such a man was sent to govern it, they saw Natal noticed at length by the leading English periodicals, they were persuaded that a strong garrison would be sent to guard their land. The Governor made a rapid tour through the colony,—it was as much like a triumphal march as nineteen thousand scattered Europeans could make it. Pleasant words were spoken everywhere, addresses of welcome were presented, and flattering replies were made.

After this preparation the Council was summoned, and the bill which was to rob it of power was produced. The form it took was that of adding ten more nominee members, to make fifteen in all against the same number of representatives of the people; but as the presiding officer was to be chosen from the electives, the government would have a clear majority at all times. There was a party in Natal that would have preferred to do away with a Council altogether, and thus throw the whole responsibility of government upon the Secretary of State, rather than accept the bill in the form in which it was introduced. It was seen at once that the elective members would never agree to it as it then stood. But many of them

admitted that a strong government was not only desirable, but absolutely necessary to the prosperity of the country.

The real strength of every government is based on the solid foundation of the co-operation of the people governed, but no such thing is attainable at Natal through an elective Council. There, the franchise is limited to the Europeans, nineteen thousand at the most, while three hundred and fifty thousand natives are unrepresented, and must remain so for a long time to come. In this case the expression "a strong government" is taken to mean an Executive that can at all times command a majority in the Legislature.

The principal reason assigned by the Executive in favour of the measure proposed was that it would enable them without any obstruction to reform the native policy. The strangest feature in the debates was this plea, for the alterations in the mode of dealing with the natives now desired by the Home Authorities were precisely such as the elective members of the colonial legislature had been for years fruitlessly endeavouring to effect.

After a warm discussion, the bill was read a second time, and then a compromise was effected. In committee such alterations were made as to give the government power to accomplish what it professed to be so anxious to do, and yet so as not to deprive the colonists of the benefit of representation. The ten nominee members were reduced to eight, who were not to be office holders, and who must be possessed of fixed property in the country to the value of £1000, and also have resided in Natal for at least two years. The colonists were to some extent protected by a clause providing that no new tax should be laid on them without the consent of two-thirds of the members present at the time of its being put to the vote. Finally, the duration of the bill was limited to five years. Thus modified, it was read for the third time, and carried by five official and five representative votes against the votes of seven elective members. The Secretary of State agreed to it, and it is at present the law of Natal. Thus, the long struggle for power between the Council and the Executive has terminated for the time being in favour of the government, and the colony presents the rare spectacle among the dependencies of Great Britain of having its political privileges much reduced.

The stay of Sir GARNET WOLSELEY in Natal was limited to five months, but the experience gained by him during that time has since been made use of in England to promote the interests of the colony, so that the advantages gained by having so distinguished a man as Administrator were not altogether lost upon his departure. It may be taken for granted that the action of the Secretary of State towards Natal will for some time to come be largely influenced by the counsel he may give, and as he made himself thoroughly acquainted with the resources as well as the wants of the country, it is probable that some measures may be devised for developing these resources and supplying these wants. Sir GARNET WOLSELEY was succeeded on the 3rd Sept. by the present governor, Sir HENRY BULWER.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ALIENATION OF THE PUBLIC LANDS OF NATAL. AGRICULTURE. COMMERCE. RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION. ECCLESIASTICAL DISSENSION.

As the Port of Natal is the only harbour on the long line of coast between East London and Delagoa Bay, the colony is admirably situated for communication with the interior, and hence the majority of its European inhabitants are engaged in commerce and in the transport of goods. Nearly half of the whole number reside in Durban and Maritzburg, and if to these be added the residents in the villages, a very small proportion will be left for the cultivation of the soil. Immense tracts of fertile land are either lying waste altogether, or producing nothing beyond what is yielded under the rude and imperfect tillage of the natives. In some parts, one may travel for hours together without observing any signs of this being an English colony, except an occasional wayside hotel or trading station. The causes of this condition of affairs are to be found in the system under which land has been alienated, and in the presence of a very large and constantly increasing native population.

The early Dutch colonists took possession of tracts of land from five to eight thousand acres in extent, the right to which was confirmed to those among them who remained after the seizure of the colony by the English. Since that time similar grants have on various occasions been made to European settlers, so that at the present day nearly six millions of acres are held in this manner; that is to say, about half the area of the whole colony,—and that, too, the most fertile and easily accessible portion,—has been alienated as if it was fit for nothing but sheep runs. In thus parting with the ground, the government made no provision for its occupation, beyond the imposition of a petty tax upon absentee proprietors, and thus a door was opened to speculation on an enormous scale. A single Association formed in England,—the Natal Land and Colonization Company,—was enabled to purchase for trifling sums nearly three quarters of a million of acres, without doing anything to introduce European settlers, and other companies were not slow in embarking in the same speculation, happily, however, to a smaller extent.

The result is that for every European man, woman, and child, engaged in agriculture in Natal, a thousand acres of land have been alienated. The proprietors of great estates, in many instances, lease their ground in small holdings to native tenants, who live after the manner of their ancestors, and thus Europeans are practically excluded. Any attempt to eject the native tenantry in a body, or to compel them to retire to the locations, would be attended with danger, as it might kindle a flame of disaffection that blood alone could quench. Awakened at length to the magnitude of

the error that has been committed, the government is endeavouring to devise some scheme by which the proprietors may be compelled to occupy and improve their land. The question has even been mooted in high quarters whether the peculiar circumstances of the colony do not demand the resumption by the State, at a fair value, of a portion of the property so recklessly squandered in bygone years. For the government has now very little land at its disposal that immigrants would care to settle on. Two millions of acres are reserved for the use of the natives, between three and four hundred thousand acres have been granted to Missionary Societies or laid out in townships, and only about four millions of acres remain, of which much is useless and nearly all is situated in secluded districts. Even what is left cannot be considered vacant ground, for in many places it is occupied by native squatters.

In the upland districts the farms occupied by Europeans are principally used as sheep runs. The Dutch settlers brought only horned cattle with them, and up to 1855 there were but few sheep in the colony. In that year the lung-sickness reached Natal, and spread through the herds with most destructive effect. The graziers then saw that it would not do to depend any longer upon one kind of animal only, and therefore they introduced sheep to their pastures. Since that date the production of wool has gone on constantly increasing. The most profitable plan of sheep breeding has been found to depasture the flocks during the summer season on the elevated plains beyond the Quathlamba, as the grass of Natal is then too rank and rich to be healthy. In the winter they are brought down again, for then the grass on the highlands is dried up, and the cold winds often cause large numbers of the weaker animals to perish. In these upland farms agricultural operations are limited to the supply of food for the graziers' own use. The defective means of communication with the coast, and the absence of markets near at hand, leave no room for profit on the growth of cereals.

In the midland districts, also, more attention is paid to the breeding of stock than to agriculture, though here grain and vegetables are raised to supply the market of Maritzburg. Horses are reared in some parts, and bacon is cured in small quantities for exportation. In former years, sufficient butter was made to supply the needs of the colonists, and also to export a few thousand pounds worth yearly, but disease among the cattle has recently reduced the quantity. Since 1855 the colony has never been free of lung-sickness, and a few years ago another fatal disorder, known as red-water, broke out. It first swept off the horned cattle from the coast lands, and then spread over the interior districts, causing great loss among the draught oxen. At one time traffic by means of bullock waggons nearly ceased, owing to this scourge, but its ravages have now somewhat abated.

The principal industry of Natal is confined to the narrow belt of low land lying along the coast. This belt is very much broken up, but for the most part it consists of rich soil capable of yielding large returns under

cultivation. Here are to be seen growing various kinds of tropical plants, chief among which is the sugar-cane, the first plant of which was introduced in 1847. In 1851 an old settler named MORELAND, residing some thirty-five miles north of Durban, produced a sample of sugar manufactured by himself out of cane grown on his farm. He had no machinery except a simple wooden crusher and a common iron pot, so that the sample was very unlike the fine sugars made at the present day. Nevertheless, it was a proof that the coast lands of the colony were capable of being turned to account in the production of an article as yet confined to hot and unhealthy regions. Several persons immediately commenced to plant cane, and within a few years the manufacture of sugar became the leading industry of Natal. People were attracted from abroad by the prospect of realizing wealth as planters in a healthy and pleasant climate, where land was obtainable at a trifling cost.

Wherever the sugar cane arrives at perfection it is found to pay better than any other crop. But in the early years of its culture a great deal of money was lost, and many situations, now known to be among the best in the colony, were abandoned in despair. In time, as experience was gained, all the early difficulties were overcome. A large amount of capital is required when the same person grows the cane and manufactures the sugar, and the exorbitant interest on which money was borrowed by many planters twenty years ago was sufficient of itself to ruin them. Now-a-days, there are manufactories in central positions, to which the neighbouring small planters can take their canes, and thus they are not crushed as formerly under a load of debt. The large planters and companies have sugar-mills of their own.

This industry is carried on mainly by means of Indian coolie labour. The managers of plantations, the engineers, and a few skilled mechanics are Europeans, but in the field work Asiatics and Africans only are engaged. It was soon found by experience that African labour alone could not be depended upon. There was no necessity for the natives to work, as their wants were few and easily supplied, and by nature they are extremely indolent. A plantation depending upon them was almost certain to be a failure. Not only was the labour obtained from them scanty and precarious, but it was of the simplest kind only. They could do nothing which demanded skill, and care and attention were wholly wanting in them. The supervision they required was such as to make them nearly valueless except when they could be massed together on rough work. It therefore became necessary to look to foreign countries for hands to till the fields and tend the mills. India was selected as the cheapest market in which a supply could be easily obtained. The experiment was made of bringing to Natal about five thousand coolies, under contracts for a term of ten years, to be sent back when that period expired. The government, in the first instance, met the expense of their passages, but the planters, to whom they were allotted for five years, were required to refund two thirds of the amount.

By means of the labour thus obtained,—which proved to be satisfactory,—large areas were laid under cane, and a greater degree of stability was imparted to sugar planting. The experiment having been successful, the planters were desirous of continuing the importation of coolies, but owing to dissensions between the two branches of the legislature, it was suspended for several years, and only recently has been resumed. Another labour market has also been opened, among tribes living near Delagoa Bay. These, not enjoying the same security for property as do those of Natal, are naturally much poorer, and consequently their young men are willing to take service for some years. They are engaged and forwarded by agents appointed by the government, and as they cannot leave when they please, they are eagerly sought by the planters. After a little training, they are found to make tolerably good field servants.

Another product of the coast lands is coffee, which has now for a quarter of a century been grown in Natal, though not to any great extent, as the largest crop has not exceeded a thousand tons. It is a more tender plant than sugar cane, and its returns are very uncertain. In good seasons it yields a large profit, but blight often entirely ruins the prospect of the cultivators.

Arrowroot, cotton, pepper, ginger, and tobacco, are also grown to a small extent. Upon the whole, the portion of the coast lands which is occupied by Europeans is more highly cultivated than any other part of South Africa. Many of the estates are beautifully laid out, the coffee plantations in particular presenting very charming pictures. But some of the best lands are reserved for the use of natives, and a large district in the south is almost unoccupied, owing to the want of easy communication with the seaport.

The commerce of Natal is very considerable for a colony containing only nineteen thousand European inhabitants. The natives purchase some kinds of manufactured goods, but they produce very little that can be sent abroad in return. It is the trade of the interior that largely makes up the imports and exports.

When the colony was taken possession of by the English, there were only a few small shops in Durban, but within two or three years trading stations were to be seen right up to the Drakenberg. Hides, butter, ivory, and ostrich feathers were obtained in barter, and of these the exports of those days consisted almost entirely. About the year 1845 some merchants in England had their attention drawn to the favourable position occupied by Natal, as a gateway through which vast regions might be reached, and from that date goods began to be poured in.

In 1849 the Natal Fire Assurance and Trust Company was established, with a nominal capital of £10,000, which was afterwards increased to £30,000. There being no bank in the colony at the time, the Company undertook to receive money in trust, and also discounted bills, charging from twelve to fifteen per cent. The immigrants under BYRNE's scheme

were then beginning to arrive, and commercial prospects seemed to be particularly bright. In 1854 the Natal Bank was established. Its paid-up capital is now £80,000, which it has power to increase to half a million. In 1857 a great impetus was given to commercial speculation by the granting of large tracts of land to the settlers. In many cases these grants were immediately mortgaged or sold, and the money obtained was invested in goods. Individuals were thus enriched at the expense of the State, and a door was opened to that system of land jobbing which has locked up a large proportion of the resources of the country.

In the exuberant spirits of its youth, Natal was acting the part of a spendthrift. The colony became a centre of speculation, based partly upon the facility with which money could be obtained. For now in rapid succession came branches of the Standard Bank of British South Africa and of the London and South African Bank, the Colonial Bank of Natal, with a capital of £50,000, the Marine Insurance and Trust Company, with a capital of £100,000, the Commercial and Agricultural Bank, with a capital of £50,000, and several other institutions of a similar nature, besides private agencies for the employment of foreign capital. A system prevailed of dealing on credit and by means of notes of hand which the banks readily discounted. The trader who was unwilling to part with his goods for mere promises to pay had to keep them, anything saleable could be had for paper, and that was convertible into coin until the funds of the monetary institutions became exhausted. Discounts, which had been from twelve to fifteen per cent, fell to ten, and then to eight, so keen was the competition between the banks. The character of the business done at this time cannot be better shown than by the following figures:

		Imports.	*Exports.*
For the five years ending 31st December,	1849,	£ 231,655	£ 61,187
„ „	1854,	551,204	117,449
„ „	1859,	566,361	371,749
„ „	1864,	2,542,164	764,965

Thus the excess of imports over exports during these twenty years amounted to no less a sum than £2,576,034, or nearly twice the total value of the exports. Making every allowance for money brought by the troops and immigrants into the colony during that time, it is evident that Natal had been living far beyond its means.

The crisis came in 1865. One after another, houses of business surrendered or compromised, until merchants at home became alarmed and stopped further supplies. Numbers of mechanics who had been attracted to the colony were suddenly thrown out of employment, poverty and distress stared very many in the face, and the name of Natal sank low in the estimation of the commercial world.

But the great crash paved the way for the introduction of a better and safer method of conducting business. Henceforth credit was not so easily obtained by men of straw, and when trade rallied again after a time, it was

unaccompanied by the wild speculation of former days. The colony had passed the period of thoughtless extravagance, and was entering upon a term of vigorous, honest life. The customs' returns of the next ten years show the extent of the change:

	Imports.	*Exports.*
For the five years ending 31st December, 1869,	£1,685,854	£1,274,538
,, ,, 1874,	3,860,636	2,988,901

The principal discrepancy of the first term was in 1865, the year of the crisis, and probably the money brought into the colony for investment, together with the diamonds exported during the last term, but not registered at the custom house, would nearly, if not quite, equalize the purchases and payments made. A noticeable feature in these returns is the fact that within five years the exports have more than doubled.

The discovery of the South African diamond fields was an event of great importance to Natal. It opened a new and excellent market where very high prices were obtained for all kinds of home produce, and enabled the merchants to extend their trade in imported articles. Many of them established branches at the fields, where they competed successfully with others who imported their goods through Algoa Bay or East London, though these had the advantage of much shorter land carriage. Natal coffee and sugar could of course be sold at a good profit cheaper than similar articles brought through the Cape Colony, on which duty had been paid. Trains of waggons laden with farm produce crossed over the Drakenberg and through the Free State to the diamond fields, and took back ready money, thus giving an impetus to legitimate enterprise, both agricultural and commercial. Just as in the Cape Colony, so also in Natal, the progress made since the discovery of the diamond fields has been very much greater than that of previous years.

One of the greatest drawbacks to the prosperity of the colony has been the want of easy and cheap communication with the seaport. Unless when exceptionally high prices can be obtained, as was the case at the diamond fields from 1869 to 1874, the cultivation of the ground in the inland districts is of necessity limited to local requirements, as the cost of conveying produce to the seaport more than absorbs the profit upon its sale. For several years past the colonists have been desirous of seeing lines of rail across the country, and the question as to how such expensive works should be undertaken has been the most prominent one in and out of the Council. In 1873 the Legislature decided to embrace an offer made by Mr. J. W. Welborne on behalf of certain capitalists. According to the main outlines of this plan, a Company was to be formed in England to construct between four and five hundred miles of railway, in several lines leading from Durban inland. The government was to grant a subsidy of £40,000 a year for twenty years, dating from the completion of the lines, and proportionally as different sections were opened to traffic, to endow the Company very richly with waste lands, and to confer a monopoly of

certain mining privileges. But the Secretary of State refused to sanction the contract, as in his opinion the colony could not afford to part with its waste lands in this manner, even though the Company should be bound to introduce a few thousand European immigrants. He preferred to see the government constructing some of the most important lines with capital borrowed in England, which there would be no difficulty in raising, as the credit of Natal stood high. The government then undertook to lay down three lines, one from Durban to Maritzburg and the others along the coast, for which a contract was entered into with an English firm. The work was commenced early in 1876. It is tolerably certain that the upland line will be extended at an early date so as to open up the coalfields of Newcastle and to tap the trade of the Transvaal Republic.

Natal has attracted the attention of the outside world more perhaps by ecclesiastical than by commercial transactions. In this little colony and among these nineteen thousand Europeans, a case arose on the issue of which depended the future relationship between the Crown, the Church of England, and the episcopal churches in all the British possessions abroad. In 1853 the episcopal see of Cape Town, which had hitherto included the whole of South Africa, was divided into two portions, and Dr. J. W. Colenso, an eminent mathematician, was appointed by Her Majesty's Letters Patent Bishop of Natal. There were not many white people in the colony among whom churches could be planted, for the majority of the few European residents were presbyterians of one denomination or other; but the mission field was wide and only partly occupied, though the American Independents, the Wesleyans, and several other Societies, were fast extending their labours in it. It was therefore principally as a missionary bishop that Dr. Colenso went to Natal, and he has been distinguished ever since his arrival by a very warm attachment to the natives, combined with an untiring zeal for their improvement. What Las Casas was in the Spanish Indies, Dr. Colenso would have been in Natal, if there had been the same or similar grievances to redress. This implies a strong partizanship, and, whenever it has been possible, the Bishop has assumed the position of Champion of the Natives. Thus, as a colonial bishop, an author of numerous books in different branches of mathematics, and a representative of the natives of South-Eastern Africa, Dr. Colenso was known throughout the English-speaking world.

He was to be yet more widely known by the publication of a work of biblical criticism, which he found time to write amidst such varied occupations as few men are capable of undertaking. The book was at once condemned as heretical by the great majority of Christians everywhere. The author was called upon to retract the opinions he had expressed, and, upon his declining to do so, he was cited by the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town to appear before a court composed of all the South African bishops, to be tried on the charge of heresy. Dr. Colenso then showed that a knowledge of law must be classed with his other attainments. Taking his stand

upon the Letters Patent of the Queen, he ignored the authority of the court of bishops, and when he was pronounced guilty of heresy and sentenced to be deposed, he declined to abide by the judgment. The highest tribunal in England, to which an appeal was made, maintained him in his position. The colonial churches were declared to be nothing more than voluntary associations, bound by no law to the established church of England, and in them no person can be compelled to yield obedience to another, unless a formal agreement to that effect has been made. The Bishop of Natal was therefore not subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of any man or body of men, and as long as his partizans chose to recognize him he could not be deprived of his office.

In Natal itself a party seceded from Dr. COLENSO, and elected as their bishop Dr. W. K. MACROBIE, who was consecrated on the 25th of January, 1869, in the cathedral church of Cape Town, by the bishops of Cape Town, Grahamstown, St. Helena, and the Orange Free State, and took the title of Bishop of Maritzburg. His adherents style themselves members of the Church of the Province of South Africa, in contradistinction to the adherents of the Bishop of Natal, who term themselves members of the Church of England. The property acquired before the disruption remains in the hands of Bishop COLENSO, by decision of the civil courts, while Bishop MACROBIE is mainly supported by English Societies and foreign sympathizers.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE NATIVES IN THE COLONY OF NATAL.

WHEN the English took possession of Natal, there were about one hundred thousand natives within its borders. They did not form a compact tribe, but were broken up into little clans, mostly under chiefs of recent elevation. There was no bond of cohesion among them, and all looked up to the European for protection and willingly submitted to his government. The number was constantly being increased by refugees from the surrounding tribes and by fugitives returning to their former home.

In 1846 tracts of land amounting in all to about two millions of acres were set apart for their use. There they were allowed to live under the immediate government of their chiefs, and to preserve their own laws and customs. A few magistrates were scattered about the country, who exercised jurisdiction over them generally, and kept watch over their proceedings, but did not interfere with the control of the chiefs over their

followers. The Governor, in his dealings with them, was styled their supreme chief, and the Secretary for Native Affairs was his mouthpiece. They were required to pay a tax of seven shillings per annum on each hut.

This system did not tend to promote civilization among the natives. In the locations they passed their lives in idleness, leaving the cultivation of the ground to the women just as in days of old, and only exerting themselves for a little when the time for paying the yearly tax came round. So long as no one was put to death for sorcery, they were free to indulge in all the vile habits of heathenism, without let or hindrance from the government. This freedom from restraint, added to the security which they enjoyed, caused Natal to become "the happy land" of the natives far and wide, and accordingly they migrated to it in such numbers that in thirty years they have increased from one hundred thousand to three hundred and fifty thousand souls. At first, the constant influx of refugees was regarded with favour by the European settlers, for it was held to be good policy to build up on the soil a native power strong enough to keep the tribes beyond the border in check. No danger was apprehended from the refugees themselves, as they might reasonably be supposed to be faithful to the country which gave them shelter, and being located in isolated situations, they might, in case of necessity, be pitted against each other. And this holding the balance of power was considered the chief security of the Natal government, the only means of enabling it to maintain its authority.

The fault of this system was that it could only be temporary. The opportunity of educating and training a docile people then as obedient and loyal as could be wished, of improving them for their own sakes and for the common good of all, was entirely neglected. The locations were permitted to remain so secluded that roads even were not made through many of them. The reclamation of the people was consigned mainly to the efforts of a few missionaries supported from abroad. A new generation was allowed to grow up, as ignorant as their fathers, and without a feeling of dependence for safety upon the white man. Restrictions to which the first refugees would have submitted cheerfully could not be imposed upon their children.

For thirty years the natives seldom gave the colonists or the government any trouble worth mentioning. In no part of the world was life or property safer than in Natal: a European could at any time traverse the country unarmed, without the slightest danger of being molested. Now and again a chief resisted the authority of the government, but there was little difficulty experienced in deposing such a one and driving him out of the colony. In such cases one clan always gave aid against another. The most noticeable instance of the kind happened in 1857, when an attempt was made to arrest a chief who was implicated in the murder of a man suspected of causing the death of another by witchcraft. The accused declined to give himself up, and with his clan took refuge in a jungle. A native

force under a European officer was then stationed at his location to watch his growing crops and prevent his return. His cattle were seized, and in an attempt to rescue them thirteen of his people and two loyal natives were killed. Some twenty-five other rebels were killed subsequently, and then the chief with a few men fled to Zululand and the remainder of the clan submitted. Not a single European lost his life in any of the petty disturbances during all these years.

So matters remained until 1873. The young men who had grown up in barbarism under the shelter of the Natal government knew nothing of the feuds of former days, and a combination of the different clans was therefore within the compass of possibility. An injudicious law, which imposed a fee of £5 on every native marriage,—thus practically encouraging polygamy, as it increased the difficulty of obtaining even one wife by the very poor, while it left to the rich the power of purchasing as many wives as they chose,—created much disaffection, not on the ground of the immorality to which it so directly led, but on account of the money payment. By many of the natives the white man began to be considered as seeking only their labour in his service and their money for his undertakings. An event then took place which exposed the peril in which the colonists were living.

Among the tribes which in olden times had their homes along the Tugela, the Abambo was one of the most powerful. It was divided into three sections, the Amahlubi, the Abasekunene, and the Amareledwane. These bore to each other the same relationship that exists between the Gcalekas and Ngqikas on the Cape frontier, the Amahlubi being the highest in rank, and their chief being entitled the great chief of the nation. This branch resided further northward than the others, between the Tugela and Umvolosi rivers. In TSHAKA'S time the tribe met with the same fate as its neighbours; it was broken up, the direct line of its rulers was cut off, and many of its members were slaughtered. Some of the Amahlubi escaped and fled southward, to become in the first instance slaves of the Amaxosa, and afterwards to be liberated by Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN and to form with others the now prosperous Fingo tribe. One section remained intact, and took refuge in the mountains of Basutoland, where it preserved its independence for some years.

At length, after the assassination of TSHAKA and DINGAN, there was peace once more in Zululand, and the Amahlubi were enabled to return to the gardens cultivated of old by their fathers. Their chief, LANGALIBALELE, then a young man, became famous as the most potent rainmaker in all the land, and was acquiring wealth as well as renown when a quarrel with MPANDE in 1848 drove him and his people into exile again. Poor and powerless they reached Natal and threw themselves upon the mercy of the colonial government. They were located at the foot of the Quathlamba, to prevent the Bushmen coming down to plunder the farmers in the valleys below. In their new home the Amahlubi prospered, and once again be-

came rich and powerful. MPANDE sent their chief a message that if he made a ladder reaching to the skies he would catch and kill him even there. But MPANDE knew his own interest too well to attack any one under British protection, and so he wisely did nothing but talk.

The chief LANGALIBALELE was a man of less than average intelligence, and was greatly addicted to intemperance. His tribe acquired the reputation of being restless, but his location was so secluded that very little was known by the colonists of him or his people. At length the diamond fields were discovered, and many young men were attracted to them by the facility with which guns could there be obtained. One of the laws of Natal, intended as a measure of security, is that no native may possess a gun without its being registered. Accordingly, the chief was called upon to account for the guns his young men had brought home with them, but he declined to do so. Message after message was sent, requiring him to appear at Maritzburg, but he made excuses and never went. Meanwhile Mr. SHEPSTONE, the Secretary for Native Affairs, left Natal for a short time on an expedition to Zululand to crown CETYWAYO at the wish of his people, and LANGALIBALELE and his guns were neglected for a season. But upon the return of the expedition, a messenger was again dispatched to the Hlubi chief, and was on this occasion treated with indignity.

LANGALIBALELE was already preparing to rebel. He had entered into correspondence with MOLAPO, a Basuto chief, and expected to obtain from him a refuge under any circumstances, and most likely active aid. The Cape authorities became aware of this, and promptly communicated the intelligence to the Natal Government. Nothing more was known at the time, but it has since been ascertained that LANGALIBALELE was plotting in other directions. His family was a very large one, and numerous near relatives were dispersed throughout Kaffirland. One brother was at the head of a small clan in St. John's Territory. From him assistance was expected, and the Hlubi chief most likely thought that he would have active sympathy from the dispersed Fingoes of the Abambo tribe. He reckoned further on the co-operation of clans with whom he had been plotting in Natal, so that his position must have appeared to himself to be a strong one. His own clan numbered somewhere about ten thousand souls, all told.

Peaceable means having failed to secure the obedience of the chief, an armed party was sent to enforce the demands of the government. Upon its approach, LANGALIBALELE abandoned the women, children, and aged of the tribe, and with the cattle he and most of his warriors fell back upon the mountains. In the Bushman's Pass, Major DURNFORD and a small party of volunteers overtook the rearguard of the rebels. The chief was in advance, and as the volunteers had orders not to fire first, they attempted to hold a parley in order to communicate with him. The induna in command pretended to have sent for the chief, and while waiting for him to arrive, the volunteers were being surrounded. At the same time

threatening gestures and language, coupled with taunts, were used towards them. They fell back in a panic, when too late, and as they did so three of them with their interpreter and another loyal native were shot down.

The colonists at once awoke to a sense of their danger. They were surrounded by twenty times their own number of natives, and they knew not how far the inclination to rebel extended. Of one thing they were certain: that nothing but the prompt punishment of the Hlubi clan would prevent all who were disaffected from rising in arms. Volunteers at once came forward, and pursuing parties were organized. All the Europeans in South Africa sympathized with them. The British Resident in St. John's Territory collected a large native force to prevent the advance of the rebels in that direction. The Cape Government sent strong detachments of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police to Basutoland and Kaffirland, and the Commander-in-chief sent all the available troops from Cape Town to Durban. The diggers at the diamond fields tendered assistance, and the governments of the Free State and Transvaal Republic were very ready to aid in the emergency. Every one saw that it was not the peace of Natal only, but of all South Africa, that was imperilled. Once let other tribes join the Amahlubi, and a general war was inevitable.

The neighbouring clan of the Amangwe, numbering some five thousand souls, under the chief PUTILI, was suspected of being in league with the rebels. The evidence against them was deemed conclusive by the supreme chief, and under his orders the location was surrounded by a body of loyal natives and a few volunteers, when the chief and his councillors were arrested, the clan was disarmed and broken up, and six thousand head of cattle, with a few horses, sheep, and goats, were seized. There being no absolute proof of their guilt, the treatment this clan received was neither in accordance with justice nor with the usual conduct of the colonists and the government towards the natives. It can only be attributed to the abnormal state of feeling produced by the presence of great and sudden danger, or, which amounts to the same thing, what was believed at the time to be such. The Governor himself must have felt that severity like this was only warrantable under extreme circumstances, for as soon as the disturbance was quelled, he permitted the Amangwe to return to their location, but placed them under the direct charge of a European magistrate, leaving the chief and his family in obscurity.

The pursuing forces from Natal consisted of eighty European volunteers and fifteen hundred natives, under Captains ALLISON and HAWKINS. One column went towards Kaffirland, the other searched among the mountains, as the direction in which LANGALIBALELE had gone was yet unknown. After several days spent fruitlessly, the two columns effected a junction on the head waters of the Orange, and struck the trail of the rebels leading towards MOLAPO's kraal.

During this time the excitement of the Natal colonists was naturally very high, and some excesses were committed which are to be deplored.

In a time of extreme danger, when men's utmost energies are devoted to self-preservation, acts are frequently committed that are afterwards keenly regretted by the perpetrators themselves. The employment of large numbers of uncivilized natives,—men whose passions when once aroused cannot easily be restrained, and who look upon plunder as the end of war,—must always be attended with deeds of violence. It was so in this instance, though happily to a very limited extent. The warriors of the Hlubi clan who had not gone with the chief had retired to fastnesses among the mountains, and in dislodging them it is supposed that from one hundred and fifty to two hundred were killed. Something was to be done with the women and children left on the location. The government resolved to indenture them as paupers to the colonists for a period of three years, but as soon as the excitement was over, this harsh resolution was rescinded, and they were permitted to disperse among other clans.

If there was any inclination on the part of the Basuto chiefs to aid LANGALIBALELE, it was destroyed by the presence of the mounted police. MOLAPO himself sided with the government and arrayed his clan against the rebels, who were now hemmed in on all sides. On the 11th of December, 1873, LANGALIBALELE and eighty-four of his followers arrived at MOLAPO's kraal and suffered themselves to be disarmed by the police, when the chief, five of his sons, and four principal men were made prisoners, and the remainder were permitted to disperse among the Basuto villages. On the following day two hundred more quietly surrendered, on condition that their lives should be spared, but the main body took up a strong position in the mountains and prepared to defend themselves. They were then attacked by the police, and, after losing ten men, were compelled to disperse. Their cattle were seized, and of these two thousand were distributed among the Basutos as a reward for their assistance, and the remainder were handed over to Captains ALLISON and HAWKINS, who arrived on the 13th. Mr. ORPEN with a party of natives from St. John's Territory accompanied a body of two hundred police sent in pursuit from that direction, but they did not reach MOLAPO's kraal till ten days after the surrender, and therefore, though their exertions had been most commendable, they received no share of the captured stock. The prisoners were delivered to the Natal officers, who took back with them five thousand head of cattle, exclusive of calves, two hundred and seventy horses, and one hundred and forty guns, surrendered by the rebels.

An extraordinary court was constituted for the trial of LANGALIBALELE. It was composed of the Governor, in his capacity of great chief of Natal, the Secretary for Native Affairs, three magistrates, three native chiefs, and four native officers under government. The prisoner was tried according to native law, and was not permitted to have counsel. Such a court was ill qualified to secure respect for its decisions, and it is not surprising that persons abroad have been found to call in question the justice

of the treatment the Hlubi clan received, basing their knowledge and their opinions on the fact that the principal prisoner was condemned before being tried. For the judge was the same governor who had previously outlawed him and offered a hundred cattle for his head. LANGALIBALELE'S crime was notorious, and no one who knows how nearly he brought about a general war would maintain that he did not deserve punishment; but it would have been more satisfactory if he had received a fair trial by unbiassed judges. Before the court he admitted the truth of the most serious charges brought against him, but assumed throughout an appearance of stolid indifference to what was going on. The trial commenced on the 16th of January, 1874, and judgment was delivered on the 9th of the following month. The prisoner was sentenced to banishment for life, but at the time Natal had no place to banish him to. Application was therefore made to the Cape Government, and an Act was passed by the Cape Parliament authorizing his imprisonment on Robben Island. Thither he and one of his sons, who was sentenced to banishment for a term of five years, were conveyed accordingly. The Hlubi clan was broken up, and the ground they had occupied was resumed by the government.

The details of these occurrences were published in England, and as it happened to be a time when nothing of an exciting nature was taking place in Europe, a large amount of attention was bestowed upon Natal. The ease with which the rebellion had been suppressed caused many to think that the danger had really not been so great as represented. An influential and powerful philanthropic society at once condemned the action of the Governor and the colonists as unnecessarily severe, and the principal organs of the press took the same view. Bishop COLENSO, as the champion of the natives under all circumstances, published a huge pamphlet on the case, which was largely circulated in England. It was quite useless for the Natal clergy,—some sixty ministers and missionaries of various denominations,—to forward a counter document, or for the South African press, with hardly an exception, to approve in general of the course that had been pursued in stamping out the rebellion in its infancy; public opinion in Britain once formed was not to be changed. It was assumed that LANGALIBALELE could only have been running away through fear, and that he could have had no intention of returning after his cattle were placed in safety. All the circumstances of the case, the previous plotting, the refusal of the Hlubi chief to appear before a magistrate, the overt act of rebellion in firing upon and killing five men at the Bushman's Pass, the final stand made in Basutoland by the main body of the insurgents, these and other proofs of guilt were simply ignored, or, if an attempt was made to explain them, they were attributed to the fear which the clan entertained for the colonists. It was considered absurd to suppose that LANGALIBALELE meant to rebel, for what could he gain by such a course? That a barbarous chief should take up arms through caprice, or passion, or a mere spirit of restlessness, without ever perhaps weighing the likelihood of success, or even

enquiring about the strength of his adversary, seemed quite incomprehensible.

In December, 1874, a despatch from the Secretary of State was forwarded to South Africa, in which he announced that Sir BENJAMIN PINE would be relieved of office immediately, that LANGALIBALELE and his son must be removed from Robben Island to a location in the Cape Colony, and that compensation must be made to the Amangwe for the losses which they had sustained. Nearly two hundred of the Amahlubi, including several sons of the chief, had been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, and their punishments were to be mitigated. Otherwise, the despatch was written in a friendly tone, and the colonists were exonerated from the charge of cruelty. It contained the important announcement that the Secretary of State contemplated a great reform in the native policy of the future, such a reform as would gradually replace barbarism by civilization. Nothing could be more in accordance with the wishes of the colonists than such a change. But the removal of the Governor in the manner indicated, —though he had frequently expressed an intention of retiring on account of ill health, and this was referred to by Lord CARNARVON,—called forth warm sympathy for the man whose energetic action in the hour of peril, as was believed, had saved South Africa from a general war.

With regard to the removal of LANGALIBALELE and his son from Robben Island, an Act was passed by the Cape Parliament, under which they are now detained on a farm near Cape Town, where they have liberty to do pretty much as they please. Some of the old chief's wives have joined him there, and are maintained in comfort at the expense of the Natal government. The amount of compensation to the Amangwe was assessed by Sir GARNET WOLSELEY at £12,000, which he proposed should be paid to them in useful articles, at the rate of £3,000 a year for four years. To this Lord CARNARVON agreed. The first instalment of £3,000 was placed on the Natal estimates for 1875, was voted by the Council, and has since been expended, principally in the purchase of blankets, agricultural implements, and cattle. Individual cases of distress among the Amahlubi have also been relieved by small grants of money.

The indirect results of the disturbance bid fair to alter the complexion of many matters in Natal. To it may be traced the administration of the government by Sir GARNET WOLSELEY and the change in the constitution of the Legislative Council. The creation of the native high court, the codification of native law, and the appointment of several additional magistrates, are steps towards the better administration of justice among the coloured people. The repeal of the Act imposing a fee of £5 on every native marriage has removed a stain from the statute book, while the increase of the hut tax to fourteen shillings per annum will furnish funds for opening roads into the locations and establishing schools therein. The advantage of co-operation among the different South African colonies and states has been brought out conspicuously by the Hlubi disturbance, and

the desire for union of some kind has been widely expressed both here and in England. The invitation of the Secretary of State to a conference in London was cordially accepted by the legislature of Natal, and delegates have been appointed to represent the colony.

The natives of Natal have not profited by missionary instruction to the extent that was anticipated thirty years ago. It is only now beginning to be recognized that from barbarism to civilization is a step too great to be taken by the mass in one generation, though individuals may succeed in rising to the higher life. Several thousands of these people, however, have embraced Christianity, and a growing desire for education is manifested by many of them. Industrial training has been neglected, and the most that can be said on this subject is that a considerable number have learned the use of the plough in agriculture. At Amanzimtote, one of the American Mission Stations, some natives have been induced to become sugar planters and to pay for a sugar mill. The government has encouraged others to grow canes, and a few have taken advantage of a mill that was erected for their benefit several years ago, at the Umvoti Mission Station. But the whole number engaged in this and similar occupations is less than one in a thousand. The vast majority live upon the products of their herds and gardens and the wages received for occasional service.

The sale of intoxicating liquors to natives has been prohibited, but cannot be entirely prevented. Drunkenness, however, through this restriction, is made less common and destructive of order than it is in the old colony, where the sale of brandy is open to all. In the locations a considerable quantity of beer is made whenever there is millet to spare, and of late years some of these people have discovered a method of converting treacle into an intoxicating drink. Where missionary influence prevails, the natives are as sober, orderly, and well behaved as could be desired, but the love of the untutored barbarian for strong drink amounts here as elsewhere to a passion that leads into excess on every opportunity of indulging it. This is one of the greatest barriers in the way of their improvement, and the Natal government has acted wisely in reducing temptation as much as possible.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

AREA about forty-five thousand square miles. As no survey has yet been made, this cannot be stated with accuracy.

It is bounded on the north-west and north by the Vaal River, which separates it from the South African Republic; on the east by the Quathlamba Mountains, which separate it from Natal; on the south-east by an irregular line, partly formed by the Caledon River, which separates it from Basutoland; on the south by the Orange River, which separates it from the Cape Colony; and on the west by an artificial line, which separates it from Griqualand West.

Population probably about forty thousand souls, of whom fifteen thousand are coloured. These numbers are conjectural, as no census has been taken. The Free State is the only country in South Africa in which the European population is numerically in excess of the native.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

The country consists of an immense plain, with a gradual and continuous slope towards the west. The northern portion is drained by the Vet River and a few other feeders of the Vaal. The Caledon, which falls into the Orange, and the Riet and Modder, which unite near the western boundary line and thence flow westward into the Vaal, are the only other streams of any importance. Low ranges of hills and hummocks are scattered over the surface, but nowhere except between the Caledon and Orange Rivers is it much broken. It is entirely destitute of forests, has very little ground fit for cultivation, but is admirably adapted for sheep-walks.

The population is thinly scattered over the surface, the farms being very large and seldom having more than one or two European families upon each. The chief industry is sheep farming, the only exports being wool and skins. In consequence of there being so little running water, artificial reservoirs are requisite and have been constructed on most of the farms. These are so situated as to receive as much of the drainage of the surrounding country as possible, and by this means a supply of water is obtained sufficient for the flocks and herds of the proprietors, as well as for the irrigation of small plots of garden ground to which orchards are usually attached.

The climate is particularly healthy. The rainfall is considerable, especially in the eastern and more elevated portions. During the summer season

thunderstorms are so frequent along the Drakenberg that agriculture can there be carried on without irrigation. The valley of the Caledon River is on this account considered the granary of the State, though its area is small. The heat of summer is tempered by the elevation of the country, which is from four to five thousand feet above the sea level, and for the same reason the nights in winter are always cold and frequently frosty.

Previous to the discovery of diamonds along the Vaal River, most of the farmers in this State were compelled to be satisfied with but few of the comforts and conveniences of life. The discovery of diamonds brought the best market in South Africa within easy reach, and since that time they have greatly improved in circumstances. For the most part their dwellings, being built of red brick and without architectural taste, are far from ornamental. There is little to relieve the eye about these homesteads: there are no out-buildings, and, with the exception of fruit trees in the orchards and occasionally a few willows, arboriculture has been entirely neglected. A number of stone kraals for enclosing cattle and sheep, and some heaps of manure cut like peat and dried for fuel, comprise all of man's handiwork that is to be seen in addition to what has been already mentioned. In summer the grass is beautifully green, and the plains, dotted over with herds of sleek cattle and flocks of fat sheep, with hundreds of springbucks and occasionally gnus and blesbucks sporting over them, seem full of life; but in winter, when the grass is dried up and animals of all kinds are impoverished, dreary indeed is the view that meets the eye.

The villages are small, but some of them are neatly built and ornamented with gardens and trees. The principal are; Bloemfontein, the seat of government, a neat and thriving place; Smithfield, on a petty feeder of the Caledon, a pretty village and a place of considerable trade; Bethulie, near the junction of the Caledon and Orange rivers; Fauresmith, in the west of the State; Harrismith, in the east; and Winburg and Kroonstad, in the north. Besides these there are several hamlets scattered over the country. Many of the residents in the villages and hamlets are English or German by birth, the commerce of the State being in their hands. To these nationalities belong also the mechanics and most of the professional men. The farms are occupied principally by African Dutch, many of whom possess houses in the villages or hamlets, but occupy them only for a few days every three months, when they attend the services of the church.

The official language of the Orange Free State is Dutch, but English is now generally used in the villages, and is the language of commerce. The newspapers are published in both languages on the same sheet, but usually the larger portion of each is in English.

There is very little land left in the possession of government, nearly the whole territory being divided into farms, or rather sheep-runs, from six to twelve thousand acres in size, which are held on payment of a small quitrent. Most of these farms were originally free grants, but of late years

no public property has been disposed of except by auction to the highest bidder.

The people are attached to their government, and order is well maintained, but there can be little doubt that the country would be more prosperous if it formed one in a confederacy of South African States. All its imports pass through British territory, and pay duties, in which it does not participate, to one or other of the colonial governments, and its supplies of ammunition can at any time be withheld; so that, though nominally free, it is really a dependent State. By the British government it is not regarded in the light of a foreign power, for it is treated with through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, not through the Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

FISCAL DIVISIONS.

In the Free State there are thirteen Divisions or Districts, over each of which a landdrost or magistrate presides. These are subdivided into forty-one wards or fieldcornetcies. The districts are named after the seats of magistracy, as follow; Boshof, Winburg, Kroonstad, Harrismith, Jacobsdal, Fauresmith, Bloemfontein, Smithfield or Caledon River, Philippolis, Bethulie, Rouxville, Bethlehem, and Ladybrand.

GOVERNMENT.

The Constitution of the Orange Free State was adopted on the 10th of April, 1854, by the representatives of the people assembled in convention at Bloemfontein. It contains sixty-two articles, the first of which declares all white inhabitants, who have resided in the country for six months, to be burghers. The remaining articles prescribe the duties and powers of burghers, of the different branches of the government, of officers of justice and military officers; declare the Roman-Dutch law to be the fundamental law of the State; and guarantee the equality of all in the eye of the law, the right of property, personal freedom, and the liberty of the press.

Under this constitution, the government is administered by a President, who is elected by the burghers from candidates nominated by the Volksraad, for a term of five years. There is nothing to prevent the same person from holding the office more than one term. The President is the principal executive officer of the State, he superintends all public departments, and the carrying out of all business connected with the public service, but he is responsible to the Volksraad, and his administrative acts are liable to be reviewed by that body. He is required to make a yearly report of the state of the country and of the public service to the Volksraad, and must visit the district villages frequently, and make himself acquainted with the interests and wishes of the people. All appointments made by him are provisional and require the confirmation of the Volksraad: he can suspend public functionaries but not deprive them of office; with the consent of a

majority of the Executive Council, he can exercise the prerogative of mercy in criminal cases; with the concurrence of the Volksraad, he can declare war, make peace, enter into conventions, and conclude treaties. By courtesy the President is styled "His Honor."

The Executive Council is composed of the State Secretary, the Landdrost of Bloemfontein, and three unofficial members chosen by the Volksraad, and holding office during the pleasure of that body. The State President is chairman, and has a casting vote.

The Volksraad or Chamber of Representatives of the People is the supreme and sole legislative power of the State. Each of the thirteen seats of magistracy and each field-cornetcy is entitled to elect a representative, who must be a burgher, resident at least one year in the State, over twenty-five years of age, possessed of unmortgaged landed property of the value of £200, and never have been convicted of crime. The members are elected for four years, and are eligible for re-election; but half of them retire every two years. The President,—or the Government Secretary in the President's absence,—has the right of addressing the Chamber, but not of voting on any measure. Twelve members form a quorum. The Volksraad meets yearly at Bloemfontein, and chooses a chairman at each session. The State President or a majority of the Executive Council can call extraordinary meetings, if considered necessary. Laws passed by the Volksraad are signed by the Chairman or the State President, and have effect two months after date of publication, unless otherwise stated. The Volksraad has power to impeach the President and other public functionaries for treason, bribery, or other grave offences, and can dismiss, if they are found guilty, but not otherwise punish them. The President can only be convicted by three-fourths of the members present in a full assembly. In case of the President's office becoming vacant by any means, the Volksraad has power to fill it provisionally. All proceedings must be conducted with open doors, unless in cases where secrecy is indispensable. No alterations can be made in the constitution, unless carried by three-fourths of the members of the Volksraad in three successive sessions.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

In each district there is a landdrost, whose power of jurisdiction extends to £37 10s in civil, and to the infliction of three months imprisonment with hard labour in criminal cases. On the first Wednesday of every month a court of landdrost and heemraden is held. There are six members of heemraad appointed by the Volksraad for each district, who retain this honorary appointment for two years. Of these, two in rotation sit every month. The courts thus composed, in which the votes of all the members are equal, have power to try civil cases of the value of £75, and to inflict four months imprisonment with hard labour in criminal cases. Appeals lie to the circuit court, which in the early days of the republic consisted of

three landdrosts, but now of a judge qualified by legal training, where advocates plead and juries decide, the same as in the Cape Colony. The Supreme Court is formed of three judges, and holds its sittings in Bloemfontein. The judgments of the various courts are respected by the community, and are considered to be as much in accordance with strict justice as those of similar tribunals in European states.

EDUCATION.

Of late years most praiseworthy efforts have been made to establish schools wherever a sufficient number of pupils could be got together. The government stands ahead of all others in South Africa in the proportion of public revenue devoted to educational purposes, and the principle is universally recognized that one of the first duties of the state is to educate those who are to be its citizens. The difficulty in the way of carrying out a comprehensive scheme of national education lies in the isolation of very many of the farmers, who reside at great distances from each other. These, unless wealthy enough to send their children to boarding schools, are still compelled to continue the old system of engaging such itinerant teachers as are obtainable, to instruct their children at home for a year or two. The public schools in the villages and other centres of population are well attended, and are kept up to the mark by the inspection and supervision of an officer at the head of the department. A High School in Bloemfontein, termed the Grey College, receives liberal support from the public funds. The education imparted in the public schools being unsectarian, some denominations of Christians have established schools in which their own doctrines may be promulgated. The South African branch of the English Church is taking the lead in this direction, and its college in Bloemfontein stands high as an educational institution.

RELIGION.

The Dutch Reformed is the state church, in so far as it is supported by the government, and the majority of the people are members of it; but its clergymen possess no political privileges that are not enjoyed by those of dissenting bodies. Various other Protestant bodies have received small subsidies from the state. There is a branch of the Anglican Church, under a bishop residing at Bloemfontein, and the Wesleyans have a good many adherents residing in the villages.

Among the natives, missionaries of different societies have long been labouring. Their success has been about equal to that of their brethren in other parts of South Africa.

A branch of that very exclusive community, known as the Doppers, is found in the Free State. Their habits and dress are peculiar to themselves, and they rarely intermarry with those of another creed. They

separated from the Dutch Reformed Church some time ago on very slight grounds, and will probably remain a distinct sect. They are more numerous in the Cape Colony than in the Free State. In the former country they possess several churches, and have established a theological seminary at Burghersdorp, while in the latter their principal settlement is the little village of Reddersburg.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.

The revenue is derived principally from quitrents on lands, transfer dues, licenses, native hut taxes, stamps, and auction dues. It amounted in 1873 to £119,680, in 1874 to £103,092, and in 1875 to £113,041. Of the expenditure, about one fifth comes under the heading civil and judicial, and one seventh under the heading educational. Churches are subsidized to the amount of about £4,000 yearly. The total amount expended in 1873 was £117,547, in 1874 £95,682, and in 1875 £116,979.

In 1865 and 1866, owing to the Basuto war, the government was compelled to issue notes to the amount of £130,000, of which, however, from fifty to sixty thousand pounds was lent to burghers. These notes, termed bluebacks, had a forced circulation within the State, but were valueless beyond the border, though they rested on the security of public lands. They fell rapidly in exchange against gold, and had the effect of forcing coin out of circulation. The prosperity of the State since 1869 has enabled the government to call in and destroy the greater portion of the bluebacks, and the public debt, represented by these notes, is now so small as not to deserve mention.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

HISTORY OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

The aborigines of the country now known as the Orange Free State were Bushmen. At what period other tribes began to occupy the soil and to exclude the original possessors cannot be ascertained. The Basutos have been in possession of the country they now reside in for at least six generations, and probably very much longer. At the commencement of the present century their outposts were extended much further to the westward and northward than they are now. At that time a few Koranna clans were

found along the banks of the Vaal and Orange rivers, and some petty Bechuana clans had possessed themselves of other parts of the soil, but the total number of inhabitants was very small.

Among these few war was almost constantly being waged. No clan respected the property of another, and the little that each possessed could only be held with the strong hand. Early in the present century the people now known as Griquas arrived in the western part of the country. Being armed with muskets, they proved more powerful than any of the other races, and soon became undisputed masters of that section. They had not long been there when a few farmers from the Cape Colony began to arrive. These men were nomads, who observed that at certain seasons the grass on the plains north of the great river was richer than they had seen it elsewhere. Game also was to be found in exceeding abundance, so that there was little left that they could wish for. Still, for several years it was only as visitors or residents for a few months that they appeared, their homes being considered by themselves to be in the colony, where their friends were, and where the church of which they were members was situated.

At length, in 1828, one of them settled down permanently, and then another followed, and another, until the attention of the colonial authorities was directed to the emigration that was taking place. Attempts to prevent it were then made by means of proclamations forbidding removal beyond the frontiers, but they had no effect whatever.

The farmers found the central portion of the country without inhabitants, and there they located themselves, each one taking possession of a tract of ten or a dozen square miles. Gradually, as their numbers increased, they found themselves coming in contact with the Basutos on the east and with the Griquas on the west. But land was of so little value in those days that they had no difficulty in purchasing hundreds of square miles for goods which cost perhaps less than five pounds. It frequently happened that there were several claimants to the same tract of country, and in such cases the farmers took upon themselves to decide who was the rightful owner. This was usually the one who was willing to dispose of it on the easiest terms, and titles once acquired by purchase, no matter from whom, were considered to confer an indisputable right of possession. MOSHESH, the chief of the Basutos, claimed the greater part of the country, but at that time and for twenty years to come, it was as much as he could do to preserve a few mountain strongholds between the Orange and the Caledon from his numerous enemies. The wars of TSHAKA had nearly ruined him, and in the very heart of his territory he was now contending for existence with bands of powerful intruders. His pretensions to dominion over outlying districts were therefore wholly disregarded, the more so as he refused to sell so much as an inch of what he claimed, alleging that he had no power to alienate the possessions of his people. In the course of six or seven years a good deal of land was brought into

occupation, though as yet the immigrants were too few in number to think of renouncing their allegiance to Great Britain and setting up a government of their own. They tried as much as possible to avoid attracting the attention of the Cape authorities, and therefore prudently settled any differences between themselves without reference to courts of law. So matters stood when the great emigration of farmers from the Cape Colony took place.

The first party to leave consisted of about thirty families, headed by CARL TRIECHARD, of the Division of Albany. It was towards the close of the year 1835, and the Emigrants, not caring to venture through Kaffirland, kept close along the edge of the interior plateau, being in hopes of finding a passage through the Drakenberg into Natal. In this they did not succeed, and keeping on their journey they at length arrived in the neighbourhood of Delagoa Bay. There they were attacked with fever, of which many of them died, when the remainder fell back to the healthy highlands of the interior. There they were surprised by a band of MSILIKAZI'S warriors, who butchered twenty-four of their number, and carried off all their stock. Of this unfortunate party, only two persons survived this accumulation of disasters, and they did not reach Natal until a couple of years after setting out on their journey.

The next to leave was a party of about two hundred persons, under Commandant HENDRIK POTGIETER. This party proceeded to Thaba Nchu, where they were received in a friendly manner by the Barolong chief MOROKO. Here they waited a while, and then proceeded further northwards, together with some stragglers that in the mean time had joined their camp. While thus journeying onward unsuspicious of danger, a small party in advance was attacked by one of MSILIKAZI'S bands, when twenty-five persons were massacred, and all their property was swept off. A few, however, escaped to the larger party behind, who immediately retreated to a good position for defence, and formed a camp. They had fifty waggons with them, which they drew up in a circle, filling every aperture with thorn trees, and lashing the whole together with riems. These arrangements were barely completed when the Matabele attacked them. The number of fighting men with POTGIETER did not exceed forty, while the Matabele were at least five thousand, but the boer encampment proved to be impregnable. The Matabele rushed on furiously with their stabbing spears in hand, and were received with volleys of slugs and buckshot, discharged at arm's length from the heavy guns of the farmers. This warm reception caused the assailants to fall back for a moment, but they immediately reclosed their ranks and rushed forward again. Once more they were met with the discharge of the farmers' guns, and again they fell back, but only to rally and charge as furiously as before. This kind of fighting, however, was too hot to last long, and fifteen minutes after the first attack the Matabele were in full retreat, driving before them all the farmers' stock, consisting of six thousand head of horned cattle and forty-one thousand sheep, but leaving

a hundred and fifty dead and dying warriors before the camp which they had vainly tried to storm.

The loss of their cattle was a ruinous blow to the farmers, who could now neither advance nor retreat. They therefore sent messengers in all haste to MOROKO, and that friendly chief supplied them with oxen and assisted to bring them back to his country. Upon arriving there, they found several encampments of Emigrants who had left the colony soon after themselves, among others a large and wealthy party from Graaff-Reinet, under the leadership of GERT MARITZ. A general meeting was at once held, at which it was resolved to punish the heathen for the wanton shedding of Christian blood.

Early in January, 1837, a commando, consisting of one hundred and seventy farmers and about a hundred friendly natives, left Thaba Nchu under the guidance of a former subject of MSILIKAZI, who had now engaged to betray his old master. The party was under the orders of GERT MARITZ, who had been elected Commandant. Marching in a north-westerly direction, the commando crossed the Vaal and Hart rivers, and a fortnight after setting out reached Mosega, one of the chief military kraals of the Matabele. The guide had conducted them so skilfully that they were able to attack the kraal unawares, in fact, to act exactly as they had been acted by. Some four hundred persons were shot, without any loss on the farmers' side, and the commando recovered seven thousand head of cattle and several waggons which had been taken when TRICHARD'S party was massacred. Having thus avenged the blood of their kindred, the farmers returned to Thaba Nchu, where there were by this time at least two thousand Emigrants, while fresh parties from the colony were constantly arriving.

It became necessary now to discuss the question of future action, but on account of a feeling of rivalry which broke out among the various leaders of parties, nothing definite could be agreed upon. At length, in April, a small party arrived, having for its head a man who commanded the confidence of the whole of the Emigrants. This was PIETER RETIEF, whose tragic fate has been recorded in a previous chapter. He was immediately elected Commandant-General, and shortly afterwards drew up a document, to which the Emigrants in public meeting assembled agreed without demur. In it they renounced their allegiance to England, bound themselves together as an united army, and engaged to obey their officers when in discharge of duty.

RETIEF then entered into treaties of peace and friendship with the different native clans inhabiting the country between the Orange and Vaal rivers. From the Barolongs, under MOROKO, the Emigrants had received many favours, and the treaty of friendship then made has never since been broken. The clan still occupies the country about Thaba Nchu, a little territory surrounded on every side by Free State farms, and MOROKO, long since converted to Christianity, is yet at the head of his

people. He is supposed to be now over ninety years of age, but yet retains his mental powers in full vigour, and is never more pleased than when the children of those whom he succoured forty years ago favour him with a visit. The other chiefs with whom treaties were made entered readily into professions of friendship with the Emigrants, but in most instances this good feeling proved to be of short duration on both sides.

Parties of farmers still continued to arrive from the Cape Colony, and the country about the sources of the Riet, Modder, and Vet rivers was fast being filled up, when the stream of emigration took another turn. A large party from Uitenhage, headed by the patriarch JACOBUS UYS and his son PIETER, passed through on the way to Natal, and halted close to the mountains. As yet no means of descent from the interior highlands down to Natal had been discovered nearer than a pass at the northern extremity of the district. While the party under UYS was waiting till winter was over before proceeding further, some others announced their intention of moving in the same direction. The Commandants POTGIETER and MARITZ were among the number, and as soon as influential men like these made up their minds to go on to Natal, the desire to accompany them became general. RETIEF himself was carried away by the popular movement and by the glowing terms in which the country under the Drakenberg was described by those who had already visited it. PIETER UYS had been there with an exploring party from Uitenhage, and he and RETIEF were fast friends. The Commandant General then sent out a number of young men to search among the mountains for passes through which waggon roads could be made, and two or three were discovered in convenient positions.

As soon as winter was over, long lines of waggons began to move, and before the year 1837 had come to a close the bulk of the Emigrants had taken their departure from the plains of what is now the Free State. A thousand waggons had descended into the rich pastures of Natal, while every here and there among the mountains was to be seen an encampment of farmers, for they often halted for a month or two in choice situations where grass and water were plentiful. Now that they were far away from their oppressors, there was no need of doing things hastily, and whether they reached the Klip River in six weeks or six months was a matter of little moment. The large party under UYS was still on the highlands, for though it had communicated the impetus to others, it was the last to move on. The history of these Emigrants for the next five years is the history of Natal during that period, and has been traced in a previous chapter.

Those who remained behind were few in number, and though henceforth parties of Emigrants were constantly passing through to Natal, it was not often that any settled down by the way. But in 1842 a great change took place in the condition of affairs. The English made themselves masters of Natal, and back over the Drakenberg came strings of waggons whose owners hoped to find some place in the far interior where they could live unmolested and free. Commandant POTGIETER came with the

rest, but he moved away north of the Vaal, and many more followed him. Of the other Commandants of note, RETIEF had been murdered, PIETER UYS had fallen in battle, MARITZ had died, PRETORIUS and LANDMAN remained in Natal. There was no one to take the lead between the Vaal and the Orange, and now that the stream of emigration was turned in this direction and the plains were again occupied, the need of a government strong enough to enforce order began to be keenly felt.

In a very short time the country was in such a state of anarchy that the most sensible of the Emigrants were prepared to submit even to English authority rather than let matters remain as they were. Early in 1844, a memorial, signed by five hundred landholders, was forwarded to Commissioner CLOETE, who was then at Maritzburg, stating that the majority of the inhabitants were willing to be placed on the same footing as those in Natal, and requesting his assistance in bringing about the desired change; but Governor Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND, to whom the memorial was referred, replied that the application could not be entertained. From this date there were two parties in the country, one inveterate in hostility to English rule, the other prepared to purchase order at the price of submission to British authority. The first party was strongest in the northern districts, the second was strongest in the south.

Complaints were constantly reaching Cape Town from the Griquas, of the manner in which they were being dealt with by the Emigrants. Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN had entered into treaties with the chiefs ANDRIES WATERBOER and ADAM KOK, and these people considered themselves entitled to protection. KOK was fast losing his ground, not altogether by violence, but partly by the purchase or lease of farms from his subjects. The Emigrants claimed supreme authority in all matters affecting the country and its inhabitants, and exclusive jurisdiction over all persons of European blood and in all cases in which Europeans were concerned. They would not even permit white men to be tried by the chiefs for offences committed within native villages. The English government was loath to interfere, for the Ministry of the day was desirous of avoiding an extension of the colonial dominions, and looked upon the country north of the Orange as altogether waste and valueless. One of the judges of the supreme court of the Cape Colony, who was at Colesberg on circuit in the year 1842, proclaimed the sovereignty of Her Majesty over the country, but his proclamation was immediately repudiated by Sir GEORGE NAPIER. Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND declined at first to have anything to do with transgariepine affairs, but he was at length compelled to interfere.

In April, 1845, an express reached the colony from ADAM KOK, in which he stated that if assistance were not rendered without delay, it would be too late. He had been obliged to take the field with all the forces he could collect, and could hold his own against the farmers for a short time only. Upon receipt of this intelligence, a few companies of soldiers were sent across the Orange. They found ADAM KOK and his Griquas drawn up on

one side of a wide valley, and a boer commando on the other, each waiting for reinforcements. They had wasted a good deal of powder in firing towards each other, but had been careful not to approach so near as to do any damage.

The arrival of the soldiers caused the Griquas to wax valiant, and an attack was made upon the farmers, when two or three persons were killed, and the Emigrant commando was driven back. This petty action, which has since been known as the battle of Zwart Kopjes, was the means of effecting a change in the government of the country. The territory was not annexed to the British dominions, but a British officer was stationed at Bloemfontein, to whose authority all parties were expected to submit. They all,—Emigrants, Griquas, Basutos, Barolongs, and Korannas,—were left to govern themselves as they chose, but they were required to keep peace with each other, and when any dispute arose between them they were expected to refer the matter to the British Resident, who would act as arbitrator. A handful of troops was left at Bloemfontein, as a guard for the Resident, and with this puny force it was hoped he would be able to maintain his authority. An arrangement was also effected, by which a portion of the territory claimed by the Griquas was declared permanently inalienable, but the remaining portion of it could be sold by its owners if they chose to part with it. This was Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND'S method of bringing the conflicting elements of society into order.

It soon became apparent that the controlling power must be supreme in all matters affecting the inhabitants of every class. The arbitration court was a complete failure. Dissensions between the Emigrants and the natives became more frequent, and the power of the Resident was too weak to prevent or settle them. The country could not be said to enjoy a day's peace. The interests of the farmers and the Griquas on one side, and of the farmers and the Basutos on the other, were continually clashing, and none of the contending parties scrupled to resort to force.

Affairs were in this condition when Sir HARRY SMITH arrived in South Africa. He had occasion to visit Natal almost immediately, in order to prevent, if possible, a general exodus of the Emigrants from that colony. On his way he met some of the native chiefs in the country north of the Orange, and he obtained their consent to the introduction of another, and, as he hoped, a stronger government. Passing onwards to Natal, he found on the banks of the Tugela a large number of Emigrants ready to move away over the mountains. ANDRIES PRETORIUS was with the party. The Commandant bowed to the force of circumstances when the English seized Natal, and from that time until 1847 he had been living in obscurity. Then, as the representative of the Emigrants, he visited the old colony, in the hope of obtaining from the Queen's representative some modification of the system of government under which his countrymen groaned at Natal. Sir HENRY POTTINGER had made Grahamstown his head quarters, and thither PRETORIUS directed his steps. The Governor refused to see him or to receive

any communication from him, though everywhere throughout the colony a warm feeling of sympathy for him and his cause was expressed by the Dutch inhabitants. PRETORIUS returned to Natal with the resolution to make another move for freedom. He called the Emigrants together, and at the head of a large party he was just leaving Natal when Sir HARRY SMITH reached the Tugela.

The Governor entered the boer encampment as a professed friend, and did his utmost to conciliate the disaffected. He requested them to make known their grievances unreservedly, and promised them every liberty which British subjects could enjoy. Perhaps his politeness had as much effect as his arguments and promises. At one meeting there was present an aged patriarch, of venerable appearance, who stood leaning on a staff. The Governor was seated, but instantly rising, he offered him the chair. The act was graceful, and the kind words which accompanied it made a remarkable impression upon those simple people. After that, most of them were easily persuaded to return to their farms, though PRETORIUS and a few others were not to be moved from their purpose.

On the 3rd of February, 1848, Sir HARRY SMITH issued from the Emigrant encampment on the Tugela a proclamation extending British sovereignty over the country between the Vaal and the Orange. In doing so he fancied that he had put an end to the movements which now for twelve years had kept all South Africa in commotion. He had no intention to disturb the native chiefs in their possessions, or to prevent them from exercising authority over their own people. But by this means the Europeans would be brought under control, and further migration would be prevented. In precisely the same manner had nearly the whole of the Cape Colony been brought under the dominion of the white man in bygone years, but never before had native rights been so carefully guarded. The territory received the name of the Orange River Sovereignty.

There was a large party among the farmers to whom the proclamation of British sovereignty was acceptable, offering as it did a prospect of the establishment of order. But those who were opposed to the introduction of British rule were in the majority, and the arrival of PRETORIUS gave them a leader round whom they could all rally. Dissension among them at once ceased when he was elected Commandant General, and a course of action was decided upon. The Resident,—Major WARDEN,—immediately sent despatches to Cape Town, reporting the condition of affairs, and requesting reinforcements of troops, but the Governor could not be brought to believe that any large body of farmers would take up arms. He feared the Home Government would not approve of the annexation he had made, if it were necessary to hold the territory with military force, and he trusted much to the influence which he thought he had acquired over the Emigrants. Thus time passed on, and no assistance was sent to the little garrison at Bloemfontein.

Meanwhile PRETORIUS was not idle. He was prepared to call out a large

commando of farmers from both sides of the Vaal, and was endeavouring to compel those who were friendly to the English government to join his standard. For this purpose he issued proclamations informing all "who would not take part in the just cause of freedom that they must cross the Orange River without selling their ground; that no one would be allowed to remain neutral; and that every person acting against the Emigrant Association, whether by word or deed, would be treated as a rebel and punished forthwith by court-martial." Early in July the commando was called out. Advancing near to Bloemfontein, PRETORIUS formed a camp, and then sent word to the Resident that he must leave the country within a given time, taking all his subordinates with him, failing which, he would be attacked and expelled by force. The garrison was very small and the commando was large, but officers and soldiers alike were ready to intrench themselves as Captain SMITH had done at Natal, and attempt to hold out till relief could be sent to them. Major WARDEN, however, resolved to abandon his post, and with the other officials, the soldiers, and a few loyal farmers, he crossed over to the colonial side of the Orange River, and there formed a temporary camp.

Now that there could be no doubt about the intentions or the strength of PRETORIUS, the Governor determined to act with vigour. He immediately gave orders for a body of troops to march from Grahamstown to the Sovereignty, and left Cape Town himself in time to overtake them before they should cross the Orange. At a ford a few miles from the village of Colesberg the Governor joined his little army and the party under Major WARDEN. The river was in flood, but the troops had brought a couple of india-rubber pontoons with them, by means of which the whole force, together with a train of baggage and commissariat waggons, was conveyed across without accident. The march was then continued towards Bloemfontein. Shortly after crossing the river, the column was joined by about two hundred Griquas, under the chief ADAM KOK, which brought the total strength up to eight hundred and fifty or nine hundred fighting men. The troops consisted of two companies each of the Rifle Brigade, the 45th, the 91st, and the Cape Mounted Rifles.

On the 29th of August the column reached Boomplaats, and there found the Emigrant commando, over a thousand strong, waiting to give them battle. The farmers were all mounted, and were armed with heavier guns than those carried by the soldiers. The nature of the ground was also in their favour, for it had been selected with a view to their lying in an ambush from which they could fire upon the troops, and then fall back to a position of great strength.

But the engagement which took place showed that this advantage in numbers and in position was not sufficient to compensate for the difference of discipline between South African farmers and English soldiers. The Emigrants were driven from one rallying point to another, and after a sharp action of three or four hours duration, they broke and fled. Their

loss was about a dozen killed and wounded, while the English casualties were at least four times that number. The disparity arose from the nature of the engagement,—the farmers fighting under shelter or out of reach of the soldiers' guns, the troops charging in full exposure.

The battle of Boomplaats decided the fate of the Sovereignty. PRETORIUS had made provision against defeat by having everything in readiness to cross the Vaal. Accordingly, as soon as the action was over, most of the farmers gave their horses the rein, rode to their waggons which were drawn up some miles distant, and before the next morning were beyond reach of their pursuers. The remainder retired to their homes, and awaited the course of events.

Sir HARRY SMITH continued his march the same day towards Bloemfontein. On the 30th some Griqua horsemen, who were scouring the country in search of cattle and other supplies, captured a farmer and an English deserter, both of whom had taken part on the Emigrant side in the action of Boomplaats. These men were taken to Bloemfontein, where they were tried by court-martial, found guilty of high treason, and executed. They were the only individuals who suffered the penalty of death, as a consequence of taking up arms, those who were subsequently convicted of participation in resistance to British authority being punished by fines.

Major WARDEN was reinstated at Bloemfontein, and a larger garrison than before was left to preserve peace in the country. A reward of £2000 was offered for the apprehension of PRETORIUS, but the offer only roused the indignation of the Emigrants. In their eyes PRETORIUS was a patriot and a hero, a man whom any country or people might be proud of. He was now far away over the Vaal, where were also all those who were most bitter in hostility to English rule.

A good many European families, who were well disposed towards the British government, now moved in from the Cape Colony, and occupied the lands of those who had gone beyond the Vaal. Unfortunately, the disputes concerning boundaries between the natives themselves, and between the natives and Europeans, continued as before, and mutual thefts, —which they termed reprisals,—were of constant occurrence. Major WARDEN at length proclaimed war with the Basutos, but the military force at his disposal was too small, and the natives friendly to him were too weak, to enable him to cope successfully with that powerful tribe. The result was that the Sovereignty for some years was in a condition not far removed from anarchy.

On the 22nd of March, 1851, Letters Patent were issued under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, by which the territory was erected into a separate and distinct government. The High Commissioner, or the Lieutenant Governor of the territory, was empowered, with the advice and consent of a Legislative Council, to make laws binding upon all persons therein, except the followers of any native chief, and except in regard to acts committed within the limits of jurisdiction of any native chief or people.

The country was divided into four districts, over each of which a magistrate was placed, and a Lieutenant Governor,—with the title of British Resident,—was appointed. A Legislative Council was formed of the Resident, the four magistrates, and eight landholders, two for each district, nominated by the High Commissioner. The Resident was instructed to maintain the government of the native chiefs over their people and lands in the utmost integrity, and not to interfere with them in any other manner than that of arbitrator in cases of disputes respecting boundaries, robberies, and reprisals between them. It was thus in the interest of the natives that sovereignty over the country was assumed, and not from any desire to extend British dominion at the expense of the aborigines.

From this time the government was incessantly endeavouring to define boundaries and to maintain peace. This would have been an easy matter if a large body of troops could have been stationed there, but the want of physical power was accompanied in the Sovereignty, as indeed in all parts of the world where savages are found, with a sad want of moral influence. Sir GEORGE CATHCART was compelled in 1852 to take the field against MOSHESH, the paramount chief of the Basutos, and a temporary peace was patched up, which lasted until the next change of government.

Unfortunately, a large party of influential men in England, being imperfectly acquainted with the causes which led to the proclamation and enforcement of Her Majesty's sovereignty over the recently annexed territory, urged the Secretary of State for the Colonies to withdraw from it. Its retention was considered as involving a large expenditure of Imperial funds, without any adequate return. The government of the day viewed the question in the same light, and Sir GEORGE CLERK was sent out as Special Commissioner, with instructions to abandon the Sovereignty.

The colonists protested against the measure, as fraught with serious danger. Their relations with the Basutos, and those of the Basutos with the other tribes, were such that they feared war would be inevitable as soon as British supremacy over all should cease. Many of them, especially those resident in the villages, had been induced to take up their abode in the country on the strength of its being a British province, and they considered themselves entitled to protection. The natives also viewed the measure as a dire calamity. They had a lively remembrance of what boer commandos were, and they anticipated nothing else than the resumption of hostilities to be carried on in the old style of warfare. They begged the government not to abandon them. But remonstrance and entreaty were alike in vain.

On the 23rd of February, 1854, was signed at Bloemfontein a convention by which the government was handed over to an Assembly consisting of a President and twenty-four Delegates of the People. The convention contained nine Articles, and guaranteed to the inhabitants of the territory political independence and freedom from allegiance to the British Crown. It provided for the mutual delivery of criminals to justice, prohibited

slavery, and was profuse in expressions of friendship and good-will. In the second Article the British Government renounced all treaties with native chiefs north of the Orange, with the exception of ADAM KOK, and engaged not to interfere in native affairs to the prejudice of the new republic. This Article has since been interpreted very differently by the two contracting powers, and Great Britain now claims and exercises the right of annexing the territory of any tribes whose chiefs apply to become Her Majesty's subjects.

A Constitution was adopted by the Volksraad in April, and soon afterwards Mr. J. A. BOSHOF was elected President, that office having previously been held provisionally by Mr. J. P. HOFFMAN. The attention of the new government was immediately directed to the settlement of boundary questions with the different native tribes. MOSHESH'S claims covered a great portion of the State, and could not for a moment be entertained. Fortunately for the Europeans, his claim to suzerainty over other chiefs in his neighbourhood was repudiated by them, or he would have been more than a match for the infant republic. He asserted that they were his subjects, because they were living on ground that had once been in possession of his ancestors. They claimed to be independent through having obtained their lands by conquest. MOROKO maintained that he had purchased the territory he was living in from MOSHESH in 1823, when the Barolongs were driven from their own country by the Makololo invasion. The Basuto chief argued that the cattle received by him were tribute, not payment. It was not possible to satisfy every one or any one, it was simply a case for the strongest to decide and the weakest to submit.

The Free State had no military force, and could only carry on war by means of commandos. The government was therefore most anxious to preserve peace, and for the first four years of its existence managed to avoid open hostilities. At length, in March, 1858, war,—which had virtually been carried on by the Basutos for some time previous,—was declared; but after testing each other's strength, the Free State requested Sir GEORGE GREY to act as mediator, and he laid down a boundary line to which MOSHESH agreed. A treaty of peace, known as the first treaty of Aliwal, was thereupon concluded, in September, 1858. For the next five years there was nominally a cessation of hostilities, but in reality bands of Basutos were constantly plundering the farmers on the Free State side of the line, though it is doubtful if MOSHESH can justly be held liable for these acts. There were numerous small bands claiming to be his subjects, but yet acting independently of him, and often disobeying his positive commands.

Mr. BOSHOF resigned the Presidency in 1859, and was succeeded in 1860 by MARTHINUS WESSELS PRETORIUS, a son of the celebrated Commandant General. During his tenure of office matters remained unchanged on the Basuto border; but in 1863 he too resigned, and when in February, 1864, the present President assumed office, he immediately directed his attention

to a settlement of the question. With MOSHESH'S consent, Sir P. E. WODEHOUSE was requested to act as arbitrator, with full power to define a permanent boundary. His award, delivered in October, 1864, was entirely in favour of the Free State, and MOSHESH agreed to respect it. But his people continued to plunder the farmers as before, and it soon became evident that they had no intention of abiding by the arbitrator's decision. They were at that time impressed with the idea that they could easily overrun the Free State.

Seven months after the award was made, war was again declared. The farmers endeavoured to confine hostilities to the Basuto border, but they could not prevent raids into the State. They defeated their enemy in almost every engagement, and took some of his strongholds, but they were twice repulsed from Thaba Bosigo. At last the Basutos admitted that they were beaten. MOLAPO,—next to LETSIE the most powerful of MOSHESH'S sons,—was the first to give up the contest. He was admitted as a subject of the Free State, on his pledge to be faithful, and, to his honour be it said, he never afterwards broke his faith. The old chief then sued for peace. The terms offered him were so severe that only a people reduced to the last extremity could have accepted them. The Basutos were required to pay a considerable number of cattle as an indemnity for having provoked the war, and to cede the richest and best of their lands to the victor. To gain breathing time, MOSHESH consented to the terms, and on the 3rd of April, 1866, the treaty of Thaba Bosigo was signed.

The ceded territory was divided into farms, and offered to settlers under military tenure. But before it could be occupied troubles again arose. The chiefs LETSIE, MOLITSANE, and MOPELI applied to be received as subjects of the Free State, and to have ground allotted to them. The application was not immediately granted, but many of their followers commenced to make gardens on the ceded lands. MOPELI was received as a subject in July, and had a tract of country given to him, but there were difficulties in the way of receiving the others. They were, however, permitted to remain in a portion of the ceded territory for a time. In March, 1867, a commando was called out, and the intruders were driven from the remaining portion.

In May, 1867, LETSIE was received as a subject, and a tract of country was allotted to him. Arrangements were being made to locate MOLITSANE and his people on a tract of open land near Kroonstad, when it was ascertained that these two chiefs were fortifying the mountain strongholds where they were. Shortly afterwards, LETSIE dismissed a government officer who was sent to reside with him, and two Europeans were murdered in cold blood by near relatives of MOLITSANE. The murderers were demanded of MOSHESH, but he refused to give them up. It was now evident that the treaty of Thaba Bosigo was nothing more than a truce, and in August, 1867, war was again proclaimed.

The Free State entered upon the struggle with a determination to make it a final one, for the burghers felt that there could be no prosperity until

peace was permanently secured. The civil courts were closed, and martial law was proclaimed. Notes, issued by the State, were forced into circulation, and heavy war taxes were levied. The whole strength of the Republic, financial as well as military, was put forth. A great commando attacked the Basutos, who at once withdrew from the open field, and retired to mountains and caves, which they fortified with stone walls. Some of these were taken by storm, but after the commando had been in the field a few weeks it began to lose its energy. Such a force, composed as it is of men with families dependent upon them, is not adapted to carry on sieges, and indeed cannot be kept together for any length of time. It lacks too that essential qualification for success,—strict discipline, and on the first appearance of discontent or disaster it is apt to become a disorderly rabble. It was not until a large number of adventurers from all parts of South Africa, attracted by the pay and the nameless charm which such a life has in the estimation of rovers, joined the Free State commandos, that any decisive successes were gained. Then stronghold after stronghold was taken, with terrible loss to the Basutos, until at last only Thaba Bosigo remained. The crops were destroyed, the cattle were seized, and the once proud and powerful tribe was all but swept out of existence.

In this extremity MOSHESH sent urgent entreaties to the High Commissioner to receive him and the remnant of his people as British subjects. His followers were dispersing, and many of them were already seeking refuge in the British colonies. The terms of peace demanded by the Republic were such as must have driven many more into exile in a state of destitution. The High Commissioner then interfered. On the 12th of March, 1868, he issued a proclamation declaring the Basutos British subjects and their country British territory. The Free State felt itself aggrieved in the matter, and a lengthy correspondence ensued, in which the second clause of the convention of 1854 was interpreted by the Republic to mean that Great Britain had debarred herself for ever from interfering in matters north of the Orange. A deputation was sent to England to represent this view to Her Majesty's government, but returned unsuccessful.

At length, early in 1869, an arrangement was made, and by the second treaty of Aliwal a permanent boundary line was laid down between the Orange Free State and British Basutoland. The Republic acquired an extensive tract of country west of the Caledon River, a district which is now, perhaps, the very best in the State. The settlement thus effected was furthermore advantageous in bringing a strong government into the country beyond the border, thus dispelling the fear of future wars and securing the punishment of marauders.

On the north the Vaal River separated the Orange Free State from the South African Republic. But that river is formed by the junction of several streams which issue from the Drakenberg, and between the two governments there was a dispute as to which of these was the boundary. In the early days of their independence, these neighbouring States had

not been on friendly terms, but of late years a better understanding existed between them, and hence the question of the boundary was referred to the arbitration of the Governor of Natal. In February, 1870, Mr. KEATE announced his decision, which was in favour of the South African Republic. There remained now only the western boundary line which could be called in question by any one.

The distinction between alienable and inalienable Griqua territory was done away with during the British occupation of the country, and even before the abandonment of the Sovereignty the improvident Griquas had disposed of many of their best farms. After that date purchases of land by Emigrants from Griquas became of common occurrence, and as the boers maintained that transfer of property in land included transfer of government also, ADAM KOK saw himself in a fair way of losing his country. The High Commissioner offered him a vacant tract of land on the western border of Natal, the capabilities of which were vastly greater than those of the district he was then occupying. He and his tribe resolved to remove. There was no difficulty experienced in finding purchasers for the remaining farms, which were mostly sold for a mere trifle. The purchase money, however small, was looked upon as clear profit by the individual, who had himself paid nothing for the ground, and was now about to obtain a much better farm, also for nothing. The chief transferred all the public lands, together with his sovereign rights, to the Orange Free State, for the sum of £4000. In 1862 this branch of the Griquas left the country, and WATERBOER became the neighbour of the Republic. In 1855 a line had been laid down between the countries of KOK and WATERBOER, which has since been known as the Vetberg Line, and this was now claimed as the new boundary.

North of the Vaal a large tract of country was claimed by the Free State as having been included in the purchase from ADAM KOK, but the right to this was disputed by WATERBOER. It was at length referred to the arbitration of Sir P. E. WODEHOUSE, but of so little importance was its settlement considered, that the High Commissioner left South Africa without giving any attention to it. It seemed indeed of very little consequence to the other States of South Africa, how much or how little of the desert either of the claimants was entitled to. Sixpence an acre in those days would have been considered a high price for the best land in it. But all at once the dispute between WATERBOER and the Free State became the first political question of the day. Diamonds were discovered along the Vaal, and parties of diggers were making their way into the lonely land.

The territory in which the principal diamond fields are situated had for many years formed part of the Free State. The district between the Vaal and Modder Rivers, now included in Griqualand West, contained, in fact, several farms held under certificates granted by the British Resident during the period of the Sovereignty. But WATERBOER'S agent now laid claim to the whole country as far eastward as a line from David's Graf, near the junction of the Riet and Modder Rivers, to Platberg, on the Vaal,

and offered to transfer it to Great Britain. General HAY, then acting High Commissioner, forthwith appointed an officer to administer justice among the diggers on the north bank of the Vaal, and proposed to refer the question of the Griqua boundary to a court of arbitration, composed of persons resident in South Africa.

The Free State at first refused to submit the land south of the Vaal to arbitration at all. The Volksraad made a stand upon the convention of 1854, and contended that its title there could not be called in question. An ambassador was sent to England, but was there referred to the High Commissioner in South Africa, against whose proceedings he had gone to complain. In this extremity the Free State offered to refer the question of territory, together with an interpretation of the convention, to the arbitration of a foreign potentate, such as the Emperor of Germany, the King of Holland, or the President of the United States of America, but the proposal was rejected. England, it was said, could not permit another Power to interpret an agreement made with her own subjects. In October, 1871, the High Commissioner, Sir HENRY BARKLY, proclaimed the territory of Griqualand West a British province, and fixed its eastern boundary from David's Graf to Platberg, which included the diamond fields. A detachment of the Cape Frontier Armed and Mounted Police was sent to take possession, and the officers of the Free State withdrew under protest.

The forcible possession thus taken in the name of WATERBOER, of a tract of country over which that petty chief had neither right nor power to exercise jurisdiction, was productive of much ill feeling towards the British authorities on the part of the citizens of the Free State, and called forth throughout South Africa an expression of sympathy with the Republic. The difficulties regarding boundaries were legacies of the Sovereignty, bequeathed to the Free State against its own will, and the government had therefore a right to expect the most considerate treatment from Great Britain. But harsh as the proceeding undoubtedly was, it is questionable if it was not to the advantage of the Free State. The High Commissioner might have put forth the plea of necessity with a very fair show of reason. For it was plain that the diamond fields could not long have been ruled from Bloemfontein, and that disturbances, originating there, might affect all South Africa.

It was fortunate for the Free State that it had at this time a President of Mr. BRAND'S ability. By carefully avoiding collision with the British authorities, he averted the danger which a great number of exasperated and foolhardy burghers were anxious to rush into. A very lengthened correspondence was carried on with reference to arbitration, but no satisfactory arrangements could be made. After a time, however, the despatches from England became more friendly in their tone. A new Ministry came into power, and Earl CARNARVON, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, was anxious to bring about a closer union than had hitherto existed between the detached territories of Southern Africa. He invited delegates from

the different Colonies and States to meet him in London. Early in 1876 the Volksraad requested the President to visit England and confer with Earl CARNARVON, empowering him to settle the boundary question, but giving him no authority to take part in any debate having reference to confederation.

There being now a desire on both sides to come to an amicable arrangement, all hindrances in the way were quickly overcome. The boundary line was slightly modified, and Great Britain agreed to pay £90,000 to the Free State, with an additional £15,000 in the event of a railway being constructed to the Cape Colony. The Imperial Government was to advance the money, and recoup itself from the revenues of Griqualand West. With this arrangement, the Republic obtained a fixed permanent boundary on all sides, and the questions which have occupied her legislature unceasingly for twenty-two years are set at rest for ever.

While engaged in this long struggle with her neighbours, the Free State has not been unmindful of the necessity of keeping pace with the progressive spirit of the age. The attention of the Volksraad, especially of late years, has been directed to the spread of education among the people, to the establishment of superior courts of justice, and generally to the internal improvement of the country. The postal system has been perfected, and the construction of electric telegraphs is now under discussion. The planting of trees is encouraged by the Government, and, under certain circumstances, public funds are devoted to that purpose. Many new villages have sprung up, in which churches, schools, and courts of law have been established.

The issue of a Government paper currency has been mentioned, in connection with the Basuto war. By 1869 it had depreciated to such an extent that a golden sovereign would purchase more than two pounds in bluebacks. So scarce had coin become that the Bloemfontein Bank was compelled to issue good-fors representing very small sums in silver, and merchants and traders of all kinds had followed the example. Commerce was fast returning to the primitive form of barter, and all classes of the inhabitants were involved in difficulties. The exertions made during the war had taxed the strength and resources of the country to the utmost. While it lasted, excitement and patriotism sufficed to preserve at least an appearance of prosperity, but at its close a reaction set in. The civil courts were closed during the continuance of the struggle, and debtors were safe from pressure by their creditors; but, with peace, justice resumed her ordinary course, and the result, in the case of many individuals, was bankruptcy. It was at this time that crowds of people were making their way to the diamond fields. At once English gold began to flow into the State in return for agricultural produce and slaughter stock. The bluebacks rapidly rose to par, and the Treasury was soon in a position to commence calling them in and destroying them. Since that time the Free State has enjoyed a career of prosperity undreamt of before.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

TRANSVAAL OR SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

AREA, according to the boundaries given below, about one hundred and twenty thousand square miles, or three-fifths of that of the Cape Colony.

The boundaries, as claimed by the government, are, on the north and north-west, the Limpopo River; on the west, the Hart and Notuane Rivers; on the south, the Vaal and Klip Rivers, separating it from the Orange Free State, and the Buffalo River, separating it from the County of Newcastle in Natal; on the east, the Bloed and Pongolo Rivers, separating it from Zululand, and the Lobombo Mountains, separating it from the Portuguese possessions. But these boundaries are constantly changing, and those only are fixed which separate the Republic from civilized States. The Lobombo Mountains were agreed to as a convenient boundary, in a treaty between the Transvaal and Portuguese governments, dated 27th of August, 1869. This line extends the Republic eastward to considerably beyond the thirty-second meridian. The Zulus dispute the line further south. In the north, various native tribes are actually in possession of large portions of the territory claimed. An agreement was entered into between Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa, the chief of the Batlapin, and Mr. MARTHINUS WESSELS PRETORIUS, President of the South African Republic, on the 1st of March, 1871, according to which the settlement of the western boundary line was referred to the arbitration of Mr. R. W. KEATE, then Lieutenant Governor of Natal. On the 17th of October, 1871, Mr. KEATE delivered his award, which was in favour of the chief, and cut off from the Republic nearly the whole of one of its districts; but the Volksraad ignored the act as illegal, the President having no power to enter into such an agreement. As matters now stand, a portion of this territory is included in the British Province of Griqualand West, and the jurisdiction of the Republic is limited in the remainder.

No census of the population has ever been taken, and it is hardly possible to make an estimate. The Europeans are commonly supposed to be from twenty-five to thirty thousand in number, and the natives are usually spoken of as being twenty to one of the whites.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

The South African Republic is a land of magnificent promises. It consists principally of a great plateau, elevated from five to seven thousand

feet above the sea level. On its eastern side, the Drakenbergen or Quathlamba Mountains form a ridge, one of whose slopes faces the sea, the other inclines westward. The Lobombo Mountains, which separate the Republic from the Portuguese territory, are just a continuation of the supporting wall of the upper terrace in Natal. But that terrace in the north is more broken, and is diversified with beautiful and valuable patches of forest. To the westward of the Quathlamba, the southern part of the Republic is in the valley of the Orange River, inasmuch as the numerous small streams which drain it all fall into the Vaal. The Magaliesbergen or Cashan Mountains, a spur of the Quathlamba, run east and west across the country, and form the watershed between the Orange and the Limpopo. On the northern side of this range rise a great number of streams, tributaries either of the Limpopo or of the Olifants River. The surface is in general very much broken, though there are several plains of considerable extent. It is abundantly supplied with water, and long droughts are of rare occurrence. Except in the north, where fever prevails, the climate is healthy.

It contains within itself such an abundance and variety of agricultural resources that it is commonly termed the garden of South Africa. In the river-valleys of the north, tropical plants, such as coffee and sugar-cane, thrive, while in other situations all kinds of European grains, fruits, and vegetables, attain perfection. The mountain valleys not unfrequently contain fine forests of timber trees. The pasturage can hardly be excelled for horned cattle, but for sheep it is too rich unless it is kept constantly cropped.

Its mineral wealth is believed to be very great. Iron, copper, lead, and coal are found in many different localities. Excellent building stone, slate, and varieties of stone fit for ornamental purposes are abundant. Salt is obtainable from numerous pans. Gold is found near Marabastad (lat. about 24° S., long. about 29½° E.) and in the Lydenburg district, further to the east and south. Specimens of other metals have from time to time been exhibited, but as the country has not yet been thoroughly prospected, the full extent of its resources is matter of conjecture only. With the exception of gold, no metal is exported, but lead is smelted in considerable quantities for home use.

Game is fast disappearing before the rifle of the hunter, but in some of the secluded districts the largest and finest of South African mammalia are still to be found. The smaller antelopes are abundant nearly everywhere.

The villages are mostly very small, and some of those mentioned as seats of magistracy do not contain more than half a dozen houses. The largest is Potchefstroom, on the Mooi River, not far north of the Vaal. It was called after Commandant HENDRIK POTGIETER, the first syllable of the word being derived from his name, and the second from his rank as chief

of the first party of Emigrants that occupied the fertile plain through which the stream flows. The seat of government is Pretoria (called after Commandant General ANDRIES PRETORIUS), lat. 25 deg. 40 min. S., long. 28 deg. 35 min. E.

FISCAL DIVISIONS.

The South African Republic is divided into twelve districts or magistracies, over each of which a landdrost presides. They are :—

Zoutpansberg, in the north,	chief village	Schoemansdal,
Waterberg, in the north-west,	„	Nylstroom,
Marico, in the west,	„	Zeerust,
Rustenburg, in the west,	„	Rustenburg,
Pretoria, in the centre,	„	Pretoria,
Middelburg, in the centre,	„	Nazareth,
Lydenburg, in the east,	„	Lydenburg,
Bloemhof, in the south-west,	„	Christiana,
Potchefstroom, in the south-west,	„	Potchefstroom,
Heidelberg, in the south,	„	Heidelberg,
Wakkerstroom, in the south-east,	„	Marthinuswesselstroom,
Utrecht, in the south-east,	„	Utrecht.

THE GOVERNMENT CONSISTS OF

A President, elected for five years. The present holder of the office, the Rev. THOMAS FRANCOIS BURGERS, was inaugurated on the 1st of July, 1872.

An Executive Council, consisting of the President, the State Secretary, and three unofficial members appointed by the Volksraad.

The Volksraad, consisting of forty representatives of the people, viz., three for each of the twelve districts, and one for each of the villages of Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, and Lydenburg, who hold their seats for two years. The members must have resided three years in the State, and be possessed of landed property. No member can be elected by less than forty votes in his favour. The electors must be burghers, over twenty-one years of age, possessed of landed property, and (according to the Constitution) members of the Dutch Reformed Church, though this last qualification is now obsolete. The Grondwet, or Constitution, was adopted on the 13th of February, 1858, and under it the Volksraad is the supreme authority of the land.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

Each division has its court of landdrost and heemraden, but as these officers are elected by the burghers of their respective districts, absolute

and impartial justice is not always the rule of their courts. In fact some of them are so swayed by popular opinion that law is very often just what the electors may choose to dictate. The Supreme Court consists of the Executive Council, and criminal prosecutions are conducted before it by a lawyer with the title of State Attorney.

EDUCATION.

The education of youth is limited to instruction given in district schools, which are supported by the government, and to that imparted by itinerant teachers. There are a few private schools, but none of a very high class.

RELIGION.

There is now no State Church in the South African Republic. The great majority of the European residents belong to the Dutch Reformed Church, but there are a few Anglican, Wesleyan, and Lutheran congregations. Missionaries of various European Societies are labouring among the natives. The Dutch Reformed Church also has stations in the northern part of the country.

REVENUE.

The revenue has never been sufficient for more than the ordinary expenses of the government, and consequently no public works of any magnitude have been carried out. In time of peace taxation is light, but whenever war breaks out the burghers are liable to be called upon for heavy contributions, as well as for their personal services. The yearly revenue, according to official returns, for 1872, 1873, and 1874, averaged £60,000. At the close of 1874 there was a public debt of £70,000, but it has since been enormously increased, and is now (October, 1876) probably not less than three times that amount.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

SIXTY years ago the immense territory included between the Limpopo and the Vaal, the Drakenberg and the Kalahari Desert, was thickly inhabited by tribes of Bechuanas. These people were pursuing their ordinary peaceful occupations, tilling their ground and tending their herds, when an enemy as powerful as he was ferocious appeared among them. The wars of TSHAKA were making desolate the whole coast region of Africa, from Delagoa Bay to the river of St. John, and only a mountain chain lay between the ravaged countries and the land of the Bechuanas. Over that chain came MSILIKAZI, with an army of Zulu warriors. He had been one of TSHAKA's greatest generals, but he had offended his master, and was compelled to flee for his life.

The Bechuanas looked with dismay upon the athletic forms of the Matabele, as they termed the invaders. They had never before seen discipline so perfect as was that of these naked braves, nor weapon so deadly as the Zulu stabbing spear. MSILIKAZI hardly needed to fight, for most of the clans fled in terror upon the first rumour of his approach. Those that attempted to resist him he exterminated. Following the example of TSHAKA, he spared none but the comeliest girls, and a few of the young men to carry his burdens. From these he filled up any gaps in his ranks, and they were all led to hope that by faithful service they might attain the position of soldiers.

The clans that fled from MSILIKAZI fell upon those further in advance, and soon learned to be as cruel as the Matabele. Famine marched with them, so that their course was marked by lines of skeletons. A few were fortunate enough to escape in time to the western desert, which offered them a retreat secure from the attacks of their murderous foes. Some others concealed themselves in ravines among mountains or in the depths of gloomy caverns, but a very large proportion of the old inhabitants disappeared from the face of the earth.

When the land was thus depopulated, MSILIKAZI settled down in the fertile and beautiful region about the head waters of the Limpopo, and there the Old Lion of the North, as he was called, lay in wait to spring upon any one that should dare to approach his lair. Parties of Griquas, trusting to their guns and their horses, more than once made raids into his domain, but in most cases they paid with their lives for their temerity.

Bands of Matabele warriors were frequently sent out to scour the country to the southward, and wipe out of existence every living creature they came across. Affairs were in this condition when the first parties of emigrant farmers crossed the Vaal. Their surprise by the Matabele bands, the massacres, and the first actions of POTGIETER and MARITZ have already been related.

Those actions were the beginning of a struggle which did not end until MSILIKAZI was driven out of the country. A large commando, of which MARITZ was elected commandant, assembled and marched fearlessly into the old lion's den. In conducting operations against their savage enemies, the Emigrants were not troubled with any qualms of conscience, but sought only how to subjugate them most thoroughly. In common conversation, they constantly compared themselves to the Israelites fleeing from Egypt, and their foes to Canaanites whom it was not less their duty than their interest to subdue. They shot them down with as little compunction as if they had been so many wolves.

Three days MSILIKAZI stood at bay, putting forth his strength in vain against those terrible horsemen who were so fearfully avenging the Christian blood he had shed. Then, crippled and bleeding, he gathered his forces together and fled. But the pursuers were close behind, panting still for further vengeance. At the Little Marico River he made his last stand, and there sustained a defeat that utterly broke his power. The Lion of the North was now driven like a timid antelope far beyond the Limpopo, to a tract of country near the Zambezi, from which he never returned.

The original inhabitants, venturing at last from their hiding places, hailed the conquerors as deliverers. From that time a stream of immigration, small at first but constantly increasing, set in, and spread over the Transvaal country. An Act of the Imperial Parliament, dated in August, 1836, providing for the punishment of British subjects who should commit offences within any native territories south of the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude, tended to promote emigration to the far north. Some of the parties then leaving the colony thought it safest to get beyond this boundary of English law, but where was the twenty-fifth parallel to be found? No one could tell. And so they travelled on till they were sure that it must at least be behind them.

Thus, in the course of a few years, parties of Emigrants were found scattered over the whole country as far north as the Limpopo. Unfortunately, there was little or no organization among them. They were ready enough to unite and help each other in war, but they made no attempt to set up a single strong government to which all should be subject in times of peace. So matters remained until 1848, when English authority was firmly established in the Sovereignty south of the Vaal. After the battle of Boomplaats, there was no other country open to those who were seeking

to escape from British rule, and hence the European population received a large accession to its number. With others came the Commandant General ANDRIES PRETORIUS, who was at once invested with the chief military command over all the Emigrants along the Magaliesbergen, though the High Commissioner was then offering a reward of £2000 for his head.

A government was established, similar to that which had been tried at Natal. Under it every officer, no matter what his rank, was elected directly by the people. The liberty of the citizen was so guarded that the government had very little power indeed. It was probably the purest democracy on the face of the earth. But the influence of PRETORIUS was so great that the defects in the form of government were not immediately felt. His counsel was sought on every important occasion, and his advice was implicitly followed in the general management of affairs. He had once been accused of selfish views, but he had outlived the calumny, and everyone now knew that he was without other ambition than to promote the happiness and prosperity of the people.

During the years 1849, 1850, and 1851, a great many farms were occupied, so that the central and southern districts of the present Republic began to assume as much of a settled appearance as a country can that is divided into cattle-runs of eight or ten thousand acres each. The Emigrants were not interfered with from abroad, and they were careful to do nothing that might provoke an attack. They had found at last a land where they could do as they chose, and now all they asked was to be let alone.

The English government of that day was entirely disposed to leave them to themselves. It was useless to follow them up, because as soon as they were beaten in one district they moved further northward to another. They had all Africa at their back to retreat into, and England, so far from coveting more territory, was contemplating the abandonment of some already in her possession. She was anxious also to throw off all responsibility for the actions of these Emigrants, who were imitating on a small scale the deeds of their Teutonic ancestors fourteen centuries before. Accordingly, on the 17th of January, 1852, a treaty was entered into between W. S. HOGGE and C. M. OWEN, Her Majesty's Assistant Commissioners, on the one part, and Commandant General ANDRIES PRETORIUS and a deputation of fifteen members from the Emigrant Farmers, on the other part, which recognized the existence of the South African Republic.

The treaty contained nine clauses. In the first, the Assistant Commissioners "guaranteed in the fullest manner, on the part of the British Government, to the Emigrant Farmers beyond the Vaal River, the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves without any interference on the part of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen, and engaged that no encroachment should be made by the said Government

on the territory north of the Vaal River." In the third clause, the Commissioners disclaimed all alliances with natives north of the Vaal River. The fourth prohibited slavery. The sixth prohibited the sale of ammunition to the native tribes by either of the contracting parties. The remaining clauses had reference to regulations concerning trade, to the mutual delivery of criminals to justice, to the validity of certificates of marriage issued by the Emigrant authorities, and to the liberty of removal from one country to another.

The convention was confirmed by Sir GEORGE CATHCART, acting under authority from the Home Government, and from that date the independence of the Republic has been unchallenged. But though all the farmers north of the Vaal were included in this treaty, they were not at the time all under one government. There were then at least three separate parties in the country, and it was not till some years later that their union was brought about. The party that recognized PRETORIUS as Commandant General was, however, of vastly greater importance than either of the others, or than both combined.

After the ejection of MSILIKAZI the tribes that he had dispersed began to gather together again. They owed their deliverance to the Emigrants, and consequently were at first willing enough to submit to their government. But as they grew strong,—and African tribes in a state of peace grow wonderfully fast,—it was found more difficult to manage them. The troubles they had gone through had imparted to the usually gentle and home loving Bechuanas a ferocity and a restlessness which it required years of quiet life to eradicate. It can hardly cause surprise, therefore, to learn that some of the tribes got involved in difficulties with the farmers. They would murder a few Europeans and steal their cattle, or commit some other atrocity of the kind. It was a principle with PRETORIUS, in all such cases, to inflict such a punishment as would prevent the guilty from offending again, and be also a warning to others. In his view, this line of action was the most merciful in the long run. And in carrying it out, the one object kept constantly in view was to do the greatest amount of damage in the shortest possible time. The rules of warfare, observed by civilized nations towards each other, were held by the Emigrants not to be applicable in fighting with savages. They sought to inspire the natives with fear, under the belief that nothing else would give birth to respect and obedience in untutored minds.

One of the articles of the convention under which Great Britain recognized the Republic was that no slavery should be permitted within its limits. The Emigrants embodied the same declaration in their constitution, and have always maintained that slavery as an institution has never been permitted by them. Yet hardly a traveller or a public writer but has accused them of dealing in slaves. The truth is, there was a system in force by which persons were held to involuntary servitude, and could even be transferred from one master to another; but the Emigrants denied that

this was slavery, while other people maintained that it was. After a battle, or the punishment of a clan for robbery or murder by shooting down the offenders, the children were seized and allotted to burghers until they were of full age. These wretched orphans were registered to their masters and could not be transferred without the approval of a landdrost, they were legally free after serving a certain number of years, and were therefore more properly called apprentices than slaves. But hardly any condition could be more pitiable than that of these unfortunates. In spite of the law, they were sometimes openly sold or bartered away, and they could easily be detained beyond the allotted period of their servitude.

The clans that were willing to live in an orderly manner were required to pay a light tribute, which was exacted in the form of labour. A field-cornet or other officer was empowered to make a requisition upon the kraals in his district for as many men as the burghers required. Some restrictions were placed upon the roving habits of the natives, but in most respects they were left pretty much to themselves. They seemed quite satisfied to barter their independence for the protection which they enjoyed under the Emigrant Government, for they regarded the Europeans as exceedingly lenient masters. They saw indeed robbery, murder, resistance to authority, stamped out with a terrible energy, but they looked upon this as nothing more than justice. They knew they had nothing to fear as long as they conducted themselves properly.

After settling various native difficulties, PRETORIUS paid a visit to Natal, for the purpose of endeavouring to open up commercial relations between that Colony and the new Republic. It was just ten years from the time when he had tried to compel Captain SMITH to surrender, that he arrived at Durban, where he was received with every mark of respect, and was publicly entertained by the leading English inhabitants. The result of this visit was the opening up of a trade and the establishment of friendly relations between the people of the two countries.

Shortly after the return of PRETORIUS, a commando was sent against the Bakuena, with whom Dr. LIVINGSTONE was then residing. This tribe was one of those which had been compelled by the Matabele invasion to take refuge in the desert, and did not appear to the Emigrants sufficiently grateful for deliverance. The chief SECHELE not only asserted his independence, but protected some persons accused of robbery, who fled to his village, and further allowed a free passage to hunters and traders through his country. This last was a serious matter in the eyes of the Emigrants, for they were constantly fearing that the natives would be provided with firearms by such travellers. SECHELE was suspected of having a large number of guns in his possession, and it was reported that a trade in firearms and ammunition was carried on at his place. These reasons were considered sufficient to justify the destruction of his kraal. The commando sent for that purpose consisted of four hundred farmers and six hundred natives, under the orders of P. E. SCHOLTZ.

The Bakuena were defeated with great loss, about twelve hundred prisoners—mostly children—were taken, and the victors retired with three thousand head of cattle, forty-eight guns, two waggons, and other spoil. The kraal was set on fire, and every thing in it was consumed. Dr. LIVINGSTONE's house was pillaged, and all his property was carried away or destroyed, as was also the property of some English hunters, which had been left in SECHELE's charge. In Commandant SCHOLTZ's report of this expedition, he states that he lost only three killed and six wounded, but in SECHELE's letter to Mr. MOFFAT, quoted by Dr. LIVINGSTONE in his account of the transaction, the number of farmers killed is stated to be twenty-eight. This probably includes the loss sustained by the native contingent, of which the Commandant would take no notice. Of the Bakuena, sixty were killed and a large number wounded.

Not long after this, the Emigrants lost the services of the man who for fifteen years had been their most daring leader and most trusted guide. On the 23rd of July, 1853, died ANDRIES W. J. PRETORIUS, only eighteen months after the independence of the Transvaal country was recognized by Great Britain. Incessant mental labour had told upon an iron constitution, and an attack of dropsy, for which no medical treatment could be obtained, brought his life to a close. For a month he lay upon a couch of sickness, where he continued to display those admirable qualities which had made him worthy of being the hero of the Emigrants. Feeling that his end was near, he put all the papers relative to the government in order, and then sent for the commandants, field-cornets, and other influential men, to hear his last advice. They assembled round his bedside, when he entreated them to preserve a cordial union among themselves after his death, and not to let party strife or ambition find a place among them. He recommended them to give heed to the exhortations of the minister, DIRK VAN DER HOFF, and to promote morality and civilization by every means in their power. Afterwards, several native chiefs were admitted to see him. They had heard of his illness, and had come to pay their respects. The relatives of the dying man were much affected on seeing these heathen exhibit intense grief, as they knelt successively and kissed his hand. To them he had appeared as a preserver of order in the land, as a gracious and humane master. Everything connected with this world having been settled, PRETORIUS devoted his remaining hours to praise and prayer. He expressed perfect resignation to the will of the Almighty, and satisfaction at the prospect of being speedily transferred to a region where trouble and sorrow are unknown. Then, having committed his soul to his Saviour, he calmly and quietly breathed his last.

Thus died ANDRIES W. J. PRETORIUS, the ablest leader and most perfect representative of the Emigrant Farmers. To get a key to his character, it is necessary to go back thirty-three centuries in the world's history, and to set up for an ideal a CALEB or a JOSHUA. Born and brought up in a land where slavery was tolerated, accustomed from infancy to hear of the native

races only as of depredators, inheriting a feud towards them which the massacre of near relatives had bitterly intensified, PRETORIUS could hardly have been expected to fashion his native policy in accordance with modern English ideas. But there was another and stronger feeling at work, which was the cause of such acts as the attack upon the Bakuena and numerous exploits of a like nature. The Emigrants believed that they were the chosen people of God, and that the heathen were given into their hands for an inheritance. There can be no doubt that PRETORIUS thought he was acting in accordance with divine command in treating the natives as he did. The injunctions given in the twentieth chapter of Deuteronomy were therefore followed to the letter: "When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. And it shall be, if it make thee answer of peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be that all the people that is found therein shall be tributaries unto thee, and they shall serve thee. And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it: and when the Lord thy God hath delivered it into thine hands, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword. But the women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto thyself; and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies, which the Lord thy God hath given thee."

For twelve or fifteen years after the death of PRETORIUS, very little was known of the country by those not intimately connected with it. No newspapers were published, and English travellers were regarded with suspicion, as the farmers were afraid that if the capabilities of the country became generally known, England would discover some pretext for claiming them again as subjects. Sometimes a rumour of the destruction of a native tribe would reach the outer world, and furnish matter for an article in a newspaper, but article and republic and native tribe would all be forgotten in another week. The principal immigrants of that time were relatives of the first settlers and occasional fugitives from the Cape Colony.

The convention of 1852 fixed no boundary but that of the Vaal River. The Emigrants thereupon claimed jurisdiction over every part of Africa north of that stream, wherever they could form a settlement. The Republic, in fact, had no limit in the opinion of its citizens except their inability to extend further. Thus, gradually, district after district was claimed, until it obtained its present dimensions.

The discovery of diamonds on the banks of the Vaal drew the attention of outsiders to the magnificent country beyond. For some years progressive ideas had been gaining ground, and the old notions concerning the correct manner of treating disobedient Canaanites were fast dying out. Occasionally, indeed, a party would set out in search of Zion, believing it could not be far distant, and would light upon some lovely valley where they would conclude to abide; but in general a more correct knowledge of

geography, as well as a different view of Christianity, had been diffused by the various teachers and preachers settled among them.

Contact with diggers of all races at the diamond fields had a greater effect upon the boers of this country than the gold which they obtained in exchange for their farm produce and cattle. The party of modern ideas immediately came to the front, and in 1872 secured its ascendency by the election of Mr. T. F. BURGERS to the Presidency. At the same time another cause was operating in raising the Transvaal country out of the isolation and obscurity of former days. This was the discovery of gold at Marabastad and at Lydenburg.

At the first of these places the precious metal is found imbedded in quartz reefs. Crushing and other expensive machinery being requisite, a considerable amount of capital is needed. It was therefore not an attractive field for individual diggers, but a Gold Mining Company was formed, and has since been working there successfully. The alluvial gold fields in the district of Lydenburg attracted to a greater extent the attention of the outside world. These fields are situated amidst magnificent scenery on the eastern slope of the Quathlamba Mountains, which do not here present a precipitous face seaward, as they do further south, but fall away by a succession of broken steps. Clothed with rich grass, abundantly watered with mountain streams, and in places covered with forests of valuable timber, this region is one of the most fertile and beautiful in all South Africa. In certain gullies gold is found imbedded in the soil, from which it is obtained by washing. It is in the form of specks like dust, and of nuggets, some of which weigh over a hundred ounces. During the last five years, a mining population, fluctuating from five hundred to a thousand Europeans, has been engaged here.

The Lydenburg gold fields and the diamond fields of the Vaal lie on opposite sides of the Republic. The road between them passes through the heart of the country, and along that road a small stream of traffic is constantly flowing. Such a highway causes modern ideas to flourish as surely as water running over dry ground causes grass to spring up. From Europe and from the Cape Colony a few settlers have of late been attracted by the beauty and fertility of the country, the low price of land, or the prospect of amassing wealth by commerce. Several newspapers have been established, one of which, published at the gold fields, is entirely in English, and the others, published at Pretoria and Potchefstroom, find it necessary to give a large portion of their space to English readers.

Perhaps the change in the policy of the Republic, and in the ideas of its citizens, has been too sudden and too great to be durable. From being without ordinary roads, and with its rivers all unbridged, the State would at once begin to construct railways. In 1874 the Volksraad resolved to borrow £300,000, on security of five hundred farms of six thousand acres each, and with the money to lay down a line of rail to Delagoa Bay. The President was sent to Europe to negotiate the loan, and to make the necessary

arrangements with the Portuguese government. Great was the joy throughout the Republic when he returned and it was reported that he had been successful. But every one was deceived, even the members of the Volksraad and the State Secretary, while the President himself was so carried away by enthusiasm as to believe that an enormous blunder was a great success. Of the £300,000 loan, only £90,000 was taken up, and there seems no likelihood now that the balance will ever be subscribed. A large quantity of material, purchased prematurely, was landed at Delagoa Bay, and is now lying there useless. Such a waste of public money, where the taxpayers are so few, may have the effect of producing a temporary reaction against any attempt to develop the resources of the country by the government. Over and above this financial blunder, the past few months have been the most disastrous ever known in the history of the Republic.

One of the principal rivers of the Transvaal is called the Olifants. Rising in the Magaliesbergen, it flows first in a northerly direction, and then sweeps round to the east and finds a passage through the Drakenberg to the sea. Along its course it is joined by numerous small streams, and in the neighbourhood of the mountains these flow through a country exceedingly rugged and wild. In this region so strongly fortified by nature, the tribe of the Bapedi has for generations had its home.

When Commandant HENDRIK POTGIETER arrived here in 1846, he found that the tribe had been scattered and impoverished by the Amaswazi. He liked the appearance of the country, and accordingly settled down in it for a time. At the present day, the Bapedi claim that POTGIETER and his people were permitted to settle there as friends by the chief SEKWATI, while the Transvaal government claims that POTGIETER purchased the district from the Amaswazi for a hundred head of cattle, they having conquered it and dispossessed the original proprietors. After a time, however, most of the Emigrants moved away, and the dispersed Bapedi returned and reoccupied the vacant ground.

In 1857 a treaty was entered into between SEKWATI and his nearest European neighbours, the then existing Republic of Lydenburg, in which, though the terms are vague, the independence of the chief is admitted. Not long after this, the Republic of Lydenburg was united to the South African Republic, and it may be inferred that the Bapedi then stood in the same relation to the large state as they had previously stood in to the small one. The treaty between the South African Republic and the Kingdom of Portugal in 1869 gave to the former a boundary far to the eastward of the Bapedi country, but in that treaty native rights were simply ignored by both the contracting Powers.

The existence of the South African Republic, however, gave the Bapedi an opportunity of becoming a powerful tribe, which it would not otherwise have had. The feud between it and the Amaswazi would have led to its destruction, if there had not been a general controlling power in the land,

without whose consent no assegai could be thrown in war. So matters went on for years. SEKWATI died, and was succeeded by his son SEKUKUNI, the present chief. Missionaries came from Germany, and were at first encouraged, but were afterwards driven away. The diamond fields were discovered, and to them flocked thousands of the Bapedi, every one of whom returned with a gun. This indiscriminate and open sale of implements of war, in violation of the terms of the conventions to which the Republics owe their existence, was protested against by both the Transvaal and Free State governments, but to no purpose. In three or four years the various tribes of South Africa were supplied with firearms, and their management became henceforth a matter of greater difficulty.

The Bapedi, as soon as they were armed, commenced a series of encroachments upon their white neighbours and upon those natives who were well disposed towards the Republic. Acts of violence were committed, such as no government could tolerate, the object evidently being to provoke hostilities. At length, in June, 1876, the Volksraad determined to chastise the offenders, or rebels as they were termed, for the government claimed them as subjects, though the right to do so has not yet been proved to the satisfaction of outsiders. A large commando was called out, consisting of farmers and friendly natives, and marched into the country occupied by the hostile chief.

A mountain stronghold was attacked, but just as success was within reach, the commando was seized with a panic and fled. Some days afterwards, the stragglers reached Pretoria, completely demoralized, when all hope of bringing the troubles speedily to an end was necessarily abandoned. The Volksraad was hastily called together, when amidst great confusion it was resolved to entrust the prosecution of the war to a company of volunteers, or free lances as they would be termed elsewhere. A German named VON SCHLICKMAN, who had been an officer in the army that invaded France in the late war, was commissioned to raise a corps wherever he could get men to enlist under his standard. The volunteers were to be provided with everything, to receive £5 a month as regular pay and a farm of four thousand acres as soon as the war should be concluded. Under these conditions it was an easy matter to collect together a band, motley in character as in nationality, but ready to do any kind of desperate work under a leader in whom they could place confidence. To meet the necessary outlay, heavy war taxes were levied upon the inhabitants.

The old commando system appears to have broken down for ever. The investigation into the causes of the "retreat" showed an utter absence of discipline, as well as a want of organization in every department. The commissariat was a failure, for many of the men were half starved. A large proportion mustered without guns or ammunition, and there was no source from which they could be supplied. In short, it was clearly shown that though a body of men brought together in this way might be capable of inflicting enormous loss upon an enemy armed with

assegais, in a campaign lasting only a few days or a few weeks at most, they became an unruly rabble in front of a foe armed with guns, and when the campaign seemed likely to be protracted over months.

The dispersion of the commando was followed as a matter of course by the devastation of the districts bordering upon SEKUKUNI'S country. For a time a large portion of the Republic appeared to be at the mercy of the Bapedi, but they were afraid of advancing far from their strongholds. The condition of affairs in October is almost as bad as can be imagined. The free lances have as yet done nothing to weaken the power of the enemy, while the employment of such a force is regarded with disfavour by the other South African countries. The horrible barbarities committed by the native contingents, such as butchering women and children in cold blood, have prevented much sympathy being felt for the Republic by outsiders, though the government cannot fairly be charged with authorizing any such acts of cruelty. President BURGERS claims the Bapedi as subjects; SEKUKUNI not only asserts his independence, but lays claim to a great tract of country that has been occupied by the Boers for the last thirty years. The Republican Treasury is empty, and the burghers assert their inability to pay the war tax. The burden of the public debt, for which nothing can be shown, presses heavily upon the people. The diggers at the gold fields are clamouring for British protection.

It is evident that the paramount South African Power cannot permit affairs to remain in this state much longer. The peace of all the colonies is imperilled, and unless a change takes place within a few months, interference will be a necessity. Meantime the opinion is gaining ground in the Transvaal that the easiest way out of these difficulties is by a return to allegiance to Great Britain. The party holding this view is yet in a minority, but any further disasters would have the effect of converting it at once into a majority. Under any circumstances, it must become a majority in course of time. For there is a yearning after union with the other countries of South Africa, and it is beginning to be recognized by even the most conservative of the Boers that such an union can only take place under the flag of England.

CHAPTER XL.

THE COLONY OF GRIQUALAND WEST.

AREA about 17,800 square miles.

The population is more fluctuating than that of any other country in South Africa. At present it may amount to fifteen or twenty thousand souls, but of these the majority are diggers and native labourers, who are constantly coming and going.

It is bounded on the south by the Orange River, which separates it from the Cape Colony, on the east by an artificial line which separates it from the Orange Free State, and on the north-east, north, and west, by artificial lines separating it from native territories.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

Griqualand West consists of a continuation of the great plain of the Orange Free State, and hundreds of square miles of its surface are unbroken by a single hill. The plain becomes more arid as one advances westward, and the pasturage becomes gradually thinner, until finally the desert is reached. The soil consists, in general, of only a few inches of sand overlying strata impenetrable by rain. It is therefore a country in which agriculture cannot be carried on, except in a few situations where water can be conserved. Yet it is believed that at one place the Vaal River could be led out so as to irrigate at least a quarter of a million of acres, which might thus be made one great garden in the midst of a desert. For here, as everywhere else in Africa, the soil is not lacking in fertility if moisture is supplied.

The country is subject to periods of protracted drought and to terrible electrical storms. When rain falls, it is often in a destructive deluge, and is usually confined to a narrow belt of country. A bank, whose blackness is intensified by streaks of the most vivid lightning playing upon it, is seen rapidly advancing over the plain. The air is oppressively calm and hot, and as the storm-cloud rushes on, far in advance may be heard a low moaning sound, caused by the vibrations which it communicates to the atmosphere. Beneath the cloud, water is falling, not in drops but in sheets, while the roar of the thunder is continuous and deafening. In the midst of a storm like this the stoutest heart is appalled, and even wild animals are helpless with fear. In from five minutes to an hour the bank passes over, and leaves behind it miniature lakes in every hollow and gullies on every slope. Several years may pass without such a storm, but very

grand electrical displays, in which no rain falls, are frequent. In the summer season, sand or dust storms are prevalent, and occasion much discomfort. These storms are greatly dreaded at the diamond fields. The hills of sifted sand are exposed to every breeze, and at times an object twenty yards distant is quite invisible.

The plain being lower than that of the Orange Free State, the heat in summer is greater, and is intense during the day, though the nights are often cool and pleasant. During this season, Europeans are subject to attacks of low fever and dysentery, particularly along the margins of the rivers. The winter months are healthy, with a temperature from 6 p.m. to 9 a.m. so low that cold is generally complained of.

The banks of the Vaal, Orange, and Modder rivers are shaded here and there with willows, and a few mimosas are found in favourable positions; but in the whole country there is not a single timber tree. A large extent of ground is required for the maintenance of a few cattle or sheep, as grass and other herbage, except just after heavy rain, is scanty and poor.

Large game, never abundant in this sterile region, has now disappeared, but great flocks of springbucks still frequent the country. A few other antelopes are found, as also several species of carnivora, including now and then a stray lion. Venomous reptiles and insects are abundant, and no part of Africa is more favoured by locusts.

The richness of the mineral kingdom compensates for the barrenness of the dreary waste. In the eastern section of this region are the richest diamond fields in the world. Iron, copper, and lead, are found in the western section, and though none of these metals have as yet been turned to account, there exists a general belief that some of the mines are surpassingly rich. Beautiful stone for ornamental work is also found there in abundance.

A very large portion of Griqualand West may correctly be termed desert, but there are considerable tracts of country within its borders adapted to pastoral occupations. The eastern section is decidedly the best. The only rivers are on that side. They are, the Vaal from Platberg to its junction with the Orange, the Modder from David's Graf, and the Hart from Boodschap, to their respective junctions with the Vaal. The western section, or three fourths of the whole territory, is without a stream. The Orange is the southern boundary, but below the junction of the Vaal, a strip of land to the north of it, upwards of ten miles in breadth, is an utter desert. Mr. Stow, a geologist who inspected the district, has explained the cause of this. It is bounded inland by the Campbell Randt, the retaining wall of a plateau above. Here the strata dip towards the north-west, so the few springs to be found are quite insignificant.

Land such as this possesses so few ordinary attractions that even the native population has always been extremely scant. Prior to the discovery of diamonds the only Europeans residing within it were a few sheep and cattle farmers to the east of the Vaal. Excepting by means of missionary

travels and records, the western parts were almost unknown. No one attached any value to the country, or conceived it possible that it should ever be of any political importance.

ELECTORAL DIVISIONS.

The Province contains the following Electoral Divisions :—

Kimberley. In this Division are the celebrated dry diggings, or diamond fields on the farms Bultfontein, Dorstfontein, and Vooruitzigt. A circle, with a radius of two miles, would enclose the four mines known as Bultfontein, Du Toit's Pan, Old De Beer's, and the Colesberg Kopje or De Beer's New Rush. The camp at De Beer's is now known as the town of Kimberley. Many of the inhabitants live in tents, but there are several long streets of iron stores, dwelling houses, churches, and buildings used for various purposes. Incessant industry is the characteristic of the town. The other three camps are similar, but on a smaller scale. There are two or three hundred good pastoral farms in this Division, but every other industry sinks into insignificance when compared with diamond digging.

Barkly. This Division contains the river diggings and the pastoral lands bordering on the Hart and Vaal rivers. The village of Barkly includes the old camps of Klipdrift and Pniel, once the most important diamond fields, but long since worked out. It contains the best buildings in the Province, some having been constructed of stone, but its population is now very small.

Hay. This Division covers the whole of the western desert. The hamlet of Hay, first known as Klaarwater, then as Griquatown, is the seat of magistracy.

GOVERNMENT.

The government is vested in the High Commissioner, and, in his absence, in an Administrator appointed by the Crown of England.

There is a Legislative Council, composed of four elective and four official members, of whom six form a quorum. The Division of Kimberley returns two members to the Council, each of the other Divisions returns one. The Administrator is President of the Council, and has a casting vote. The Governor has the power of vetoing a Bill, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies possesses the same privilege. The Council must meet at least once every year, but it can be convened, prorogued, or dissolved, at the pleasure of the Governor. The elective members retain their seats for three years, unless the Council is dissolved during that time, or unless they accept office under government, in which case they must resign, but are eligible for re-election. If a member resign his seat and no successor be elected within three months, the Governor has power to fill the vacancy. Every male British subject, over twenty-one years of age

and unconvicted of crime, is entitled to be registered as a voter, upon payment of a fee of two shillings, provided that he has occupied for six months a building of the value of £25, or has been a registered claimholder, or has been in receipt of a salary not less than at the rate of £100 a year or £50 with board and lodging. Any registered voter, who receives a requisition from twenty-five others, may become a candidate for a seat in the Council.

The Executive Council consists of the same officials who have seats in the Legislative Council.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

There are several magistrates, whose powers are much greater than are those of similar officers in other parts of South Africa. The Supreme Court consists of a single judge termed the Recorder, but in civil cases an appeal to England can be noted.

REVENUE.

The revenue for the four years 1872-3-4-5 averaged nearly £66,000, but the expenditure being greater, the colony is now in debt to a considerable amount. The revenue is principally derived from licenses to dig for diamonds or to carry on business of some kind, and from stamps.

CHAPTER XLI.

HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF GRIQUALAND WEST.

SHORTLY after the arrival of agents of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, their attention was drawn towards a horde of savages then leading a nomadic life on the great plains south of the Orange River. These people had European blood in their veins, as they were descended from the offspring of colonists and Hottentot women. They spoke the colonial Dutch language, but in all other respects were more like Hottentots than Europeans. When Mr. ANDERSON, the missionary, arrived among them, they were without any other clothing than karosses, and were absolutely ignorant of agriculture. For four years he accompanied them in their wanderings, but in 1803 he induced them to settle permanently by a great spring of water some distance to the north of the Orange River. There a mission station was formed, and a village sprang up which received

the name of Klaarwater. Desiccation has been going on in the country since that time, and no water now rises to the surface of the ground; but in those days the fountain gushed up in a strong stream, and its supply was ample for the irrigation of large gardens and cornfields. Messrs. ANDERSON and KRAMER instructed the people in the principles of the Christian religion, and induced some of them to cultivate the ground and to erect more substantial dwellings than mat huts.

The nucleus of a settlement being thus formed, some of the surrounding savages were drawn towards it. It became also a secure retreat for free blacks and Hottentot refugees from the Cape Colony. Among others, ADAM KOK, with a few followers, removed to it from Little Namaqualand. The population went on increasing slowly, and outstations were formed wherever sufficient water could be found.

The little settlement was yet in its infancy when the Colonial Government looked upon it with a suspicious eye. It was feared that it might become a refuge for escaped criminals and slaves, and that a community hostile to the colony might spring up there. In 1804, a commission was sent to inspect and report upon it. They found six villages already established, with a population numbering in all about a thousand souls. Their report was to the effect that no danger was to be apprehended, and the government, acting upon this opinion, permitted matters to take their course.

The settlement now enjoyed several years of prosperity. The people profited by the labour of the missionaries, and adopted many of the habits of civilised life. They did not acquire habits of industry, as neither precept nor example could rouse them from their innate indolence; but the chase, of which they were excessively fond, was a mine of wealth. They became mighty hunters, and with the ivory, ostrich feathers, and skins, which they procured, they carried on an extensive trade with the colonists. They found means to purchase waggons, ammunition, guns, English clothing, coffee, sugar, and many other articles, the value of which they were not slow to appreciate. Their flocks and herds increased rapidly, since they obtained from the chase nearly all the animal food they required. The missionaries led out the water from the spring, and irrigated a large tract of land which they placed under cultivation. They also planted willows along the watercourses and fruit trees in their gardens, and when these grew up the village assumed a very pretty appearance. In 1811 and 1812 the English traveller BURCHELL visited the country, and resided for some months at Klaarwater. From his account it would appear that the people were then morally in a fair condition.

In 1812 the Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL was sent out by the London Society to make a tour of inspection through South Africa. In 1813 he proceeded into the interior as far as Lithako, passing through Klaarwater both in going and returning. He found the people without a code of laws, and indeed without any ordinary governmental machinery. He

drew up a number of regulations, in which the punishment for crimes was fixed, and induced the people to accept them as the future laws of the land. In order to carry them out, a court with nine judges was constituted. Officers with limited jurisdiction were also appointed, and it was agreed that the two recognized headmen, KOK and BEREND, with two missionaries, should form a court of appeal. The headmen were to be the military commanders in case of war, and were to be entitled Captains. The name the people had hitherto borne being offensive to European ears, Mr. CAMPBELL induced them to change it for that of Griquas, as some of them professed to be descended from a tribe that once lived near Saldanha Bay and bore a somewhat similar name. The government was to be territorial, not tribal, and Klaarwater, henceforth termed Griquatown, was to be considered the capital of the country. Mr. CAMPBELL, in the account of his journeys, states the number of inhabitants at that time to have been two thousand six hundred and seven, of whom one thousand two hundred and sixty-six were Griquas, and the remainder Korannas under Griqua protection. There were also a few Bushmen and Bechuanas in the country, but no estimate of their number is given.

The colonial government appears to have claimed supremacy over the settlement, as in 1814, Mr. ANDERSON, the pioneer missionary, received instructions to send to Cape Town twenty Griquas for service in the Cape Regiment. None of them would go, and so incensed were they by the order that Mr. ANDERSON himself fell under suspicion of being a spy, and was obliged to remove. He was succeeded by Messrs. MOFFAT and HELM, whose instructions from the Society were not to mix themselves up with the government. They found Griquatown without a government at all. BEREND had gone to reside at Daniel's Kuil, far to the north, and declined to appoint a representative. From Daniel's Kuil he afterwards removed to Boodschap, and finally abandoned Griqualand altogether and joined the Wesleyan mission in Basutoland. ADAM KOK and his people had also left Griquatown for another part of the country. Under these circumstances, the missionaries advised the people to elect a chief. They agreed to this counsel, and their choice fell upon ANDRIES WATERBOER, who was at the time an assistant teacher in the mission school.

The election of WATERBOER put an end to the anarchy into which the people had fallen. His government was strict, and order was soon restored in the village and outposts, but meantime a large party of the worst characters had decamped. These took up their residence in the Langebergen, to the west of Griqualand, and, being joined by ruffians and marauders of all kinds, commenced to carry on a series of exterminating forays against all the tribes within reach. Under the name of Bergenaars, they soon acquired a terrible notoriety in the countries north of the Orange. With the plunder obtained in their murderous forays, they purchased from unprincipled traders what guns, ammunition, and horses they required. Griquatown itself was several times attacked by them, and narrowly esca-

ped destruction. For several years the Bechuanas of the north-east, as well as the powerful Basuto tribes of the east, were kept in constant terror. Many of their outposts were destroyed, and thousands of their cattle were swept off. Against the guns of the Bergenaars their assegais were useless. The cruelties practised by the banditti were such as to excite the indignation even of savages. After killing the men of a kraal which they had surprised, and securing the cattle, they were accustomed to cut the hands off the women in order to get their armlets, and to butcher little children for mere sport. At length, however, they met the fate they deserved, by being exterminated.

At this time the country far to the northward was the arena of war in its most cruel form. The Makololo, or Mantatees as they were then termed, fleeing from MSILIKAZI, in their turn fell upon the nations in advance of them, until their course was checked by a large party of mounted Griquas under WATERBOER. These, having firearms, were able to cope with vastly superior numbers, and, with no loss to themselves, they routed the enemy with great slaughter. The Makololo then separated into two bodies, one of which fled towards the north-east, and finally settled on the Zambezi. The other took refuge on the upper waters of the Caledon, and there became a pest to the neighbouring Basutos. The victory of the Griquas over the Mantatees raised them considerably in the estimation of their neighbours, but it had a far greater effect upon themselves. From that moment their self-importance rose to a very high degree, and thenceforth they laid claim to the sovereignty and possession of a tract of country ten times greater than that actually occupied or required.

The Griquas were now divided into three clans. Over one ADAM KOK was chief. He resided at this time between the Vaal and Riet rivers, but moved to Philippolis in 1826. Upon his death, his sons, ABRAHAM and ADAM, contended for the succession. ADAM was victorious. In 1835 he was recognized as an independent chief in friendly alliance with the British Government, and a subsidy, amounting afterwards to £300 a year, was granted to him. In 1861 he sold his rights to the Orange Free State, and with his followers, removed to Nomansland (now St. John's Territory), on the western border of Natal, where he resided until his death in 1876.

Over the other clan CORNELIUS KOK was chief. He resided at Campbell, north and west of the Vaal River, but he ruled over a large extent of territory between the Vaal and Riet rivers, which was mostly sold to the Emigrant Farmers during the period of the Sovereignty, or shortly afterwards. In 1857 CORNELIUS KOK abdicated in favour of his nephew ADAM KOK, and the territory over which he ruled was included in the sale by the latter in 1861. But CORNELIUS KOK'S right to rule and to abdicate was afterwards disputed, and upon this question rested the claim of the Orange Free State to the Campbell grounds. On one side it was contended that KOK had no such right, but was merely a chieftain subordinate to ANDRIES WATERBOER. The Free State contended that CORNELIUS KOK was a supreme chief, inde-

pendent of WATERBOER, and that he had been recognized as such by the Colonial Government. The High Commissioner adopted the arguments adverse to the claims of the Free State, and settled the dispute in his own favour.

Over the third clan ANDRIES WATERBOER was chief. His government differed in some respects from that of the others, and was certainly more effective. In the districts ruled by the two KOKS, the land was held by individuals, and could be sold without the assent of the government. Owing to this, large tracts were alienated, and the clans were constantly in danger of being broken up. But, in WATERBOER'S district, the chief was sole possessor of all the land, which was thus safe from alienation. It may be partly owing to this law, which discouraged all improvement, that the Griquas of the present day are in civilization behind their fathers, but it prevented their destruction as a people. In addition to an immense tract of country west of the Vaal, WATERBOER claimed jurisdiction over the land enclosed by the Modder and Orange rivers and a line from David's Graf to Ramah, the district since known as Albania. In 1834 a treaty was entered into between this chief and the British Government, and he was subsidized to the amount of £150 a year, in consideration of his protecting the colony from inroads from the north. In 1852 ANDRIES WATERBOER died, and was succeeded by his son NICHOLAS. He applied for a renewal of the treaty which had been made with his father, but as the Imperial Government was then inclined to withdraw entirely from that part of South Africa, his proposal was not entertained.

These Griquas, in the mean time, had been falling back instead of progressing. Their country had been drying up, the game had been destroyed, and their wealth was disappearing. Other and abler hunters were now in the fields of the north, and traders were among them, with Cape brandy as the principal article for sale. The Griquas acquired a love for this baneful liquor, and many of them bartered their existence for it. Then came the lung sickness and swept off the cattle. Deeper, and yet deeper, in poverty they sank, too indolent to make any exertion for a living in a manner different from that to which they had been accustomed. As their wealth departed, so did their power, until, just before the annexation of the country to the British dominions, the government of NICHOLAS WATERBOER was virtually confined to the few hundred Griquas still remaining, and was held in contempt by the other tribes in the neighbourhood. A few years previously, he had granted farms in Albania to European settlers, in the hope of strengthening his position, but, in doing so, he had introduced an element which, before the lapse of many years, must have caused the destruction of his power as a chief.

The most wonderful of all discoveries yet made in South Africa took place in 1867. At the time nothing was further from any one's thoughts than that this sterile, dreary, thinly-peopled district would shortly become the busiest and most interesting part of the country. Belief in the existence

of diamonds there was at first limited to a few. Even after a score or so had been found, people could hardly believe that the gems had not been accidentally lost, or concluded, as did a professed expert who was sent out by a diamond merchant in England to inspect the locality and report upon it, that ostriches had conveyed them thither from some far distant region of the interior. But by the close of 1869 all doubt was ended. Then, a rush to the banks of the Vaal took place. The whole of the colonies and independent states were at that time in such a wretchedly depressed condition that a large proportion of the population was ready to embark in any enterprise that would provide a subsistence. Diamond seeking held out even more than that. Fortunes were to be made there, thought mechanics and clerks, professional men and labourers, farmers and merchants, all who had nothing particular to do at the time. The banks of the Vaal, hitherto so lonely, now resounded with the bustle and din of an activity such as Africa never before had witnessed.

It was extremely hard work, digging for diamonds, but men, whose whole lives had been passed in idleness, laboured there with a will. Emulation and excitement brought out powers hitherto latent, which surprised the diggers themselves. Along the Vaal the diamonds were not found where they had originally been formed. An ancient deposit, similar perhaps to the Colesberg Kopje, had been eaten into and worn away by the river, which did not always flow in its present channel. The diamonds were washed down and deposited amid debris of all kinds, of which enormous boulders formed the principal ingredient. These masses of rock had to be removed before the ground could be taken out and conveyed to the river, there to be washed in a cradle and the pebbles remaining to be sorted. Under a broiling sun this labour was performed, willingly and cheerfully.

Along the banks of the Vaal, on both sides, great camps of canvas rose as by magic. If a diamond were discovered in a new locality, the next day saw a camp there, the ground marked out, and diggers at work. From Hebron up the river to Sifonel far down, a crowd of diggers swayed backwards and forwards. The largest camps were at Klip Drift and Pniel, but at one time or other thousands of men were working at Cawood's Hope, Delport's Hope, Gong Gong, and other places. Life along the river was a capital prelude to life at the dry diggings. All the comforts of existence were not parted with at once. The river was there to bathe in, its water was delicious to drink, and the trees on its banks afforded a grateful shade from the glare of a fiery sun. There was less sickness in the river camps than might have been expected. Fever and dysentery cut off a few, but the proportion was small, especially if the unaccustomed exposure to which all were subjected be taken into consideration.

The government of the different camps was varied according to locality. At Hebron, the highest on the north bank of the river, the South African Republic was acknowledged and obeyed. Those on the south bank con-

sidered themselves within the jurisdiction of the Orange Free State, and as that government was popular, no difficulty was experienced in maintaining order there. On the north bank, below Hebron, the diggers found no government existing at all. The South African Republic claimed a portion of the country, so did the Free State, but neither was in actual possession. There were no Griquas there, and in the camps the most profound ignorance existed of WATERBOER and his claims. There was, in fact, no visible representation of any authority whatever, civilized or savage. This gave rise to the formation of a really independent government in each of these camps, a system which afterwards made it compulsory upon the High Commissioner to take possession of the entire diamond fields. Committees were elected to frame regulations and carry them into execution. At Klip Drift a regular government was established, and Mr. THEODORE PARKER was elected President. Such was the state of affairs until February, 1871.

It is evident that the High Commissioner could not permit matters to remain in this condition. Most of the diggers were British subjects, and to allow them to form governments when, where, and how they chose, with the probability that these must sooner or later come into collision with the neighbouring states, could not be thought of. There is an Act of the Imperial Government existing, according to which British subjects committing offences in any country south of the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude, and not under the jurisdiction of any civilized community, can be brought to justice in a colonial court. Under this Act, Mr. JOHN CAMPBELL was sent by the High Commissioner to Klip Drift as Special Magistrate. Upon his arrival, President PARKER very prudently and patriotically resigned, and thus terminated the new diamond field republic. But it was found that the powers under which Mr. CAMPBELL acted were not sufficient to warrant him in opening a court. He could have sent a British subject to the colony for trial, but he could not try him on the spot. It became necessary to provide him with that power, and a commission was obtained from NICHOLAS WATERBOER, under which he was appointed magistrate.

This commission of WATERBOER's took the diggers by surprise, as his claims to the territory, which had recently been made known by the publication of despatches between the High Commissioner and the President of the Free State, were generally believed to have no foundation. The fact was apparent that no Griquas were to be seen or heard of within fifty miles, and no one could learn that WATERBOER had ever exercised jurisdiction there. But the measures adopted by the High Commissioner were acquiesced in as having been based upon necessity and in accordance with the only policy that could preserve order and peace. The government of the Free State complained of the proceeding, but it was in accordance with precedents in Transgariepine history. The Emigrant Farmers, in days gone by, had taken upon themselves to decide who was the rightful owner of the land they desired to purchase, and usually their verdict was in

favour of the one who offered to sell it at the cheapest rate. The High Commissioner had done exactly the same thing.

At this time Klip Drift and Pniel were almost worked out. There were already rumours that other and richer deposits were to be found far away from the river. Some children of a boer had picked several small diamonds from the mud walls of their dwelling, and forthwith a search was made in the place from which the mud had been taken. The search was successful, and the news spread. A party of diggers hastened to Du Toit's Pan, and found several farmers, friends of the proprietor, already at work. They asked permission to dig, and offered to pay a reasonable fee to the owner of the land, but were ordered away. The farmer did not want them there. But, as they would not leave, he at last came to terms, and Dorstfontein was opened to the public.

The farms on which the dry diggings are situated are held under Free State titles, in which no reservation of minerals to the government is made. The land thereabouts was believed to be good for nothing but pasturage, and as such only it had been occupied for twelve or fifteen years. Twenty pounds per thousand acres would have been considered a fair price for it before the discovery of diamonds. It had cost the original proprietors nothing at all. A thousand pounds would have amply repaid them for all their improvements. But now, relying upon the casual omission of an important clause in the title-deeds, companies were formed and purchased these farms, Dorstfontein, Bultfontein, and Vooruitzigt. The farmers were seriously frightened at what they saw going on before them, and were glad to sell out for a few thousands each. The object of the new proprietors was to monopolize digging in the best places, and to enrich themselves by a charge of heavy licenses from others.

The proprietors and diggers speedily came into collision. The law was on the side of the proprietors, but the diggers claimed that justice and common sense were with them. Disturbances took place. Bultfontein was forcibly taken possession of, and claims were marked out up to the very door of the dwelling house. But this act was generally disapproved of, and, after a little persuasion, the invaders withdrew. At length, in May, 1871, a compromise was effected, and a basis of government was clearly defined. The diggers wished the Volksraad to take over the land from the proprietors at a reasonable valuation, as is done in other countries, where railroads require to be constructed through private grounds, or whenever the interests of the public imperatively demand it. They argued that the land had really been granted for grazing purposes alone, and that the proprietors would suffer no injustice by the proposed arrangement. But the government saw difficulties in the way of this, and the proprietors stood upon their titles, which gave them absolute and unqualified ownership of the ground and its contents. It was then arranged that for each claim of nine hundred square feet, a monthly license of ten shillings should be paid. Of this, the Free State was to receive 5s. for the

purpose of defraying the expenses of government, the proprietors were to receive 4s., and the diggers' committee 1s. The local committee of each camp was invested with municipal power. Mr. TEUTER, landdrost of Pniel, who was a very popular magistrate, was located at Du Toit's Pan, a Post Office was established there, and an attempt was made to enrol a body of police.

In June the first diamond at the Colesberg Kopje was discovered. Prospecting was then actively carried on, and this particular spot had twice before been examined and abandoned. By this time the diggers had learnt from experience that solid blocks of ground could not be worked to advantage. Already, many of the inner claims at Bultfontein, Dorstfontein, and Old De Beer's, were not only difficult, but dangerous, to reach. The diggers were compelled to reserve a portion of the claim on which to deposit the ground taken from the remaining section. Under these circumstances it was impossible to sink to any great depth, and at least half the ground was lost.

The Colesberg Kopje, when first laid out in claims, was a gentle swell above the general surface. It is hardly a mile from the rim of the great pan, on the northern slope of which the Dorstfontein and Bultfontein diggings are situated. Seven hundred plots of ground, each containing nine hundred square feet, were marked off, and immediately taken possession of. But many of these were afterwards found to be beyond the reef, or caldron of rock which contained the diamondiferous soil, and were therefore valueless. Many even of those within the reef were soon found not to be worth working, and less than seven acres is the actual dimension of that portion of the kopje which has yielded so amazingly as to reduce the price of diamonds throughout the world to a mere fraction of their former value. Twelve roadways, each fifteen feet in width, were left across the kopje by a regulation which required each claimholder to reserve one fourth of his plot for that purpose. Between these roads great trenches were opened, all the ground taken out being conveyed beyond the reef and there sifted and carefully sorted. Hills of sifted sand, rivalling in magnitude the natural elevations of the country, rapidly rose around the kopje now fast changing its form to that of a crater. These hills, the roads, and the trenches, swarmed with life. In that little spot thirty thousand men, white and black, were working at once. The reports of the enormous quantities of diamonds found attracted strangers from all parts of the civilized world. Natives from all the tribes of South Africa flocked there too, allured by the prospect of a month's wages to be earned in a week. The river diggings were almost deserted. Those who by mere chance had secured rich claims for nothing, when they were first allotted, could now readily obtain a thousand pounds for half their ground.

Close packed around the kopje were tents of all sizes and forms. Streets and squares were laid out, and iron buildings rose along them. Churches and schools, banks and newspaper offices, concert rooms and theatres,

hotels, canteens, and gambling houses, with stores and shops of every description, and diamond buyers' offices everywhere, were all to be seen before the close of the year. Along the streets passed a stream incessant of waggons, carts, carriages, and pedestrians. It was the same at Du Toit's Pan, but on a smaller scale. Bultfontein and Old De Beer's were mere camps, where diggers lived and worked, but they took their pleasure and made their purchases elsewhere.

Life at the great dry digging camps, in their early days, was far from pleasant. Water was scarce and bad. The best was brought in casks from a farm five or six miles away. When, at length, it was obtained by sinking wells, much of it was found to contain lime in solution, and to increase rather than quench thirst. It was only after a great many wells had been sunk, and a selection could be made, that this discomfort was got rid of. For a long time the camps were in a filthy state, and even the air was tainted with decomposing animal matter. The dust storms were terrific. An evil scarcely less than any of these was the amazing abundance of insect life. A writer of the last century informs us that the people of Cape Town were accustomed to pray for deliverance from fleas, flies, and the winds. They could not have had greater necessity to do so than had the diggers. The winds, the filth, and the vermin, brought on sickness which, during midsummer, prevailed to an alarming extent; but the death rate never was very high.

On the 2nd of June an Ordinance for regulating the government of the diamond fields was passed by the Volksraad of the Orange Free State. In effect it did little more than confirm the agreement made on the 15th of May between the diggers and proprietors of Du Toit's Pan, and which met with the approval of the government officials then present. The ninth clause provided for the establishment of a Committee of Management in each camp, to consist of six members elected by the diggers, with the Government Inspector as Chairman. The tenth clause gave to the Committees of Management power to frame such regulations as might be found necessary for the good order, local circumstances, and social management of the diggings, subject only to the approval of the Executive Council. Henceforth these Committees were considered by the diggers the actual governing bodies of the fields.

Under this system of government, good order was maintained in the camps. Class legislation to a limited extent prevailed. Natives were not allowed to roam about the camps after nine o'clock at night, canteen keepers were prohibited from selling intoxicating liquor to them unless with the written permission of their employers, and they were not permitted to traffic in diamonds. But these regulations were carried out in such a manner as not to oppress any one unnecessarily. Natives were never disturbed when walking quietly through the streets, even after nine o'clock, and those who wore clothing and presented a respectable appearance were not prevented from digging for themselves.

How long affairs might have remained in this state cannot be said. The camps were virtually independent, and without doubt would have been so declared if the Volksraad had interfered with the diggers. The peace of South Africa might have been disturbed at any moment. The High Commissioner could not look on unconcernedly and without taking any steps to avert the threatening danger.

The declaration of British sovereignty over the diamond fields has seemed to many a harsh and ungenerous proceeding towards a helpless State, which had independence forced upon it by the abandonment of the mother country. But, fairly considered, it was to the advantage of the Free State that a strong government should be established at the fields. There was no alternative from British sovereignty other than an independent diamond field republic. The Free State might have kept a weak grasp of the diggings for a time, for months perhaps, but not for years. Had the diggers chosen to declare Du Toit's Pan or the New Rush the seat of government, the Volksraad could not have prevented it, except by consenting to secession. And, be it observed, there could be no lasting sympathy between the easy-going farmers of the Free State and the excitable, energetic, independent diggers.

In the mean time, NICHOLAS WATERBOER—through an agent in whose hands he was nothing but a passive tool—had laid claim to the whole country now termed Griqualand West, and had petitioned Her Majesty to declare it British territory. The High Commissioner supported his claim, and proposed to President BRAND to have the matter settled by arbitration. The Free State refused at first to submit any portion of the land south of the Vaal to arbitration, but ultimately agreed, provided the arbitrator was the head of a foreign government. The High Commissioner and the Secretary of State for the Colonies would consent to nothing but a local court, and hence no amicable arrangement could be made.

On the 27th of October, 1871, a series of proclamations, seven in number, were issued by the High Commissioner, in which WATERBOER and the Griquas were received as British subjects, the limits of the new province were defined, and regulations were made for its government. On the 4th of November a small party of the Cape Frontier Armed and Mounted Police took possession of the dry diggings, and hoisted the British flag. A few days afterwards Mr. TRUTER withdrew under protest, and the rule of the Free State ceased.

The new government was entrusted to three Commissioners, Messrs. CAMPBELL, THOMPSON, and BOWKER, of whom the two former resided at Klip Drift. The latter hardly made an appearance in the province, and after a short time was succeeded by Mr. R. W. GIDDY. The diggers were mostly opposed to the change of government. After having had their own way all along, it was natural that they should object to their liberty being checked. They feared also that the existing regulations, particularly those which referred to the natives, would be disturbed. Much satisfaction

was therefore expressed when one of the Commissioners, on the day of annexation, took an opportunity to assure them that no immediate change would be made in this respect. The laws of the Cape Colony were to be, as far as practicable, the laws of the new province, but could be altered to meet the requirements of the fields.

Unfortunately, nothing could be done in the way of government without the sanction of the High Commissioner, who was resident in Cape Town, and whose will was really the law. Until the appointment of Mr. GIDDY, the Commissioners appeared to have no sympathy with the diggers and made no effort to conduct affairs in a popular manner. Mr. BOWKER was absent. Messrs. CAMPBELL and THOMPSON resided at Klip Drift, twenty-five miles distant, and seemed intent only on introducing officialism and red tape. The camps were left without a police, other than the few men of the Frontier Force who attended upon the magistrates. Sanitary measures were entirely neglected, though nothing could have been more urgently needed. The post office regulations were the most absurd imaginable. Canteens were opened to the natives, and there was no longer any restraint upon their movements. Thefts, from which the camps had previously been remarkably free, now became common, and the quiet of night was disturbed by the deafening din of native dancing parties. A general feeling of insecurity began to prevail. Great mass meetings of diggers were held, and the condition of affairs was freely discussed. Petitions were forwarded to the government, only to be disregarded.

At length riots took place. On the 17th of December a mob at New Rush took the law into its own hands, and proceeded to inflict summary punishment upon certain canteen keepers who were known to have purchased stolen diamonds from native servants. The canteens with their contents were burnt, and sundry other acts of violence were committed. The excitement in the different camps was intense, and did not subside until several important concessions had been made by the Commissioners. Very few, if any, of the residents at the fields approved of lynch law or were inclined to be seditious. But every ordinary plan of obtaining protection from the government had been tried without avail. As soon as the proper authorities began to bestir themselves in an endeavour to maintain order and to carry out the aims of justice, they found the bulk of the digging community not only willing but eager to aid them. Perhaps the government would in time have rectified the evils of which the diggers complained, without such pressure as was brought to bear upon it. At any rate, from this time forward it became more effective, and many of the principal causes of complaint were removed.

It was not until July, 1872, that disturbances occurred again. During this interval the value of diamonds had fallen very greatly, while the cost of digging had increased. The trenches at the New Rush were now from fifty to eighty feet in depth, and the roads between them had crumbled away and become impassable. Ropes were stretched from the margin of the crater

to the claims below, and along these the ground was drawn up in buckets. The claims were mostly subdivided into quarters and eighths, and a large proportion of these small sections was worked on shares, the owner receiving one half of the gross proceeds. More native labourers were required than formerly, and that class of the population had increased, while the Europeans were diminishing in number. Poverty was beginning to be felt by many. Trade was overdone. Owing to these circumstances, the riots of July were more serious than those of the preceding December. People took part in them who had nothing to lose, and who might hope to gain by disorder. Diamond stealing by native servants was at that time known to be carried on more extensively than ever, and the recipients of the stolen property were generally suspected, though no legal proof of their guilt could be obtained. A mob assembled and wreaked its vengeance by the destruction of everything belonging to them that could be found. For two days the riots continued, but they ceased upon Commissioners CAMPBELL and GIDDY agreeing to issue provisionally the regulations demanded. These were such as could have been devised only at a time when passion ran high, and were directed against colour as much as against crime. They might perhaps have checked theft, but they would certainly have driven the natives in crowds from the fields. The object of the Commissioners was probably merely to gain time until the friends of order could rally, and in this they succeeded. Sir HENRY BARKLY, of course, refused to sanction the decrees that had been extorted, but he paid an immediate visit to the fields, and endeavoured, as far as possible, to enact such laws as would satisfy the community and also be strictly in keeping with justice. The government by a triumvirate was now an admitted failure. It was therefore abolished, and in January, 1873, Mr. RICHARD SOUTHEY, formely Colonial Secretary of the Cape of Good Hope, was appointed sole Administrator.

The object the High Commissioner had constantly in view with regard to the government of Griqualand West was to annex the territory to the Cape Colony. In August, 1871, His Excellency was empowered by the Cape Parliament "to take such measures as might appear to him to be necessary and practicable for the maintenance of order among the diggers and inhabitants of that territory, as well as for the collection of revenue and the administration of justice." This resolution was the basis of the proclamation of British sovereignty over the fields in the following October. But in 1872 responsible government was introduced, and the Cape Parliament then declined to annex the territory, at least until an amicable arrangement concerning its eastern boundary had been made with the Free State. The inhabitants of the fields were almost unanimous in their objection to annexation, and were desirous of an independent representative government of their own. On all sides it was conceded that the existing administration was a failure, and that disorder must be expected while it continued. There was thus no alternative but to erect the territory into a Crown Colony.

The present Constitution was published on the 17th of July, 1873. Mr. SOUTHEY remained as Lieutenant-Governor, and various departments were created after the model of older colonies. But the new government worked quite as badly as the one it superseded. The machinery was too expensive for so small a State, and its maintenance pressed heavily upon the diggers. They complained also that the popular element in the Council was so small that they were practically unrepresented. Disputes with the proprietors of the ground kept the camps in a constant state of excitement. The Council attempted to limit the proprietors' power of charging whatever rents they chose, but the Act was disallowed by the Imperial Authorities as being an infringement of rights. At length this difficulty was solved, so far as the principal mine was concerned, by the government purchasing the farm Vooruitzigt for £100,000, and selling the business stands which before had been held on lease.

As the crater deepened at the New Rush, the expense of digging increased. Powerful pumping machinery was required to keep the claims free of water, and every now and again a landslip would take place, or a great fall of reef, which thousands of pounds of money would be needed to remove. And all this time diamonds were declining in value. From two to three million pounds worth a year were still sent out of the province, but the quantity required to represent that sum was increasing year by year at an alarming rate. Heavy taxation, under these circumstances, was loudly complained of. But the diggers complained even more of the absence of adequate protection for property, of the want of sympathy on the part of the principal officers of government, and of the manner in which public affairs were conducted. It seemed to them as if the great interests of the country were quite uncared for, while every petty document was carefully tied with red tape and docketed.

An Association was at length formed for mutual protection, with its members fully armed, and drilled under military leaders. The line of actual rebellion was approached so closely that the government considered its authority in danger, and early in 1875 a body of troops was sent from the Cape Colony to its assistance. The leaders of the Association were then arrested, and put upon their trial, but the jury refused to convict them. The Province was punished, however, by the expense of the military expedition being charged against its revenues.

Earl CARNARVON then concluded that it was necessary to make another change in the government. In August, 1875, Mr. SOUTHEY was required to make way for a successor, and Mr. CURREY, the Government Secretary, was obliged to retire from the service of the Province. Major LANYON was shortly afterwards sent out to fill both the vacant offices, and at the same time a special Commissioner, Colonel CROSSMAN, was sent to report upon all matters connected with the revenue, expenditure, and liabilities of the colony. The result of this change has been a considerable retrenchment in the expenditure, while the government has become more popular.

But Griqualand West must soon cease to exist as a separate colony. Diamond digging is no longer an attractive occupation, and with the repeal of the clause in the Mining Ordinance, which limits the quantity of ground that can be held by one individual, the mines will most likely fall into the hands of a few companies, when the European population will quickly dwindle away. The settlement by Lord CARNARVON of the long standing dispute with the Free State has added £90,000 to the debt of the Province, and thus made still further retrenchment necessary. But it has removed the only plea of the Cape Parliament against the annexation of Griqualand. The Secretary of State maintains that the Imperial Government only sanctioned the extension of British authority over that territory, upon the passing of resolutions by the Cape Parliament that it was desirable to do so, and he is now urging the incorporation of the Province with the Cape Colony. Most likely, another twelve months will not pass away without the union being effected.

CHAPTER XLII.

BRITISH BASUTOLAND.

POPULATION, according to the census of 1875, one hundred and twenty-seven thousand seven hundred souls, of whom three hundred and seventy-eight were Europeans.

The territory of Basutoland is a dependency of the Cape Colony, but is reserved exclusively for the use and occupation of the native inhabitants. It is a small tract of country lying between the Orange Free State, Natal, Kaffraria, and the district of Herschel in the Cape Colony. It consists principally of lofty mountains and deep ravines, and is in the south-east so rugged as formerly to have been considered nearly inaccessible. But the volunteer and native forces employed in November and December, 1873, in pursuit of LANGALIBALELE and his followers from Natal, succeeded in crossing the Quathlamba in three different places. Though it was midsummer at the time, they suffered much from cold while on the mountains, and at elevations of over ten thousand feet above the sea level, ice was found under rocks sheltered from the sun's rays. But lower down the climate is delightful. In the summer season, thunder storms occur nearly every afternoon, so that the heat is seldom oppressive.

The territory is divided into the four districts of Leribe, Thaba Bosigo,

Berea, and Cornet Spruit. In each of these a European magistrate is located, and over all is an officer with the title of Governor's Agent. The people are ruled according to their own laws, but practices antagonistic to morality have been suppressed, and no charge for dealing in witchcraft can now be investigated. The hereditary chiefs are permitted to exercise considerable authority, but cannot inflict punishment, and an appeal from their judicial decisions lies to the courts of the magistrates. A native police force of one hundred men is maintained, GEORGE MOSHESH, an educated man and son of the late paramount chief, being its commanding officer.

The different clans in Basutoland are branches of the Bechuana family, speaking a dialect of that language and having similar customs. At the present day they are further advanced in civilization than any other South African tribe, the Fingoes perhaps excepted. A larger quantity of grain is produced than is required for consumption, and with the surplus British manufactures are purchased. In 1873 about three hundred thousand bushels of wheat, maize, and millet, and two thousand bales of wool, were sold to traders. The commercial prosperity of the territory is further shown by its containing at least fifty trading establishments. A large quantity of stock is owned by the Basutos. Those who have no cattle are in the habit of leaving the country and seeking employment for a few years in the Cape Colony and in the Free State, where they are eagerly sought after as labourers. Their earnings in this manner are usually invested in cows and sheep. The census returns of 1875 show them to be possessed of 35,357 horses, 217,732 head of horned cattle, 303,080 sheep, 215,485 goats, 299 waggons, and 2749 ploughs.

There is very little crime committed in proportion to the number of people. The revenue in 1875 was £16,523, the greater portion of which was derived from a tax of ten shillings per annum on each hut. It was found more than sufficient to defray the cost of government. In 1873 there were ten thousand three hundred church members, and two thousand children attending the forty-four mission schools of the Paris Society. European clothing is commonly worn, and there are instances of stone and brick houses having been erected by some of the chiefs. Such signs of rapid advancement and prosperity show the wonderful elasticity of African tribes. As recently as 1867 this people was in extreme indigence and misery; peace and good government since that time have raised them to their present position.

When the Basutos first became known to Europeans by the explorations of missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Society, they were in a deplorable condition. The wars of TSHAKA and MSILIKAZI had all but destroyed them. Before that period they occupied the eastern portion of what is now the Orange Free State, as well as their present country, where each clan was ruled by its own chief, but all acknowledged the paramount authority of the House of MONAHENG. Their tranquillity was first disturbed by an

invasion of Mantatis, under the mother of the chief SIKONYELA, who made good their footing in the country, and kept up constant war with the original owners. Next to the Mantatis came the Hlubis from Natal, under the chief BANGAZETA, or PAKALETA as he was called by the Basutos. Following hard upon these came the Amangwana, or Fecani, under MATIWANA, fleeing from the terrible TSHAKA. From the opposite direction appeared the Bataung, under MOLITSANE, lately the ally of the Makololo chief SEBITUANE, but who had been defeated by the Griquas and Barolongs at Lithako. Each of these tribes was an enemy of all the others, and among them the Basuto clans were broken and scattered like flocks of sheep before packs of wolves. Their herds were swept away, and if they attempted to cultivate the ground, their crops were seized as soon as ripe. Many of them were driven to cannibalism as the only means of existence.

After a time a party rallied round a chief of remarkable mental power, named MOSHESH, the son of MOKACHANE, of the great House of MONAHENG. This chief took up his residence on the top of an almost impregnable rock fortress named Thaba Bosigo, and there devised measures for the deliverance of his country. His enemies assisted him by destroying each other. BANGAZETA was killed by MATIWANA, and the Hlubis, almost cut to pieces, were ultimately glad to get out of the country again. Their subsequent career has been recorded in that portion of the history of Natal referring to the rebellion of LANGALIBALELE, who is the grandson of BANGAZETA. MATIWANA, then crossed the mountains and attacked the Tembus. These he defeated in a great battle, and he was laying waste their country when the colonial government sent a commando against him, which, with the aid of the Tembus and the Gcalekas, put him to flight and completely broke his power.

There still remained the Mantatis, the Bataung, and the Barolongs. To the last MOSHESH assigned a tract of country round Thaba Nchu, where the chief MOROKO and his people still reside. Mention has been made of them in the history of the Orange Free State. MOLITSANE, chief of the Bataung, was gained over by MOSHESH, and assisted him to destroy the power of the Mantatis. A tract of country round Mekuatling, west of the Caledon, was assigned to the Bataung, but when that district was allotted to the Free State by the second treaty of Aliwal, MOLITSANE and his people were removed to the extreme south of Basutoland. There the old chief still resides, with his fifty-six sons, thirty-four of whom are headmen of villages. SIKONYELA'S son is now in St John's Territory, where many of the Mantatis took refuge.

The country being thus reduced to order once more, the Basutos who had been scattered over South Africa commenced to return to the land of their fathers. But their troubles were not yet over. MSILIKAZI sent an army against them, from which they withdrew to the top of their mountain, and waited till hunger compelled the Matabele to retreat. Scarcely had these departed when the unfortunate Basutos were attacked by the Berge-

naars and Koranna marauders, armed with guns and mounted on horses. It was some years before these scoundrels could be exterminated, and while the struggle was going on, the French Protestant missionaries arrived in the country.

MOSHESH encouraged the teachers and followed their advice. Under his protection flourishing stations soon arose, from each of which useful knowledge spread through the land. The great chief learned to rely upon the missionaries for counsel in all important matters, and the result was that the nation rapidly grew strong again. MOSHESH'S advice to his people was that they should embrace Christianity and civilization thoroughly, and not become half converts. His words to that effect are still quoted by the Basutos as a paramount authority, but unfortunately he did not apply them to himself on all occasions as sincerely as he might have done, and hence they lost some of their weight.

A few years after the arrival of the missionaries, the emigration of the colonial farmers took place. Disputes concerning jurisdiction over large tracts of country then arose between the Emigrants and the Basutos, as the former were in the habit of taking possession of any vacant land that suited them, and repudiated native sovereignty over Europeans everywhere. This led to stock-lifting on an extensive scale, in which the Basutos were experts.

At length Major WARDEN, British Resident in the Sovereignty, relying upon the assistance of some petty tribes, declared war with MOSHESH. The military forces at his command were quite insignificant, and his allies being easily beaten, he discovered that he had made a great mistake. The Basutos had the best of it until the suppression of the rebellion on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony left the troops engaged there at liberty for other service.

General CATHCART at the head of a force of about two thousand men, with four field pieces, then marched to Basutoland, and formed a camp at Platberg, a deserted mission station on the Caledon River. Here he received information that MOSHESH was collecting all his warriors, and would probably only submit to terms under compulsion. On the day following his arrival,—14th December, 1852,—the General sent a message to the great chief, in which he termed the Basutos a nation of thieves, and demanded the delivery within three days of ten thousand head of cattle and one thousand horses. On the 15th, MOSHESH visited the camp and had an interview with the British commander, when he promised to endeavour to collect the cattle and pay the fine, but his sincerity was doubted. However, on the 18th, NEHEMIAH MOSHESH, an educated son of the great chief, brought in three thousand five hundred head, which were received on account. No more cattle appearing, a forward movement was then made. Eight hundred men with two cannon were left to hold Platberg and guard the stores, while General CATHCART conducted offensive operations with the remainder. Thaba Bosigo was the point aimed at. The line of march led past the

Berea, a flat-topped mountain several miles in perimeter and having very steep sides, upon the summit of which great herds of cattle were seen grazing. With the object of seizing these, the British force was divided into three brigades, one of which was to pass along the eastern base of the Berea, another along the western base, and the third over the top, with the intention of forming a junction at the southern extremity, close to Thaba Bosigo. The uneven nature of the ground prevented the enemy from being seen, but they had selected this position for an engagement, and were lying in ambush, the cattle having been purposely exposed as a decoy.

About two thousand warriors were concealed among rocks, and these were mostly armed with muskets. But the reliance of the Basutos was on their cavalry, six thousand strong. According to General CATHCART'S despatches, these horsemen were very little inferior in military efficiency to irregular cossacks. Most of them had good saddles, wore European clothing, and carried guns. The skirmishers fired first upon the British troops, and then the cavalry charged, but were driven back with heavy loss. Nothing daunted, on they came, again and again, until the plateau was covered with five or six hundred of their dead. Then they lost heart and retired. Of the British, sixty were killed, and a good many wounded; but they kept possession of the battle-field, and secured a few thousand cattle as booty.

MOSHESH called his councillors together, and at midnight, with their concurrence, dictated a letter to the British commander. His son NEHEMIAH was the secretary. He desired peace, thought his punishment had been sufficiently severe, and offered to become a vassal of the Queen.

General CATHCART was prepared to accept his submission, as from his point of view there could be no possible gain by prosecuting the war. On the contrary, it might lead to a necessity of stationing garrisons in the country, and prevent the contemplated abandonment of the Sovereignty. The number of cattle surrendered and seized was still considerably short of the fine imposed, but that unpleasant subject was permitted to drop. Peace was declared, though the causes of the war still remained as they were before. No boundary line was agreed to. MOSHESH and his people had not been punished to such an extent as to deter them from stealing in future. In fact, no sooner had the British troops retired, than the great chief spread the report far and wide that he had gained a victory at the Berea. MOSHESH'S letter was made use of as a pretext for getting out of a difficulty graver than had been anticipated, and virtually the Basutos were left masters of the situation.

The wars between the Basutos and the Orange Free State have been already chronicled. They were legacies of the Sovereignty, for at the time of the abandonment it was evident that peace could not long be maintained. No boundary line, such as both parties would respect, had yet been fixed, while on one side there was constant irritation caused by thefts of stock, and on the other the same feeling was maintained by loss of territory. The

Basutos avoided a pitched battle with their enemies, but made raids into those parts of the Free State left unprotected, and fortified numberless mountains and caves in their own country. No part of Africa is more capable of being defended after this manner. Some of the isolated mountains can be held by a handful of men against any army. Several of them have nearly perpendicular sides, and tracts of level land on their summits sufficiently extensive for the grazing of large herds of cattle. By only one or two paths, steep and winding, often leading along the face of a sheer precipice, can these plateaux be reached. Whenever water is found on such a mountain,—and it is usually in abundance,—the position would be considered impregnable by a body of courageous defenders. Some of the caves also, in which large parties took refuge, are so situated as to make every other means of taking them, except by siege, quite hopeless, had they been defended with bravery.

But war carried on after this manner could not be otherwise than ruinous to both parties. For years all the resources of the Free State in men and money were taxed to the utmost to maintain hostilities, while the Basutos were sinking into extreme poverty. Peace, when patched up, was only maintained until strength was gathered for a renewal of war. Towards the close of 1867 and early in 1868 several important strongholds were taken by the republican commandos, and Thaba Bosigo itself must soon have fallen if MOSHESH had not entreated the High Commissioner to receive him and his people as British subjects. They were then suffering from famine and from disease caused by want of food and exposure, their stock had been swept off, their villages were destroyed, and all power of further resistance was completely gone. Several of the clans had abandoned the country, and the remainder had lost all organization.

On the 12th of March, 1868, the Basutos were proclaimed British subjects, and a squadron of the Cape Frontier Armed and Mounted Police was sent to occupy the country. The Free State protested against this act, and it was not until February, 1869, that peace was formally concluded at the conference of Aliwal North. The boundary then agreed upon gave to the Republic the lower valley of the Caledon and the upper valley north-west of that river.

Until June, 1871, the Basutos were left pretty much to the government of their own chiefs, who were well pleased at being protected without loss of power. But this arrangement was unsatisfactory, and it became necessary to establish a fixed government in the country. The plan adopted was to appoint a number of magistrates to administer justice according to a code framed to meet the requirements of the people, with an officer above these who should receive instructions from the Secretary for Native Affairs in Cape Town. At first a secret opposition was experienced from the chiefs, who naturally preferred the exercise of judicial power themselves, to the transfer of authority to the magistrates, but this has been overcome. At one time, indeed, it was feared that a conspiracy existed, having for its object

the subversion of British rule, but it is very unlikely that many had seriously contemplated such an event. The great bulk of the people have always been loyal, and are thoroughly convinced that their interests lie in supporting the government. The facility with which LANGALIBALELE'S capture was effected, when he fled to Basutoland in the hope of obtaining shelter and assistance there, had a good moral effect upon the disaffected chiefs. When the moment for action arrived, and they saw the government with a strong body of colonial police and the great majority of the common people quite prepared to aid it, they felt that resistance was certain destruction, and from that time they have behaved as dutiful subjects. LETSIE, who by the death in 1871 of his father MOSHESH became the first chief in rank in Basutoland, and his brother MOLAPO, who occupies the second position, aided materially in the capture of the rebel tribe. From the latter LANGALIBALELE undoubtedly expected active assistance, and it was to his village that the rebels fled, but only to find MOLAPO and his people in arms against them. It was there that the fugitive chief and his advisers were made prisoners, his followers disarmed, and his cattle seized. To the Basutos two thousand head of captured cattle were allotted as a reward for their loyalty.

In common with all parts of South Africa, Basutoland is indebted to the diamond fields for much of its prosperity. The high wages obtained there drew thousands of the Basutos from their homes, and these returned with new ideas as well as with a considerable sum of money. Large quantities of grain were also sold to traders for consumption at the diamond fields, and thus industry was encouraged and civilization promoted.

A great drawback to the country has been its want of good roads. In wet weather it is impossible for transport to be carried on, and even with the most favourable weather the difficulty of conveying moderate loads along the ordinary routes is very great. No attempt to construct waggon roads has yet been made by any South African tribe except the Fingoes, but the government of Basutoland is now bestirring itself in this matter.

CHAPTER XLIII.

ZULULAND.

THE country north of Natal, between the Transvaal Republic and the sea, is called Zululand. It may be fifteen thousand square miles in extent, but this cannot be accurately stated, as its northern boundary is ill defined.

and the possession of a large tract of country is disputed with the Transvaal Republic.

Zululand is in many respects a counterpart of Natal; but, as it lies nearer the equator, the climate is warmer. Like Natal, the land rises in three terraces from the sea level. The lowest plateau is reputed to be not only more fertile, but more capable of cultivation than the coastlands of Natal. In many places a plough might be put in, and a furrow made in a straight line for miles without meeting an obstacle. The climate of this region is moist, and not over healthy. In some parts, as for instance about St. Lucia Bay, fever is prevalent during the summer months. The next terrace is very hilly, but is well adapted for the grazing of cattle. Here also the soil in many parts is capable of cultivation. Beyond this midland tract, the surface is broken and mountainous, but occasionally it stretches out in great plains, which are dotted over with little conical hills.

Zululand is liberally watered. Rivers and rivulets are numerous. Of these streams the Umvolosi is the most considerable. It enters the sea at St. Lucia Bay, and is partly the cause of that lagoon. The mouth of the Umhlatusi, about fifty miles from Natal, is believed to be navigable.

In the coast belt there are broad river valleys, covered with a thick but useless description of bush. In such localities, tropical fruits may be grown, but they are by no means healthy situations for the residence of white men. There are extensive forests of large timber in the country. Yellow-wood and other useful trees are abundant, and from time to time rare and curious trees and plants, possessing valuable commercial properties, are heard of. Successful experiments have been made in the cultivation of sugar-cane, arrowroot, and other tropical plants. The coast belt, with its rich alluvial lands, is well adapted for a sugar producing district.

Game is not now so plentiful as it was in former times. Year after year parties of white and native hunters have been carrying on a war of extermination, and immense numbers of elands, buffaloes, elephants, hippopotami, lions, and antelopes of various kinds, have been destroyed. Still, there are localities in which wild animals are yet to be found in large numbers. This country is noted for its immense herds of horned cattle. In former days these were even more plentiful than now, as the ravages of lung sickness have been very destructive.

What is known of Zululand is sufficiently convincing of its fitness for the support of a large population; but the highest estimate made of the Zulu tribe is less than a hundred and fifty thousand. In some parts one may travel for miles without seeing a kraal or other sign of human life. This state of things is attributable to the political condition of the country during the last sixty or seventy years.

The Zulus owe the terrible notoriety they achieved in South Africa fifty years ago to the genius and ferocity of one man. They are neither more bloodthirsty in disposition, nor more powerful in frame, than their

neighbours of the coast region, but the training they received under TSHAKA was such as to make them for a time tigers in disposition and lions in strength. History affords no stronger proof of the power of discipline than is shown in the career of this remarkable man.

At the time of TSHAKA's birth the Zulu tribe was small and without influence. It was not even independent, being tributary to the Abatetwa. The only reputation this people had acquired was that of being keen traffickers, expert pedlers of such wares as then constituted the basis of commerce in South-Eastern Africa. TSHAKA, though the son of the chief SENZENGAKONA, was not the heir to the government of the tribe, his brother DINGAN being higher in rank than he. But before he reached the age of manhood he excited the jealousy of his father, and was compelled to flee for his life. He took refuge with DINGISWAYO, chief of the Abatetwa, his father's feudal lord.

This DINGISWAYO was a man who had gone through some curious adventures, and had seen some strange vicissitudes of fortune. In his younger days he had striven to raise a rebellion against his father JOBE, and only escaped capture and death through the devotion of his sister. Finding then his life in danger as long as he remained within reach of his father's influence, he fled away to the unknown land of the south, and in course of time reached the Cape Colony. How long he remained there cannot now be ascertained, but it was long enough for him to learn one lesson in civilization, and that lesson was the training of men to war, the organization of an army.

After a time JOBE died, and the Abatetwa, not knowing where to look for the rightful heir, raised one of his younger brothers to the vacant chieftainship. But by some means DINGISWAYO came to hear of his father's death, and sent word to the tribe that he intended to return. The message was followed by news of his approach, and it was announced that he was mounted on an animal of wonderful strength, beauty, and speed. The Abatetwa had not yet seen a horse, so that the eclat of their lost chief's return was considerably heightened by his making his appearance on the strange animal. There could be no doubt as to his identity, for he bore the mark of the wound inflicted upon him the night he escaped from the executioners sent by his father to despatch him. He was received with rapture by the bulk of his late father's subjects. His brother made a feeble resistance, but was easily overcome and put to death.

DINGISWAYO now set about turning the lesson he had learned to some account. He formed his men into regiments, and appointed officers of various grades to command them. As soon as this was accomplished, he made war upon his neighbours, but was satisfied with conquest, for though warlike, he could not be termed cruel. Such was the man under whose protection TSHAKA placed himself. The Zulu refugee became a private soldier in one of DINGISWAYO's regiments, from which position he raised himself by dint of courage and ability to a situation of command.

When SENZENGAKONA died, the Zulus feared to acknowledge his rightful heir as his successor, as by doing so they might displease DINGISWAYO. They therefore applied to him to appoint a chief over them, and he, trusting to the fidelity of TSHAKA, who was then in high favour, nominated him to the vacant chieftainship. As long as DINGISWAYO lived, TSHAKA and he worked harmoniously together. But at length, in a skirmish with a tribe which he had made war upon, the Umtetwa chief was made prisoner, and was put to death by his captor.

The united Umtetwa and Zulu army then did what armies in such circumstances are prone to do: it raised its favourite general to supreme power. TSHAKA had been more than a pupil to DINGISWAYO. He had conceived schemes of conquest on a vast scale, and had devised a much more perfect system of discipline and organization than had before existed. It was now in his power to carry out these ideas.

The united tribes with their vassals that acknowledged his sway were divided into regiments, or bands of about a thousand men each. Each regiment had its own kraal, or portion of a kraal when several were stationed together. The soldiers were not permitted to marry without the consent of the chief, and this was only given to a regiment after long and meritorious services. The regiments were distinguished from each other by the pattern and colour of their shields, and a spirit of emulation between them was encouraged and kept up by various devices.

As soon as a youth was fit to bear arms he was required to join the army, and thereafter he had no companions but soldiers until the chief's permission to marry, accompanied by a present of a sufficient number of women, was obtained by his regiment. The practice of circumcision was abolished, as being useless now that another mark of manhood had taken its place. The army was provided with food mainly from the herds captured in war, and upon the female portion of the community rested an obligation to furnish what grain was needed. The women were formed into working bands for the purpose of tilling the ground, and upon a requisition for grain being made, they carried it to the military kraals. Constant drilling, reviews, and mock fights, occupied the time of the soldiers when they were not engaged in actual war. No other nation in modern days has been so thoroughly organized, so perfectly equipped for aggressive purposes.

The old national weapon was an assegai, or light javelin, which was thrown at the enemy from a distance. TSHAKA substituted in its stead a heavy short-handled spear. It was the soldier's only weapon of offence, and he who returned from battle without it forfeited his life. To protect his person, he carried an enormous shield of stout ox hide, upon which he received the assegais hurled against him.

The world has probably never seen men trained to more perfect obedience than were these. The army became a vast machine, but entirely under the command of its head. There was no questioning, no delay, when an order was intimated, for to presume upon either was to court instant

death. From the highest induna to the youngest recruit, the obedience of every one was perfect. Most extraordinary tasks were sometimes required of a regiment to prove its efficiency in this respect. At a review, an order would sometimes be given which meant death to hundreds, and the jealousy between the regiments was so great that if one hesitated for a moment the others were ready to cut it down. Some instances of the exercise of this power would be incredible, if they were not thoroughly well authenticated.

TSHAKA had heard from some one or other of a place of eternal punishment by fire. At the next review, he ordered a great quantity of dry wood to be collected and piled up. When it was ready he caused it to be set on fire, and as soon as it was thoroughly ablaze he commanded a division of recruits to march through it and put it out. Many perished, many more were frightfully burnt, but they stamped out the fire. Thus will I quench that other flame I have heard of, said the tyrant. He would send a regiment to bring him a living, unwounded, hippopotamus or a lion, and it would be done.

One day, some years after the establishment of his power, a white man was at his kraal. In the morning early a string of women and girls approached from a distance, each bearing on her head a pot of beer, it being their turn to supply the body-guard with that beverage. For some reason or other, which the European visitor was unable to ascertain, TSHAKA was displeased with the kraal from which the women came. He said something to the induna standing by him, who merely left his side for a moment, but immediately a company of soldiers arose and put the unfortunate women to death. It seemed such an ordinary affair that no one took any particular notice of it.

Under such training the army came to attach so little value to human life that the order to exterminate an enemy was executed without scruple. The dense population, that had formerly inhabited the coast region southward from Delagoa Bay, perished before this monster and his highly trained legions. There was no hope for any tribe, except to throw itself at his feet before war against it was begun. Such clans as did this were incorporated with the Zulu tribe, and were immediately subjected to the same discipline.

Before his death in 1828, TSHAKA had made himself master of the whole coast region from Delagoa Bay southward to the Umzimvubu River, while tribes fleeing from him had laid waste the present Transvaal Republic, the Orange Free State, British Basutoland, and a portion of Kaffraria. Those who perished through his means, directly or indirectly, must be numbered by millions. When in the very height of his power, he was one day surprised and assassinated by his brother DINGAN, from whom he seems to have anticipated no danger. DINGAN was the rightful heir to the chieftainship of the original Zulu clan, but that was a mere fraction of the tribe as it then existed, so that TSHAKA never thought of finding a rival in him.

The murdered chief left no child living. He had sought to do away with all fear of rivalry from members of his own family, by the destruction of his offspring even before their birth. Mother and child were in every instance doomed to perish by this monster in human form. DINGAN was thus his nearest heir, and as such he was hailed chief of the Zulus.

The character of the new ruler was, if possible, even more execrable than that of his predecessor. It cannot be denied that TSHAKA had splendid abilities, though he used them to destroy his fellow men. DINGAN was without talent of any kind, he was a mere copyist. Then there was a certain openness about TSHAKA, whereas DINGAN delighted in treachery. The army demanded new victims, the burden of its petitions constantly being for leave to attack distant tribes. The twelve years of DINGAN'S government were therefore years of terror to the native races that yet remained in South-Eastern Africa. He destroyed less than TSHAKA, only because TSHAKA had left so little within his reach to destroy.

In 1840 the Zulu power was broken by the Emigrant Farmers. DINGAN fled to the north, where he was assassinated, and his brother MPANDE was installed chief by PRETORIUS. The army had nearly perished. Under the military system introduced by TSHAKA, the population could not increase, it could not even keep up its strength, prolific as are Africans generally. There was thus no possibility of the Zulus ever recovering the position they had lost.

MPANDE was without genius of any kind, and so long as he was permitted to rule in peace, he was quite willing to let others alone. Under him, the established order of things was not interfered with, but was allowed gradually to fall into decay. Such a system is so opposed to the ordinary and natural habits of human beings, that it cannot be maintained for any length of time. There were still military kraals in Zululand, but the perfect discipline, the implicit obedience, of the soldiers of TSHAKA and DINGAN had departed for ever. The nation, however, did not lose its ferocity so quickly as its subjection to unnatural restraints. Cases of violent death were still of frequent occurrence, and massacres on an extensive scale were often perpetrated.

For many years the sons of MPANDE kept the country in a state of commotion, owing to their contentions as to which of them should be recognized as his heir. At length, in December, 1856, a battle was fought, in which the question was decided in favour of CETYWAYO, and his rivals must have perished, as they were never afterwards heard of. In this civil war the Zulus exhibited as much ferocity as their fathers had displayed in the days of TSHAKA. After the last battle, the defeated party attempted to flee to Natal, and though some thousands succeeded in getting across the Tugela, great numbers were killed by the pursuers.

Mr. W. C. BALDWIN, author of *African Hunting from Natal to the Zambesi*, relates that he was on his way through Zululand to Natal at the time of this occurrence. For twelve miles beyond the Tugela the air was tainted

with effluvium emanating from dead bodies. Men, women, and children, were lying along his path, the men with their war-dress on, but all in a dreadful state of decomposition. There were women with babes on their backs, both pierced with the same weapon, and children of all ages stabbed between the shoulders. Thousands had been stabbed or drowned in attempting to cross the Tugela. The victors lost heavily also, so that fully one fourth of the whole Zulu nation must have been destroyed. CETYWAYO did not attempt to pursue the adherents of the opposite faction into Natal, as he was desirous of securing the favour of the colonial government.

Since this time the Zulus have been at peace among themselves and with their neighbours. Until his death in 1872, MPANDE remained nominally the chief, but in reality CETYWAYO governed the tribe. He is a man of considerable ability, and has always shown himself disposed to cultivate friendly relations with his neighbours of Natal. With the Transvaal Republic there has been for some years a dispute concerning the ownership of a large tract of country, and but for the influence of the Natal government, CETYWAYO would most likely have appealed to the issue of war.

At the desire of the tribe, CETYWAYO was crowned king of the Zulus by Mr. SHEPSTONE, the Secretary for Native Affairs of Natal. But neither the chief nor his people acknowledged the paramount authority of the British government by this act, the Natal officer's influence with the tribe being entirely personal. A good deal of ceremony was observed on the occasion, and handsome presents were made on both sides. A few simple laws, intended to form the groundwork of a constitution, were agreed to by the chief and people, at Mr. SHEPSTONE's request; but they have not been faithfully observed. Human life is yet held so cheap in public opinion that the most important of these regulations,—that which requires an individual to be tried before being put to death,—is entirely disregarded.

For many years missionaries have been labouring among the Zulus, but they have not met with much success. The political condition of the country offers the greatest obstacle to the efforts they are making. Their persons and property are, however, as safe as anywhere in the world, and they are treated with kindness and respect by the people generally.

CHAPTER XLIV.

KAFFIRLAND.—BECHUANALAND.—GREAT NAMAQUALAND.

THE tract of country lying between the Quathlamba Mountains and the Indian Ocean, and between the Cape Colony and Natal, is called Kaffirland or Kaffraria. It comprises an area of about fifteen thousand square miles. The soil is in many parts very fertile: it is capable of producing grain of all sorts in the highlands, and semi-tropical fruits and plants along the coast. In the uplands the surface is undulating, in the lowlands broken and hilly. Kaffirland is exceedingly well watered, no part of South Africa having a greater number of rivulets within an equal area. The mouth of the Umzimvubu can be entered by small vessels, and, probably, at no distant date, will be made use of largely for purposes of commerce. In several localities there are extensive forests of valuable timber. Large game, excepting a few hippopotami in some of the rivers, is no longer to be found, having been exterminated by white and native hunters; but several species of antelope are still abundant.

The population consists of native tribes, most of whom are under the jurisdiction of the Cape Colony. Those that still preserve a semblance of independence are the Pondos, in the south-east, and the Gcalekas, in the south-west of the territory. The total population of Kaffraria probably approaches half a million of souls. Among these Africans, a few hundred Europeans reside with as much safety as if they were in the colony. They are magistrates exercising jurisdiction over clans that have placed themselves under British protection, agents of various missionary societies, and traders who exchange blankets, beads, European clothing, cutlery, &c., for cattle, horses, goat and sheep skins, leaf tobacco, and wool.

There are also a few hundred Griquas in the north-east, who emigrated from the Orange Free State with ADAM KOK in 1862. The tract of country in which they settled was then known as Nomansland, now as St John's Territory. It was ceded by FAKU, the chief of the Pondos, to the English, with a view of bringing in a government on that side strong enough to interpose between him and his enemies. On the death of KOK in 1876, it was formed into a magistracy.

Meanwhile the two great clans of the Pondomise, between whom civil war was chronic, though there was a permanent feud between them and the Pondos, applied to be received as British subjects, and were accepted. A number of little clans, Basuto and other, living along the Drakenberg, had previously been placed under the charge of a magistrate. The last received were the Tembus under GANGELIZWE, whose motive in applying to become British subjects was to escape destruction at the hands of the Gcalekas.

The history of these clans is so interwoven with that of the Cape Colony that it has already of necessity been given. Under English authority they are making perceptible progress in civilization, they live at peace with each other, and Christianity is gradually gaining ground among them.

BECHUANALAND.

THE country lying between the Kalahari desert on the west, the South African Republic on the east, and Griqualand on the south, is usually called Bechuanaland. The southern portion is dry and is subject to electric storms similar to those of Griqualand. It is only in a few localities that gardens can be made. In the north more rain falls, and agriculture is there extensively carried on.

The inhabitants of this territory are of kindred race with the Kaffirs of the coast region, and, like them, form many distinct clans governed by hereditary chiefs. Their language is similarly formed, but is without clicks, and sounds harsher than Kaffir to a European ear. It is not understood by the coast tribes. The Bechuanas are less robust and vigorous than the KAFFIRS, but are more ingenious and skilful. Their manufactures of domestic utensils, clothing, and agricultural implements, are superior. Their dwellings are circular in form, but are decidedly more comfortable than those on the coast lands. The roof is lofty, is very thick, and projects over the wall so as to form a verandah round the hut. The interior is kept tolerably clean, and is cool even at midday. The huts are frequently surrounded by enclosed yards, and are grouped together, without apparent order or regularity, into large villages.

In the field the Bechuanas lack the courage of the Zulu, but this may be from defective training. In former days it was no uncommon circumstance for whole clans to be destroyed by small foraging parties of Matabele. The first charge of these, with their short stabbing assegais in hand usually settled the matter. Yet MSILIKAZI enrolled great numbers of Bechuana boys in his armies, and, under Matabele leaders, these became as fierce as his born subjects. It was in this manner that the loss sustained in his terrible campaigns was made good. Formerly, the most effective weapon of the Mochuana was a light assegai, now he is usually found with a gun in his possession.

The religion was similar to that of the Kaffirs, but the punishment inflicted upon persons convicted of witchcraft was less cruel. The rainmaker was with them a very important personage. Missionaries, principally of the London Society,—among whom may be mentioned the honoured names of MOFFAT and LIVINGSTONE,—have laboured among these people for nearly fifty years, and some of the clans have improved considerably under their teaching.

The government of the Bechuanas is mild, the chiefs being surrounded by councillors, without whose concurrence nothing can be done. In their

social economy a custom prevails similar to that of the dependence of clients upon a patron in Imperial Rome. In the Kalahari desert and in the wildest and most barren districts of Bechuanaland, wretched specimens of humanity are to be found, who maintain a miserable existence by the chase, and who acknowledge their dependence upon some powerful man in one of the villages, to whom they are bound to yield the furs of the animals they capture. These people are the remnants of tribes destroyed by war. In the desert there is no water, but wild melons are found, upon which life can be supported.

Of late years a considerable trade has been carried on in Bechuanaland, and it is now being developed very rapidly. Ivory, ostrich feathers, wax, karosses, and a few cattle, are exchanged for British manufactures.

GREAT NAMAQUALAND.

The tract of country bordering on the Atlantic Ocean, extending from the Orange River northwards to the tropic, is called Great Namaqualand. It is a desolate waste of sandy plains and stony hills, without running water and almost without verdure. There are portions of this country in which no rain has been known to fall for thirty years. It never falls in any part except in terrible thunderstorms. The heat of summer is nearly insupportable, and the glare of the sun upon the sand is so intense as to cause partial blindness. Vessels frequenting the coast, when lying at anchor with the wind blowing off the land, have had their decks covered with fine white sand, while the air has felt like a blast from a heated oven.

Between Great Namaqualand and Bechuanaland lies the Kalahari desert, which has very rarely been crossed, on account its being absolutely without water. To reach the interior from the coast, a long detour to the northward must be made.

Great Namaqualand is believed to possess very rich copper mines, but no attempt to work them is made. Neither Europeans nor natives would care to labour in such a climate, even if water could be conveyed to them. Nature appears to have doomed this region to perpetual sterility and desolation.

Yet even here some twenty or thirty thousand Hottentots manage to live. There are a few springs in the country, some of them hot, others salt, but wherever there is water, a few families are to be found. These little clans are independent of each other, and of all foreign control. They are mostly to be found in the north, which is the least desolate part of the country. There they contrive to keep a few cattle, sheep, and goats. The language is a dialect of the Hottentot, but many of the inhabitants are descendants of refugees from the Cape Colony, and speak the colonial Dutch. These wear European clothing when they can get it, and profess themselves Christians. The only Europeans in this region are ten or a dozen missionaries and traders. A little traffic is carried on in the skins of wild animals and a few ostrich feathers.

APPENDIX.

STATISTICS OF HEALTH.

The following table, compiled from the annual medical reports laid before the Imperial Parliament, shows the rate of sickness and mortality of British troops in various parts of the world. Sickness and deaths from accidents, punishment, wounds, &c., have been excluded. A mean has been taken of the five years 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, and 1863, when most of the troops were scattered in outposts all over the frontiers of the Cape Colony, and were not, as has since been the case, comfortably accommodated in commodious barracks. It must be borne in mind, further, when making a comparison by means of a statement like this, that the Cape Colony was then to a large extent garrisoned by troops sent here from sickly stations, such as Mauritius, purposely to recruit their health, and that, therefore, the rate of mortality was higher than it would have been if only such troops as were sent to Canada had been sent here. Sickness and death rate of white troops only have been noticed in making this statement. For every thousand soldiers there are yearly in

	Cases of Sickness.	*Deaths.*
Canada	535	6·8
New Zealand	476	7·3
Great Britain	923	8·3
South Africa	769	9·1
Australia	590	13·3
Madras	1,222	18·8
Mauritius	787	20·5
Bombay	1,689	22·5
Ceylon	1,387	23·2
Bengal	1,819	33·3

TABLE OF COMPARATIVE TEMPERATURE.

The following table shows the mean temperature of the different months of the year at Cape Town, Graaff Reinet, and Maritzburg, as compared with that of London:—

	Cape Town.	*Graaff Reinet.*	*Maritzburg.*	*London.*
January ...	69·1	75·7	71·0	36·3
February ...	69·2	73·2	71·8	39·6
March ...	66·6	69·1	69·6	42·0
April ...	63·3	62·2	65·3	47·6
May ...	58·1	58·2	59·2	55·4
June ...	55·4	54·5	55·7	59·3
July ...	54·4	53·4	59·4	62·9
August ...	55·5	57·8	59·6	62·9
September ...	57·5	60·7	65·0	57·7
October ...	61·2	66·5	65·2	50·8
November ...	64·5	67·3	67·0	42·4
December ...	67·6	74·4	70·1	38·7
Mean ...	61·9	64·4	64·9	49·6

TABLE OF RAINFALL.

The subjoined table shows the rainfall in inches at Cape Town, Graaff Reinet, and Maritzburg, as compared with that of London:—

	Cape Town.	*Graaff Reinet.*	*Maritzburg.*	*London.*
January ...	0·880	1·453	3·690	1·959
February ...	0·653	2·664	4·676	1·482
March ...	0·846	0·970	2·975	1·299
April ...	1·846	1·129	1·394	1·692
May ...	3·576	0·810	1·201	1·822
June ...	4·311	0·306	0·117	1·920
July ...	2·921	0·510	0·269	2·637
August ...	3·323	0·292	0·745	2·125
September ...	2·332	0·824	1·350	1·921
October ...	1·014	1·563	3·941	2·522
November ...	1·090	1·567	4·675	2·998
December ...	0·516	1·107	5·044	2·427
Total	23·308	13·195	30·077	24·804

NOTES ON BOOKS REFERRING TO SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH HAVE BEEN CONSULTED BY THE COMPILER OF THIS HISTORY.

The colony of the Cape of Good Hope possesses in its archives a mass of official records, dating from the landing of VAN RIEBECK, which forms a tolerably complete history of its government. The most important of these journals, despatches, letters, &c., have from time to time been translated and published in magazines, and the colonial parliament has recently made provision for the arranging and publication of them all. Some years ago Mr. D. MOODIE published a volume of these Colonial Records, but so rarely is it now to be met with, that the writer has been unable to obtain a perfect copy, though enquiries have been made on his behalf throughout South Africa. In 1846 Lieut.-Col. SUTHERLAND published a work called *South African Tribes*, which is principally a copy from MOODIE of such records as refer to the natives, with comments upon them. From the extracts in this book many details concerning the early history of the colony have been derived.

PETER KOLBEN, a German, was sent by the Baron VON KROSICK to the Cape of Good Hope, for the purpose of making astronomical observations, and resided in the colony from June, 1705, until April, 1713. Upon his return to Europe he published two books, one, *A Particular Account of the Several Nations of the Hottentots*, the other, *The Natural History of the Cape*. These books had a wide circulation at the time in Germany, and in 1731 they were translated into English and published in London. KOLBEN had better opportunities of observing original Hottentot customs than any writer before or since his time. At that period the Dutch settlements had not extended very far from Cape Town, and the Hottentot tribes of the interior still retained their national customs unchanged. Previous travellers had seen only the residents on the coast, but KOLBEN made several short journeys inland on purpose to become acquainted with Hottentots who were yet unaffected by intercourse with Europeans. The first-named work is of considerable value; but, unfortunately, it contains many exaggerations and misstatements, and requires much discrimination

before the real can be separated from the ideal with which he has mixed it. His accounts must be carefully compared with those of later travellers, and a great portion of the marvellous scenes he describes must be rejected.

ANDREW SPARRMAN, M. D., Fellow of the Swedish Royal Academy of Science, arrived in South Africa in April, 1772. In November of the same year he left the Cape in the *Resolution*, being attached to the English exploring expedition as a naturalist, and sailed with Captain COOK round the world. In March, 1775, the *Resolution* reached the Cape again, and Dr. SPARRMAN at once set out upon a tour through the colony, which occupied him until April, 1776. His work, which is entitled *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, towards the Antarctic Polar Circle, and round the World; but chiefly into the Country of the Hottentots and Kaffirs, from the year* 1772 *to* 1776, was originally written in the Swedish language; but was soon translated into English and German. In England it was so popular that a second edition, in two volumes, was published in London as early as 1786. SPARRMAN'S work is most interesting, his observations are to the point, and his descriptions of the country and people are most accurate.

A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies. By the Abbe RAYNAL. The edition in my possession is a translation published in six volumes in Edinburgh in 1782. The early history of the Netherlands' East India Company is mainly drawn from this work. I am also indebted to this author for an account of the cause of the popularity of Governor TULBAGH, who ruled the settlement at the Cape of Good Hope when the book was written.

Mr., subsequently Sir JOHN, BARROW held the offices of secretary to Earl MACARTNEY, Auditor General of public accounts at the Cape of Good Hope, and secretary to General DUNDAS during his administration of the government. His work, entitled *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa*, is a standard authority. To the first volume (London, 1801) is annexed *A Description of the Present State, Population, and Produce of the Colony*, and the second volume (London, 1804) contains *A Statistical Sketch of the whole Colony, compiled from Authentic Documents*. Mr. BARROW was extremely prejudiced against the Dutch inhabitants and could see nothing good in their character, so that his descriptions of the colonists ought to be compared with those of a more impartial writer.

An Account of the Cape of Good Hope, containing an historical view of its original settlement by the Dutch, its capture by the British in 1795, *and the different policy pursued there by the Dutch and British governments; also a sketch of its geography, productions, the manners and customs of its inhabitants, &c., &c., with a view of the political and commercial advantages which might be derived from its possession by Great Britain.* By Captain ROBERT PERCIVAL. London, 1804. This book is so full of errors as to be utterly valueless as a work of reference, except in purely military matters.

HENRY LICHTENSTEIN, Doctor of Medicine and Philosophy, and Professor of Natural History in the University of Berlin, was the author of a work entitled *Travels in Southern Africa in the years* 1803, 1804, 1805, *and* 1806. It was originally written in German, but was translated into English and published in London in 1815. This voluminous work is one of the most interesting descriptions of South Africa ever published. The author came to the colony as tutor to a son of

General JANSSENS; he was one of the party that accompanied the High Commissioner DE MIST in his tour, and he afterwards made a journey to Bechuanaland as an agent of the Batavian government. At different periods he made other trips into the heart of the country, specially for the purpose of acquiring information. He was present at the battle of Blaauwberg, as a surgeon in the Dutch army, and returned in the suite of General JANSSENS to Europe. With opportunities for seeing the country and its people as they really were, such as few other travellers have had, Dr. LICHTENSTEIN was possessed of a keen spirit of observation and a most impartial and philosophic turn of mind. A few mistakes into which he has fallen are easily rectified. The works of LICHTENSTEIN and BARROW often treat of the same subject from different points of view, and should be compared with each other.

WILLIAM J. BURCHELL, an Englishman, arrived in South Africa in November, 1810, his sole object being the acquisition of knowledge by means of travelling. After a residence of six months in the colony, he visited the Griqua country, where he remained for some time, and then made a fruitless attempt to pierce through to the Portuguese settlements on the west coast. The first volume of his travels was published in London in 1822, the second followed in 1824. Both are profusely ornamented with coloured plates, illustrative of scenery in the countries he passed through, portraits of various natives, &c., &c. Mr. BURCHELL was a naturalist, and in the course of his journeys over the colony and beyond it, made it his business to collect rare specimens of animals and plants, and much of his voluminous work is taken up with descriptions and catalogues of these. But he throws no little light upon the history of that period, and as all his observations were made with the strictest regard to veracity and in a truly impartial spirit, his book ranks among the best that have been written concerning the country.

The Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL arrived in the colony in October, 1812, having been sent by the London Society to inspect its stations in South Africa, and report upon them. He journeyed to the northward as far as Lithako, and was the first European to trace the course of the Hart River. From its junction with the Vaal he followed the latter river to its confluence with the Orange, and kept along this stream till he reached Pella in Little Namaqualand. His work is entitled *Travels in South Africa undertaken at the request of the London Missionary Society.* Two editions were published in London in 1815. This book contains a complete account of the Griqua settlement at that time, and a large amount of useful information concerning the other districts passed through. In 1819 Mr. CAMPBELL paid a second visit to South Africa, and on this occasion penetrated the interior a hundred and twenty miles further than during his first journey, thus opening up new ground for the Society to labour in. An account of his explorations was given to the public in two volumes, published in London in 1822. The *Narrative of a Second Journey in the Interior of South Africa* is exceedingly interesting, but as a work of reference it is less valuable than the former volume.

The Rev. C. I. LATROBE travelled in South Africa in the years 1815 and 1816. His object in visiting the colony was to inspect the mission stations of the Moravian Brethren at Genadendal and Groenekloof, and to select a suitable site for a new settlement. With this object he traversed the colony from west to east, as far as the Great Fish River. His work is entitled *A Journal of a Visit to South Africa, with some account of the Missionary Settlements of the United Brethren near the Cape of*

Good Hope. It does not contain much historical or general information concerning the country, if the accounts of the Brethren's mission stations be excepted.

GEORGE THOMPSON, a merchant of Cape Town, who had travelled all over the colony and had then been eight years resident in it, published in 1827 a work in two volumes, entitled *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, comprising a view of the present state of the Cape Colony.* It contains a great amount of information concerning the trade and general condition of the country, the then-existing state of affairs in Bechuanaland, the condition of the British settlers, &c., &c. It is a book that can ill be spared from a South African library.

THOMAS PRINGLE, one of the heads of the British settlers of 1820, who was resident in South Africa for several years, and whose name has been mentioned in connection with the struggle for a free press, published in 1834 (some years after it was written) a volume entitled *African Sketches.* It contains some charming poetry and the *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa.* Mr. PRINGLE who, after his return to England, became secretary of the society for the abolition of slavery, was a man of liberal tendencies and great humanity, and his writings were intended to expose the injustice to which the native races of South Africa were at that time subjected. There is much valuable information in his book, but some deductions must be made for his free use of the license accorded to a poet.

Travels and Researches in Caffraria : describing the character, customs, and moral condition of the tribes inhabiting that portion of Southern Africa ; with historical and topographical remarks illustrative of the state and prospects of the British Settlement on its borders, the introduction of Christianity, and the progress of civilization. By the Rev. STEPHEN KAY. London, 1833. This book contains all, and more than all, the information its title would lead one to expect.

ANDREW STEEDMAN, for many years a resident in the Cape Colony, was the author of a work in two volumes, published in London in 1835, and entitled *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa.* The author travelled over a great extent of country, but has not made many original observations of much interest. The appendix, however, contains some valuable matter.

The Wild Sports of Southern Africa ; being the Narrative of a Hunting Expedition from the Cape of Good Hope, through the Territories of the Chief Moselekatse, to the Tropic of Capricorn. By Captain WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS. The copy before me is of the fifth edition, published in London in 1852. Of all the books on hunting in Southern Africa, this is the most valuable. The author was something more than a butcher of game, and his writings are therefore not mere catalogues of animals destroyed. He was an explorer, the country he visited being then almost unknown, though now it forms part of the South African Republic. He was there in the eventful year 1836, when the Emigrant Farmers came into collision with MSILIKAZI'S hordes. Of the massacres and the retaliation by the farmers he gives a short account. His work is specially valuable for a description, from personal observation, of MSILIKAZI and his people.

Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the north-east of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1836. By the Revs. T. ARBOUSSET and F. DAUMAS, of the Paris Missionary Society. Translated from the original French, and published in London in 1852. This book contains a great deal of information concerning the native tribes north of the Orange River.

A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-35. Compiled from official documents and other authentic sources, by Mr. R. GODLONTON, Editor of the *Grahamstown Journal*. Grahamstown, 1836. A very complete history of that war, with all its details, casualties, &c.

Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa. By the Rev. ROBERT MOFFAT. London, 1842. A deservedly popular book.

A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa. By JAMES BACKHOUSE. London, 1844. The author was a member of the Society of Friends, and was travelling for the purpose of visiting mission stations and aiding in works of philanthropy. His book, of over six hundred pages, contains some useful information, but it has to be extracted from a mass of matter of no interest to a reader of the present day.

Shortly after the ultimate establishment of British authority over the country between the Great Fish and Kei rivers, a Compendium of Kaffir Laws and Customs was carefully compiled by Messrs. DUGMORE, WARNER, BROWNLEE, and AYLIFF, for the use of the government, and was published by direction of Colonel MACLEAN, Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria. This is a standard authority, and is a valuable book, but is not now obtainable, except by chance.

History of Natal. By the Rev. W. C. HOLDEN. London, 1855. To this book I am indebted for most of the details concerning the parties who attempted to colonize Natal under the leadership of FAREWELL, KING, and FYNN.

The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration. By Earl GREY. London, 1853.

Five Lectures on the Emigration of the Dutch Farmers from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and their Settlement in the District of Natal, until their formal submission to Her Majesty's authority, in the year 1843. Delivered to the Natal Society at Pietermaritzburg, by the Honorable HENRY CLOETE, L.L.D., Recorder of the District. Cape Town, 1856. These lectures have been used by me as a basis for the history of the insurrection of the frontier farmers in 1815 and of the migrations of the farmers in 1836 and following years. An acquaintance with near relatives of some of those who took a leading part in these events has enabled me to acquire additional information, and thus to enlarge upon Judge CLOETE's account.

Southern Africa: a Geography and Natural History of the Country, Colonies, and Inhabitants, from the Cape of Good Hope to Angola; together with notices of their origins, manners, habits, customs, traditions, superstition, religious usages, languages, past and present conditions, manufactures, weapons, &c., &c., &c. By the Rev. FRANCIS FLEMING. London, 1856. This book is very pleasantly written, but does not fully realize the expectations formed on reading the title.

Correspondence of Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir George Cathcart, K. C. B, relative to his military operations in Kaffraria until the termination of the Kaffir war, and to his measures for the future maintenance of peace on that frontier, and the protection and welfare of the people of South Africa. London, 1856. A standard work.

Three Lectures on the Cape of Good Hope under the government of the Dutch East India Company. Delivered at the Cape Town Mechanics' Institute, by E. B. WATERMEYER (late judge of the supreme court). Cape Town, 1857. A most admirable outline history of the colony from 1652 to 1795.

Caffres and Caffre Missions; with preliminary chapters on the Cape Colony as a field for emigration and basis of missionary operation. By the Rev. H. CALDERWOOD. London, 1858. A considerable amount of trustworthy information is contained in this work.

The Story of my Mission in South-eastern Africa: comprising some account of the European Colonists: with notices of the Kaffir and other Native Tribes. By the Rev. WILLIAM SHAW, late Wesleyan General Superintendent in that country. London, 1860. This book contains a great amount of descriptive and historical information.

The Okavango River: A Narrative of Travel, Exploration, and Adventure. By CHARLES JOHN ANDERSSON. London, 1861. The portion of South Africa explored by Mr. ANDERSSON is beyond the limits of that treated of in this book. But three chapters are devoted to a description of the south-western coast, which is not without considerable value. The concluding chapter contains a description of the Island of Ichaboe and the discovery of guano there, upon which I have based the account given in this book. The quantity of guano exported to England is taken from the Trade Returns given in MCCULLOCH'S Commercial Dictionary, and the whole account has been otherwise verified.

The Basutos; or twenty-three years in South Africa. By the Rev. E. CASALIS, late Missionary, Director of the Paris Evangelical Mission-house. London, 1861. A very complete account of that nation.

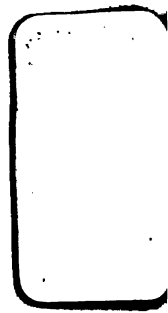
A Popular Account of Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa. By the Rev. Dr. LIVINGSTONE. London, 1861. A very excellent book.

The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races. By the Rev. WILLIAM C. HOLDEN. London, 1866. An interesting and valuable book. In the first edition of this history the author drew largely upon Mr. HOLDEN for information concerning the Zulus. A paper by Sir THEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE, Secretary of Native Affairs in Natal, read at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute in London, has since supplied other reliable information. But nearly the whole of the history of the Kaffirs given in this book has been derived directly from native sources, compared, wherever possible, with previously existing publications.

Travels in the Interior of South Africa, comprising fifteen years Hunting and Trading; with journeys across the Continent from Natal to Walvisch Bay, and Visits to Lake Ngami and the Victoria Falls. By JAMES CHAPMAN, F.R.G.S. In two volumes. London, 1868. This book contains a large amount of geographical and general information.

The Cape of Good Hope Almanac and Annual Register. Compiled from the most authentic sources by B. J. VAN DE SANDT DE VILLIERS. Each volume of this book contained an epitome of remarkable occurrences of the previous year, which, together with a vast amount of other information, made it particularly valuable. The publication is still continued by Messrs. SAUL SOLOMON & Co., of Cape Town, but the title has been changed to *The General Directory and Guide Book to the Cape of Good Hope and its Dependencies.*

Notes on Natal: an Old Colonist's Book for New Settlers. By JOHN ROBINSON, F.R.G.S., (of the *Natal Mercury*). Durban, 1872.

The Natal Almanac, Directory, and Yearly Register. Edited by Mr. P. DAVIS, Maritzburg, and published yearly since 1863.

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